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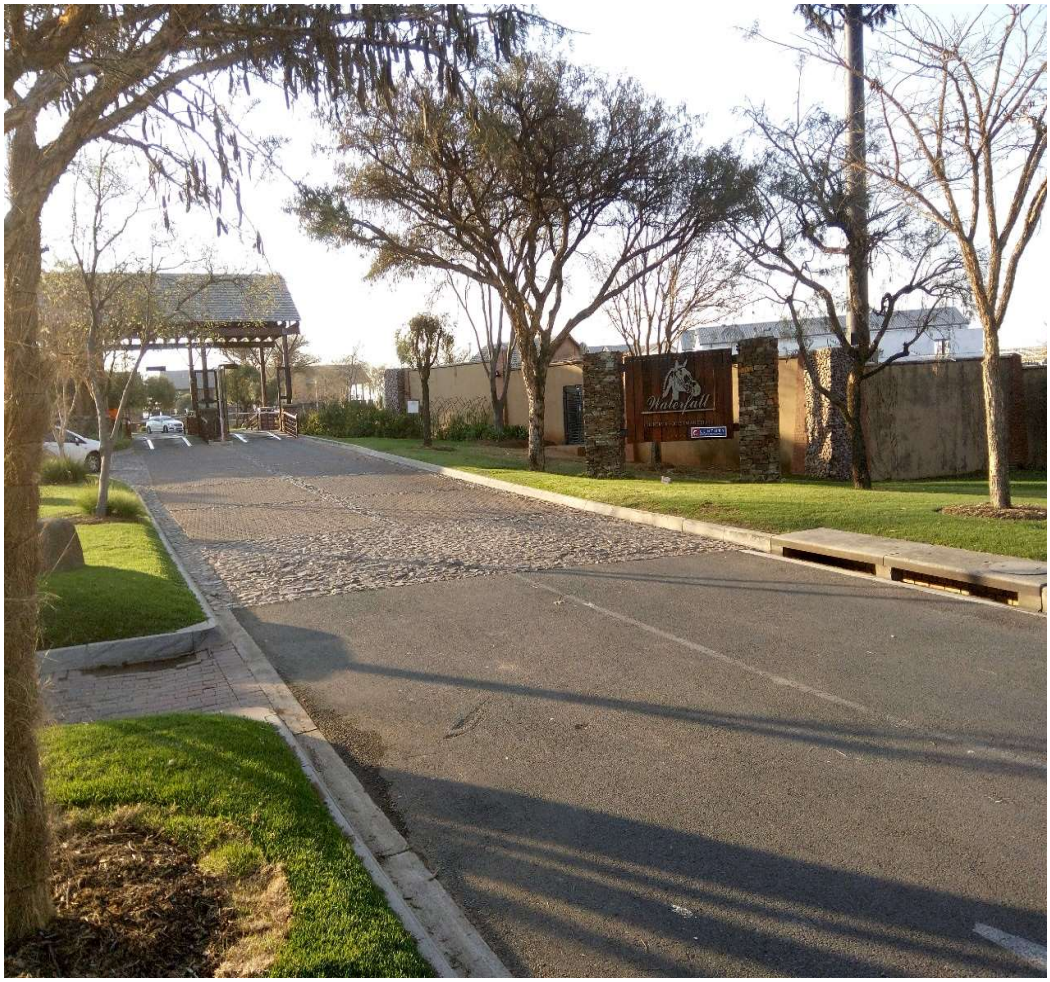
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Investigating the experiences of workers in Exclusionary Communities:

A case study of Waterfall Estate



UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND
SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE AND PLANNING

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May 24, 2018

Declaration

I, Abraham Ajibade declare that this research is my own unaided work. It is being submitted in partial fulfilment of the Master of Science in Development Planning degree in the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted for any other degree at any other university.

.....

Abraham Oreoluwa Ajibade

24 May 2018

Master of Science in Development Planning

Acronyms

CBD – Central Business Network

DW – Domestic Worker

GC – Gated Community

HOA – Home Owners' Associations

ILO – International Labour Convention

PACSA – Pietermaritzburg Agency for Community Action

WE – Waterfall Estate

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Abstract

Researchers, in the past, have found that the development of satellite cities has reduced the strain upon the infrastructure of the parent cities. These developments have had negative side effects as well, with urban sprawl proving to not only be an infrastructural challenge, but an environmental problem as well. One of the major critiques that has been levelled against urban sprawl is that it contributes towards pollution by encouraging long commutes and traffic congestion. These negative effects have been factored into the decision-making processes of residents in these areas, as they usually own at least one car that allows them to commute freely between their homes and the metropolitan centre. However, their lifestyle changes also affect another demographic, namely the workers who service these areas. The impact that the distance from the metropolitan area has on their physical, emotional and economic wellbeing has yet to be fully understood. Therefore, the purpose of the research report was to investigate and unpack the experiences and working conditions of domestic workers in Waterfall Estate. This included a representation of the sociological profile of the domestic workers in terms of their class, gender and employment history as well as an understanding of the different ways that the workers access and utilize the same space. The report also shed some light on their experiences, working conditions, relationship with employers and responses to the challenges faced by these individuals, contributing towards contemporary literature regarding the evolution of domestic service in exclusionary communities. The effects of commuting from the periphery to the city affect all who dwell within Exclusionary Upscale Communities, both upper class residents and workers alike. In addition to the socio-economic impact, power dynamics between the employers and workers provide an additional layer of complexity to the workers experiences. The research utilized both qualitative interviews with 5 workers, as well as the distribution of 31 surveys to workers in the area to not only gain a deeper understanding of the forces at play but also to get a sense of what the collective worker experience was. It was found that the domestic workers were heavily reliant on transit nodes such as taxi ranks in order to commute to the estate. In addition to this most of the domestic workers were found to be paying the cost of diverted care resulting in strenuous relationships with their families, resulting in cases where other family members had to care for their children and a negative outlook on the profession and their fulfilment of their roles as mothers.

Key Words: Urban Sprawl, Satellite Cities, Exclusionary Neighbourhoods, Gated Communities, Power Dynamics, Worker Experiences.

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1 SETTING THE PARAMETERS FOR THE STUDY

Excerpt from an article in the Daily Vox. (Hayden, 2014) adapted by Abraham Ajibade.

> *"I wake up at 4:30am because Catherine and Stuart [not their real names] like me to serve them their tea in bed in the morning, and it takes a long time to get from Khayelitsha to Camps Bay."*
>
> *"I get my older children up, make them oats for breakfast and get them dressed. My son, who is 11, takes the baby, who is one-and-a-half to crèche by taxi in the morning. My other daughter helps me feed and dress her before she walks to school with her friend."*
>
> *"When I get to work I change out of my clothes and into my uniform. The first thing I do is wash my hands, put the kettle on and get the tea tray ready. Once they have their tea and rusks in bed, I go and wake the boy."*
>
> *"I look after two kids, a boy of three and girl who is six months. I get the boy up and make him breakfast. He likes French toast and rooibos tea in the morning. He is a good boy. I give the baby porridge and dress her. Stuart goes to work and Catherine goes to the gym."*
>
> *"Sometimes I worry about my girl. She doesn't like the crèche, she misses me. She cries in the night and wants me. It's a long day for her to be without her mother. I took her there when she was one month old because I had to go back to work. I couldn't breastfeed her anymore. She was always sick and I think it is because I couldn't breastfeed her. It is a long time for a baby to be without her mother, but I must work. My husband earns R3 500 a month. It is not enough for us to live."*
>
> *"At 5:30pm I must leave to catch my bus, but sometimes Catherine asks me to iron the dress she wants to wear if she is going out. Then I get home very late. It takes me two hours to get home. My kids are already home. I leave the key with the neighbour and they let themselves into the house and do their homework. My son fetches the baby at crèche after he finishes school. I cook supper and I am very tired."*
>
> *"At the end of the month the money is finished. Then we only eat pap and vegetables. Together we earn R7 000, but most of that is for school fees and food and transport. Transport is very expensive; I must give my son R20 a day and my bus costs R150 per week."*
>
> *"I am lucky for my job, and my husband is lucky. There are lots of people who are not working. Then I try to do everything right. I tidy the cupboards and I wash the curtains. Catherine gives me old toys and clothes. We are also lucky that we have our own*

house, but in the winter the roof leaks and the kids get sick because it is always wet. There is water on the floor and our shoes and clothes are wet. It is very cold in our house in the winter."

"I have good kids, but my girl struggles at school. Her teacher wants her to have extra lessons, but it costs money and we don't have money. My family is in the Eastern Cape. It is very expensive to take the whole family so every three years we take the bus to see my parents for Christmas. They are old now. I don't know if I will see my parents again before they die."

The extracts above depict the daily life and struggles of a domestic worker. The story of this domestic worker is not unique amongst the women in this profession. It exemplifies the struggles and conflicting emotions that domestic workers wrestle with daily. The purpose of this research paper will be to unpack several stories much like this one and seek to understand the different dynamics and driving forces that are responsible for these emotions and realities. The stories of these domestic workers share an element of commonality that is based upon the mutual presence of common themes. The first theme to be explored revolves around the fact that despite the contribution that a domestic worker makes to a household, they are still amongst the most abused sectors in the South African workforce.

In the Unemployment Insurance Contributions Act of 2002, A domestic workers is defined as a gardener, driver or person who looks after children, the aged, sick, frail or disabled in a private household, which is not situated on a farm (Act No. 4 of 2002). Due to the personal nature of such employment, it is not uncommon for the domestic worker to know the habits of their employer. This is evident in the excerpts above where the domestic worker knew the preferred meals of each member of the household as well as their preferences. The level of care and emotional investment that the domestic worker invests into the employer's family is poorly reflected in their financial compensation. The minimum wage for a domestic worker as set out by the domestic workers' Act is classified into two categories depending on the area in which the domestic worker's place of employment is situated. These categories are namely Urban Areas (which are listed under Area A) and Non-Urban Areas (Which are listed under Area B). The Minimum Wage Act is utilised as an umbrella term to detail not only the minimum wages for the domestic worker's working in these areas but also stipulates their working conditions such as hours of work, overtime pay, salary increases, deductions, annual and sick leave.

Minimum	Urban Areas (Area A)	Non-Urban Areas (Area B)
Hourly Rate	R12.42	R11.31
Weekly Rate	R559.09	R508.93
Monthly Rate	R2 422.54	R2 205.17

Table 1-1: *Table Depicting the Minimum wage for Domestic workers who work 27 ordinary hours a week or more.*

Source: Minimum Wage Act, 2016 adapted by Abraham Ajibade

Minimum	Urban Areas (Area A)	Non-Urban Areas (Area B)
Hourly Rate	R14.54	R13.53
Weekly Rate	R392.58	R360.54
Monthly Rate	R1 701.06	R1 562.21

Table 1-2: *Table Depicting the Minimum wage for Domestic workers who work less than 27 ordinary hours a week.*

(Above) Source: Minimum Wage Act, 2016 adapted by Abraham Ajibade

The discussion around minimum wage in South Africa has always been a highly-contested affair with those against (Cameron & Green,2015; Freire et al., 2014) arguing that it would result in wide spread job losses, damaging the economy. Whilst others (Griffiths & Prozesky, 2010, Jacobs et. al, 2013), argue that domestic workers are an essential and versatile part of South Africa's labour force and should be rewarded for the work they perform. The figures above are put into stark contrast when compared with the fact that a study conducted by the University of Witwatersrand found that the bare minimum living wage in South Africa is close to R4500 a month to enable the worker to secure and sustain affordable food and Housing (Minimum Wage Advisory Panel, 2016). Such a high level of discrepancy is a cause for concern because there are an estimated 1 to 1.5 million workers in the country who work as domestics, gardeners and childminders. These domestic workers are often the primary breadwinners for their households thus, organisations such as the Pietermaritzburg Agency for Community Action (PACSA) have submitted proposals with such considerations in mind, arguing that an even higher monthly living wage (R8000) is required for breadwinners for large families (PACSA, 2016). The low baseline of salaries for employees within this sector has resulted in domestic workers engaging in protests over the sustainability of working hard and supporting their families with meagre returns in the form of income. In one of the most recent protests staged by the domestic workers over their working conditions on the 7th of October 2016 (see Figure 1-1), an aggrieved domestic worker stated that "Employers will often just ask you to work on Sundays and say "thanks" instead of paying you. We want basic salaries since some of us are still getting R700 monthly after working from Monday to Saturday."





Figure 1-1: *The Fight for Compensation*

(Above) - *Domestic Workers protesting for minimum wage in Bakerton, Ekhuruleni on the 7th of October 2016. Source: Komane SABC, 2016 adapted by Abraham Ajibade*

Labour laws have been set in place to protect domestic workers from been exploited in such a manner but as Solly Phetoe, the deputy secretary general of COSATU expressed, the effectiveness of these laws is being undermined by the fact that "the enforcement and implementation of these laws is severely lacking" (Komane, 2016). However, as Kenny Fick of the Department of Labour succinctly surmised, the crux of the implementation dilemma stems from the nature of domestic work falling within the jurisdiction of both labour regulations as well as the private domain, as a result, it becomes difficult to "ensure compliance" as the employer's right to privacy in their home must be delicately balanced against the domestic worker's right to a fair wage (Komane, 2016).

It is fitting that the private home should be an area under scrutiny, as Lan (2003b) describes the private household as a microcosm of the social inequalities at play within the global economy. Lan (2003b, 192) defines the "Intimate Other" as migrant domestic workers who are recruited as desired servants and yet they are rejected as citizens, they are considered by their employers and the members of the household to be "part of the family" yet they are excluded from the intimate experiences of family life. The proximity of the migrant domestic worker to the ordinary machinations of the household results in the fostering of an intimate relationship with the members of the family regardless of their differences. Despite the fact that migrant domestic workers do not constitute the majority of domestic workers in South Africa, the argument that the workers are often of a different racial or ethnic classification to their employers holds true for many of the domestic workers in South Africa (Cock,1989; Constable, 1999; Chan, 2005; Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila, 1997). More than any other member of the household, the domestic worker's responsibilities overlap with that of the mother. The overlap of the duties shared by the mother and the domestic worker is defined by Macdonald (1998, 81) as "mother-work" which refers to the "daily tasks involved in the care and protection of small children". The proximity of "mother-work" to the true experience of motherhood has profound ramifications for both the mother and the domestic worker. For the mother, the proximity represents a threat; as such employers often create boundaries between their families and their domestic worker in order to avoid a situation in which the children grow more attached to the domestic worker than their parents (Chan, 2005). In contrast, the situation is just as volatile for the domestic worker, especially those who live with their employers as they must often sacrifice their connection to their children to keep their jobs.



Figure 1-2: *Substitute Caretakers*

Domestic workers have assumed most of the responsibilities of the home from their employers, resulting in the needs of the children and the home falling into their jurisdiction. Source: Rent a Maid, 2017 © adapted by Abraham Ajibade from https://www.gumtree.co.za/u-seller-listings/edgemead-rentamaid-co-za/v1u104391470p1

Complex intricacies notwithstanding, employers are still amenable to domestic workers because they are often crucial to the functioning of the family due to the vital role they play in the day-to-day functionality of the household. The delegation of the household chores to the domestic worker, thus allows the members of the household to pursue other interests, spend more quality time together as well as focus on their careers. The outsourcing of the partial fulfilment of the tasks usually attributed to the mother is thus only made palatable through the construction of boundaries between the domestic worker and the family in order to prevent the domestic worker from truly becoming integrated into the family (Hau-nung Chan, 2005; Lan, 2003b). Macdonald (1998, 84) refers to the role that the domestic worker performs in these families as "Shadow Motherhood" (see figure 1-2). He defines "Shadow Motherhood" as the delicate balance that the domestic worker must strike between performing mother-work whilst simultaneously masking the fact that it is indeed mother-work due to the employer's susceptibility to cultural stigma from society. Society saliently diffuses the ideal that the umbilical connection between the mother and child cannot be severed, as a result the mother is the only person who is best suited to attending to her child's needs. Thus, in the process of outsourcing this care to a domestic worker, the employer often creates rules to ensure that a clear enough distinction is retained at all times between the mother and the domestic worker, these boundaries therefore hamper the domestic worker's ability to integrate into the family.

1.1 Problem Statement

One of the major critiques that has been levelled against urban sprawl is that it contributes towards pollution by encouraging the consumption of farmland and other open spaces, long commutes and traffic congestion (Power, 2001). Gated communities are populated with families who in exchange for more expansive living and exclusion from undesirable elements have factored in the negative effects of urban sprawl into their decision-making processes. Residents who choose to relocate into these areas usually own at least one car that allows them to commute freely between their homes and the metropolitan centre (Caldeira, 1996). However, their lifestyle changes also affect another demographic, namely the workers who service these areas. Domestic workers enable the functioning of the labour market and the economy by providing a flexible labour force that performs a wide range of duties. The duties range from the socialisation of children to everyday tasks such as shopping, cooking, gardening, cleaning and washing (Mwansa, 2012). The impact that the distance from the metropolitan area has on their physical, emotional and economic wellbeing has yet to be fully understood.

1.2 Rationale

The issues around urban sprawl and its effects have been well documented, but there is a gap with regards to research conducted on domestic workers in these areas. This gap pertains to the different lived experiences of those who utilize these spaces. The development of the Mega Cities or Mega Human Settlements has been introduced through a collaboration between the government and private developers. The involvement of private developers has resulted in the aims of these projects usually being profit driven, with the end consumer being the major determinant of the facilities and amenities made available in the area. Therefore, for those who utilize the space but do not fall into the category of the end consumer, there is often an exclusionary and marginalization effect exerting itself. There is a duality of experiences occurring within these spaces that result in the end user experience being completely different from the experiences of those for whom the space does not cater to.

1.3 Objectives and Aims of the Study

Therefore, the purpose of the research report will be to investigate and unpack the experiences and working conditions of domestic workers in Waterfall Estate. This will be including but not limited to a representation of the sociological profile of the domestic workers in terms of their income, gender and employment history as well as an understanding of the different ways that the workers access, use and utilize the same space. The report will also seek to shed some light on the experiences, working conditions, relationship with employers and responses to the environment faced by these individuals, contributing towards contemporary literature regarding the evolution of domestic service in gated communities. Through this study, the researcher will attempt to explore the intricacies surrounding the perceived experiences of a sector that tends to go unnoticed by the public's eye, even though they can be seen in great numbers, in plain sight, serving as a critical resource in propelling labour within the economy. Understanding the factors at play in these communities would thus serve as a reference point to inform regional planning and co-ordination as more efficient interventions and reforms could be applied to the development of gated communities to cater for the transportation of the domestic workers.

1.4 Research Question and Sub-Questions

The research seeks to understand what the dynamics and implications of working as a domestic worker within gated communities, which are inherently exclusionary, are. To this end, the research question is as follows:

What are the effects (physical, sociological and, geographic) accruing to a domestic worker operating in exclusionary communities on the periphery?

To further unpack this question, four sub questions were devised to explore the different facets of the research question and elucidate upon the complexities that surround the interactions of a domestic worker in an exclusionary community on the periphery. The research sub-questions are as follows:

- What is the profile of the domestic workers in Waterfall Estate?
- What are the lived experiences and modes of interaction employed by the domestic worker utilizing the space?
- What are the intra urban mobility patterns of the workers that service Waterfall Estate?
- How do the domestic workers respond to their experiences and working conditions?

1.5 Research Methodology

The aim of this research report was to explore the experiences, perceptions and interactions of workers within exclusionary communities. The community that was selected for the purposes of this study was Waterfall Estate. Waterfall estate was chosen as the site for the study not only because it qualifies as an enclosed gated community on the periphery of Johannesburg and Pretoria, but also because it was a relatively new development. As a new development its infrastructure and linkages to the major cities was prime research material for understanding how its users absorbed the costs of relocating as well as documenting how the domestic workers were able to navigate the challenge of commuting.

The research strategy selected allowed the researcher to evaluate the link between theory and research. The use of both qualitative or quantitative research strategies contributed to the pursuit of the objectives in different ways. The qualitative research strategy made use of the inductive approach, which allows one to generate theory from the results of the research whilst the quantitative research strategy utilises a deductive approach in order to use the research findings to test the hypothesis (Bryman, 2004). Despite the fact that the two strategies come from different epistemological positions, their contributions were combined to create a more holistic and balanced report. Thus, the researcher utilized both qualitative and quantitative research strategies for this report.

Due to the fact that this report was exploratory in nature and was classified more as an inductive approach as it emphasized the generation of theories as opposed to the testing of current theories, this report focused more on qualitative research, utilising the quantitative methods to support and further develop the findings. The methods through which data was collected reflected the nature of the research question because the research was designed in such a way that the evidence obtained through the research allowed the researcher to answer the research question as unambiguously as possible (De Vaus, 2001). The research was cross sectional because it involved the collection of data on more than one case, at a single point in time (Bryman, 2004).

Sampling in the research study was a tool which allowed the researcher to utilize the research findings from the sample to gain a sense of how it manifested itself within the larger population (Robson, 2002). Due to the nature of this research report focusing more on the qualitative aspect, there was less need for the universal application of the findings, since the emphasis was on understanding social processes as opposed to achieving statistical representativeness (Mays and Pope, 1995). The selection of the participants was based on the selected individuals being workers within the area for more than two years. The number of years spent working in the area specification ensured that the answers provided by the individual selected was supported by long term experiences. This approach entailed the use

of semi structured interviews with a number of participants. Historically, the problem with this approach however was the fact that the results from such a small sample could often not be used to make generalised statements. This lack of applicability was attributed to the fact that the sample size is too small, the collection of all the data was within a specific point in time and the participants were randomised as opposed to a controlled group (De Vaus, 2001). However, since the purpose of the study was not to produce generalised statements but rather to compile and document the experiences of domestic workers in an exclusionary community, the weaknesses of this research method was mitigated. Whilst It does not seek to present the full range of experiences, a domestic worker goes through, the researcher utilized both qualitative interviews with 5 workers focusing on their experience within the estate, as well as the quantitative research in the form of 30 surveys which are revolved around more general statistical information with the workers in the area to not only gain a deeper understanding of the forces at play but also to provide a snapshot of what the collective worker experience was. The emphasis remained on the experiences.

When conducting research that involved the investigation of a set of people's experiences, as was the case with this research report, there were a few matters of ethical due diligence that needed to be observed. Ethics played a major role in the approach that the researcher utilised in order to obtain the information necessary for the response to the research questions. The approach that the researcher utilised taok into account the sensitive nature of the information being requested from the participants of the research study. The participants of the research study revealed personal details about their lives, those of their families as well as information about their experiences which in some instances reflected upon their employers. As a result, it was imperative that measures be taken to ensure that the report was carried out in an ethical way. A sample of all of the ethics documents is available in the appendix section (7.1 to 7.2).

The first measure was the signing of a consent form by the participants to signify that they were willing participants in the research and that they were fully aware of the use for which the information they provide would be utilised, this measure also ensured that the participants were aware that they could decline to participate further, if they felt uncomfortable. The second measure to protect the sensitivity of the information provided by the participants was to protect the identity of the participant. Due to the personal nature of the responses, the participation of the interviewee in the research report could jeopardize their relationships with others, should their contribution be made public.

As a result, all contributions made by the participants remained anonymous and they were issued with alternate names or numbers (for example Mary or Linda) in the publishing of the report. This measure ensured that their contributions could never be traced back to them and they are shielded from retaliation.

The final measure was the management of participant expectations. Often, the undertaking of such intensive research generates a false sense of expectation as the participants believe that the study would immediately and directly improve their situations. The research has the possibility of indirectly improving their situation, due to the fact that it adds to the body of knowledge about these workers and their experiences. However, the research was not being sanctioned by the government or any other body with a mandate to intervene, as a result it would not directly lead to changes being made. The data was kept in a password protected computer and the list with the names and false names was also protected.

In order to conduct the investigations required for this research report, the success of these inquiries relied heavily on the participation of the sample workers. The researcher acknowledged that this dependence could result in limitations that need to be taken into account. The first limitation was the fact that Waterfall estate was an exclusionary community and as a result it was difficult to gain access to not only the site but the participants as well due to the fact that some of them resided within their employers' homes. As a result, the researcher may not have been able to present a truly accurate representation of the workers in the community. The danger of this limitation was mitigated by the fact that the researcher had connections with families within the community who aided in the study by recommending their neighbour's domestic workers to participate in the survey, none of the domestic workers selected in this way participated in the qualitative interviews. The second limitation was the sample of participants, due to the fact that the research required intensive engagement with the participants; it was difficult to conduct a large number of interviews. As a result, the findings from the sample participants may not have reflected the nature of the experiences of the majority and may have been biased. This limitation was mitigated by selecting participants in differing situations and utilizing broad brush surveys. The third limitation arose from the fact that the information required from the participants was sensitive in nature, as a result it required the gaining of the participants' trust in order to for them to divulge the information. This limitation was mitigated by the signing of consent forms and the assurance from the researcher that all information divulged would remain confidential.

Whilst conducting the fieldwork, the researcher was repeatedly interrogated by the security guards. Some guards were gentle in their dissuasions, with one particular guard intimating that the residents would not like the research being conducted due to the fact that they may have employed a domestic worker without proper documentation and thus the domestic worker might not only lose his/her job but also get deported. Another guard was not so accommodating, he categorically demanded that the researcher immediately terminate all further interviews and called his boss. His boss made similar demands and requested that the researcher suspend all further interviews until he acquired formal permission from not only the security company but also the Estate Committee. Despite numerous attempts to acquire such permission, the researcher was unsuccessful. Gaining access to the Estate was not only difficult from the outside but also from within. The researcher was able to identify two residents within Waterfall estate who indicated that they would be willing to provide their domestic worker with permission to participate in the study. The researcher reached out to them multiple times to secure a date for the interview, but the residents were not forthcoming in their responses. Eventually the researcher was able to make direct contact with the domestic workers themselves and conduct the surveys.

The residents and security guards were not the only source of challenges during the fulfilment of the study; the domestic workers were also difficult to engage with. Due to the nature of their work, the domestic workers generally left their workplaces after 4PM, their destinations being the taxis. This pattern made the conduction of the quantitative interviews quite challenging for the researcher as the domestic workers were always in a rush to secure their position in the taxi, or to catch the last taxi that would take them in the direction of their homes. Thus, the domestic workers who were willing to complete the questionnaires usually participated in them on the way to the taxi. Most domestic workers were also hesitant to participate in the study, not because of their haste but due to their apprehension of the repercussions their participation would have on their job and their relationships with their employers. Securing the qualitative interviews also proved to be challenging as the workers were occupied during the day and as such there was only a limited window each day to perform the interviews, usually after their work day was completed at 17:00 but before 19:00 when the taxis to return home were harder to find, the qualitative interviews thus had to be completed during these brief windows.

1.6 Contextualisation of The Research Site

A study area that suited the requirements of this research report, specifically the fact that it was a gated community and it was on the periphery of major cities and thus could be classified as urban sprawl was Waterfall City. This gated community is located in Midrand within the fastest growing metropolitan region in Africa namely the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality (refer to figure 1-3).



Figure 1-3: *Location of Midrand within the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality.*

Waterfall Estate is situated halfway between the Johannesburg central city and Pretoria, benefitting from the locational advantage of both cities. Source: Municipalities of South Africa, 2018 © adapted by Abraham Ajibade from https://municipalities.co.za/map/2/city-of-johannesburg-metropolitan-municipality

Waterfall City was designed as a mixed-use development which offered its users a unique blend of products ranging from business and commerce to affluent residential developments which included a plethora of leisure and lifestyle amenities for its residents to utilise, all within a compact location. The size of the entire development (refer to figure 1.4) measures up to 22 km^2 which equates to the size of a suburb like Bryanston, this development is remarkable due to the fact that it was all built from scratch. The scale of the development in the region of Midrand thus cements its position as the most important business and residential growth point in the region.



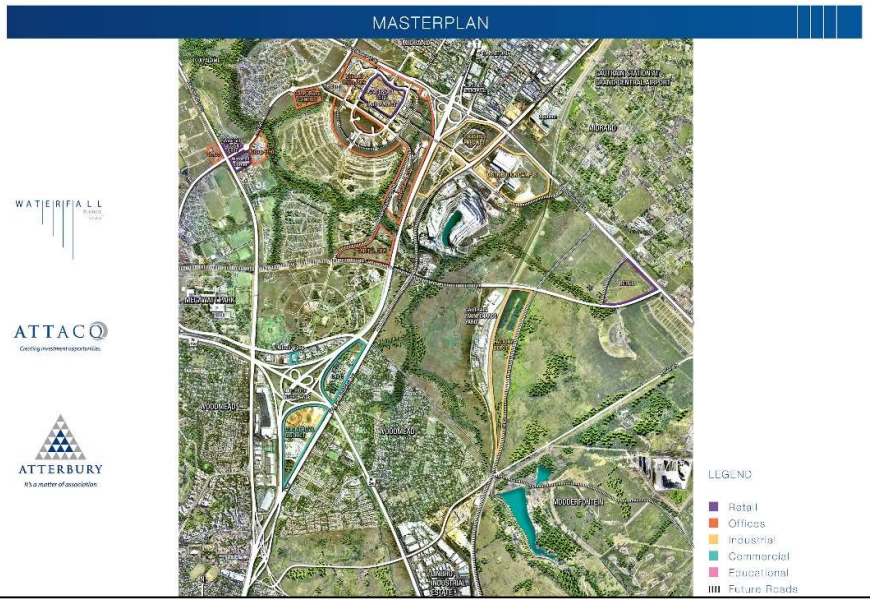


Figure 1-4: *Location of Waterfall City within Midrand.*

Waterfall city comprises of multiple sections which fulfil functions ranging from commercial to residential to amenities. Source: Google Maps, SA Commercial Prop News and Waterfall City. 2018 © adapted by Abraham Ajibade from http://www.sacommercialpropnews.co.za/property-investment/5528-waterfall-to-implement-state-of-the-art-management-system.html. http://waterfallcity.co.za/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/BGV-Masterplan-September-2014-LR-2.jpg

The real estate developers who worked on the project described its aim as the pursuit of a postindustrial, hypermodern, high-tech city that was proliferated by service industries and serviced by highly skilled workers who were able to have all of their needs (live, work and play) fulfilled within an enclave that was safe and protected (Cox, 2013). The mould of a master planned, and privately managed city is thus drawn from the ideas of cities of the future propagated by thinkers such as Ebenezer Howard, Frank Lloyd Wright, and Le Corbusier who sought to rebel against the incremental approach and posited more radical growth built from the ground up according to their specifications (Fishman, 1982; Hall, 2002).



Figure 1-5: *Location of Midrand Gautrain Station in relation to major Nodes such as Pretoria and Sandton.*

The technological advances of the Gautrain creates a scenario where one could live in Waterfall and commute to the other nodes efficiently Source: Gautrain, 2018 © adapted by Abraham Ajibade from https://www.gautrain.co.za/commuter/stationinfo?stationName=Midrand

Situated along major arterial highways such as the N1 North and Allendale Road, coupled with the fact that it is in close proximity to the Midrand Gautrain station, Waterfall City is very well situated to tap into the geographical advantages of Sandton, Pretoria and the Johannesburg central city (refer to figure 1-5). Designed as a 'city within a city', this development is poised to transform the area around it into a major commercial growth point. Thus, transforming the area into a new node for development in Midrand. The combination of the mixed-use development has not been seen in Africa let alone South Africa on a scale such as this (Murray, 2015).

Diving into Waterfall City

An account of the recent history of Waterfall City begins in June 1934 when a wealthy Muslim trader called Moosa Ismail Mia purchased the 23 km^2 property. Mia utilised his company, Witwatersrand Estates as a means through which he could procure the land as the 1932 Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure Act prevented him from owning the property. Further restrictions would be imposed on him in 1948 when the Apartheid laws prevented non-whites from owning land, to circumvent these measures he donated the property to the Waterfall Islamic Institute Trust (where his relatives acted as trustees). The property is still owned and managed by the descendants of Moosa Ismail Mia. According to Islamic law, the property is held in trust for religious purposes and cannot be sold (Murray, 2015). As a result, the developers did not own the land when they began to develop Waterfall City, it was simply leased to them for 99 years, leasehold is a form of property tenure that allows a buyer to purchase the right to occupy land for a specified amount of time from a private owner. This was a major innovation at the time as this was the first property development where developers have been able to make a profit from a development on a leased property. The banks in this instance are thus financing the development and the end user (residents) purchases on a leasehold basis (SA Commercial Prop News, 2012). The structure of the property deal at Waterfall City has therefore had an influence on the development itself, with the Trust insisting that religious principles be integrated into the codes of conduct governing the use of the properties such as a ban on retail liquor stores, nightclubs and the establishment of Jewish synagogues and Christian churches.

The ownership structure is not the only unique facet of the Waterfall City development, the property management model employed by the development ensured that every facet of the property was developed and serviced according to specification. The outcome of this was a megaproject in which each parcel of land is allocated a classification and every aspect of bulk infrastructure from the roads to electricity is provided for by a large group of property developers involved in the project such as Sanlam Properties, Investec Property Group and Growthpoint Properties. Whilst it may seem as though Waterfall city is a homogenous mass, it is in fact sub divided into fourteen different precincts which cater to families and residents at all stages of life (refer to figure 1-4). Within these precincts there are strict guidelines which ensure a coordination of design, colour and use. Thus, the master plan for this development envelops the complexity and variety of human life and provides the residents with all the facilities and amenities necessary to fulfil the promise of live, work, and play within the bounded space of the development.

These facilities include a central town square, office blocks, industrial and business parks, luxury apartments, neighbourhood shopping centres, private hospitals and health clinics, private schools and retirement villages with fully equipped gymnasiums (Murray, 2015). The price range for the private homes range from around R200 000 to luxury (multimillion rand) mansions in an upscale 120-unit Equestrian Estate (Pretoria News 2010). The real estate developers who fashioned this mega project have created an oasis for residents who seek consolidated and centralized services that are not only efficient but also aesthetically pleasing. This development seeks to pave the way to the future of integrated and sustainable urban environments (SA Commercial Prop News 2012).

1.7 Chapter Outline

This research report has been divided into five chapters, and the subsequent paragraphs contain a short summary of the contents of each chapter.

Chapter One of this study is the introductory chapter, offering a brief insight into the purpose of the study by presenting the motivation for the research into domestic workers and their experiences in exclusionary communities. This chapter prepares the foundation for the research, clearly outlining the research's aims, methods, site, rationale and the research questions and sub-questions which serve as a guide for the research's exploration into the topic.

Chapter Two of this study comprises of the literature review. This chapter introduces and contrasts the different arguments that are pertinent to discussions around gated communities and domestic workers. It explores the reasons for residents relocating to gated communities as well as the impact of those decisions on regional planning, whilst providing a foundation and providing context for further engagements with the domestic worker. It also provides a brief overview of the literature regarding urban sprawl. It unpacks the historical development of urban sprawl as well as the costs associated with this phenomenon. It presents the area in which the case study is situated and acknowledges its inherent limitations.

Chapter Three of this study contains the contextual framework. The chapter highlights the key concepts that the research seeks to explore. It builds upon the foundation of chapter two by delving deeper into the context of the domestic worker, exploring the different facets of their relationship with their employer, the impact of working in an exclusionary community as well as the effect of urban sprawl on their relationship with their family members.

Chapter Five of this study is perhaps the most crucial as it reveals the observations and challenges encountered during the implementation of the study, providing the statistical findings of the domestic workers as well as an exploration of the more qualitative findings of this study, categorising them into broad themes.

Chapter Six of this study pertains to the conclusion. This chapter delivers a summary of the main findings of the study and provides suggestions on areas for further research based on the work conducted in this study.

2 UNDERSTANDING THE PERIPHERY AND LABOUR

The purpose of this section of the study was be to review the existing literature around gated communities and domestic workers. Seeking to understand the role that the domestic worker plays In the gated community, it is important to understand the three key concepts first, before one is able to analyse the relationship between them. The section will thus seek to explore the nature of gated communities, what draws residents to occupy these spaces as well as the ramifications of such a decision. Following that, will be an exploration into the challenges of being a domestic worker. The section will then culminate in the unpacking of the historical evolutions of urban sprawl, how such developments affect planning in the city and what the repercussions of such development are.

2.1 Breaking Down the Walls of Gated Communities

the media, in urban social science, as well as in politics and urban planning, there is a lively and controversial debate on the spread of private forms of urban governance. The vigour of the discussion is not surprising given that the enclosure of urban neighbourhoods brings into sharp relief, fundamental social questions about private versus public organisation of civic goods and services, the right to a secure environment versus the right to access, communal versus individual consumption, inclusion versus exclusion, heterogeneity versus homogeneity and efficiency versus equity (McKenzie, 2006).

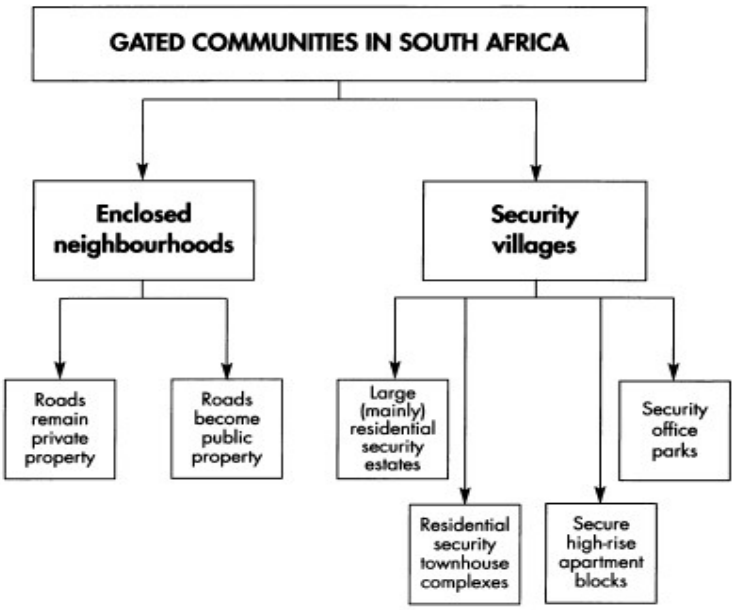


Figure 2-1: *Degrees of Separation*

(above) - Figure depicting the different forms of gated communities experienced in South Africa, providing the characteristics that define each manifestation of separation. ***Source:*** *Landman (2004)*

Residential gated communities refer to a model of housing development that has found expression in many cities around the world (Li et al., 2012). There are many (see figure 2-1), definitions of this phenomenon in literature and they come in various shapes and sizes, ranging from smaller townhouse complexes of around 40 units to more expansive settlements such as larger office parks and luxury security estates numbering into the thousands. The variety of these settlements means that they can become extremely complex settlements that are difficult to get to grips with. However, the essence of these developments is that they are residential areas, where the residents have "cut themselves off from the outside world by using a whole series of defensive means both of an architectural and of a landscaping nature" (Franz, 2006, 57). Thus turning "a potentially public space (into a) privatised, fenced off (area) controlled by access points that deny non-residents entry" (Hook and Vrdoljak, 2006, 237). The spaces around these developments are often characterised by what Franz (2006, 58) refers to as "landscaping of fear"; this term refers to the devices of security and deterrence, which intimidate and dissuade non-residents from approaching the settlements from the outside. The developments within these communities are often characterized by detached single homes with access to amenities, private infrastructure and recreational facilities such as private streets, tennis courts, club houses, landscaped gardens, internet systems, and even private police which are available to all residents and are viewed as encouraging community building (Li et al., 2012; McKenzie, 2006).

Due to the private nature and development of gated communities (Pow, 2009), a new form of governance arises, one which grants the residents more control over their space and the services that are provided to them (Dupuis & Thorns, 2008; McKenzie, 2006). Upon purchase of a home within the gated community, each homeowner is required to sign covenants, restrictions and conditions. Thus, the residents are obliged to abide by a pre-understood set of behavioural rules, the binding legal framework and the methods utilised in enforcing them result in the developments being, in principle, less vulnerable to value fluctuations unlike conventional communities, this makes privately governed communities a less risky investment (Franz, 2006). The binding of the residents within these developments to these sets of codes of conduct grants each resident a stake in the management of the gated community (Atkinson & Blandy, 2005). As a result, the facilities are jointly owned by the residents with their management often delegated to a permanently organised body such as a Home Owners' Associations (HOAs) whose authority resembles that of local governments, with the maintenance and repair of the facilities funded in perpetuity by the owners (Hook and Vrdoljak, 2006; McKenzie, 2006). Thus, the HOA becomes the instrument through which the facilities of the gated community legally become the property of the property owners. These associations are distinguishable from condominium associations which simply manage a

space because in this case, the HOA owns the common area. The Individual interest/share for each homeowner is represented by their house and the lot it occupies. This grants them a share membership in the association and thus a voting right in the organisation that owns the common area (McKenzie, 2006).

There are many different reasons why families choose to reside within gated communities, Blakely and Snyder (1997) in their book *Fortress America* developed a typology to categorize these different motivations into three major classifications namely lifestyle communities, elite communities and security zones. Within lifestyle communities, the major driving factor is the pursuit of a community where leisure activities and the associated amenities such as with golf courses and clubs within are separated and secure (Blakely & Snyder, 1997). Retirement villages, golfing estates and country club leisure developments are the most prominent examples of Gated communities within this category. The second category in the typology presented by Blakely and Snyder (1997) are Elite communities which can be distinguished from lifestyle communities by the motive harboured by the residents to occupy these gated communities in order for them to secure their social status. Therefore, in these communities the "gates symbolize distinction and prestige" and are conceptualised as developments reserved for the rich, famous or very affluent members of society who are intent on preserving their space on the social ladder (Blakely and Snyder, 1997:4; Grant & Mittelsteadt, 2004). Hook & Vrdoljak (2006, 240) explain further that the privatisation and control of public space in this instance is more of "a social statement than…a safety device". Impressive entrances and high-quality security reflect their focus on status and exclusivity (Blakely & Snyder, 1997). The final category identified by Blakely and Snyder (1997) refers to those who choose gated communities out of a fear of crime. The communities in this category are most often pre-existing communities which became equipped with "defensive fortifications". Communities in the Security zone category are driven by the desire on the part of the residents to regain control of their neighbourhood and serve the purposes of protecting their property and its market value, keeping outsiders at bay, decreasing traffic and strengthening feelings of community. Whilst the different categories of gated communities reflect the different motivation and drivers of the residents that inhabit them, Blakely and Snyder (1997) assert that all gated communities are homogenously characterised by four key social dimensions or values. These are identified as "a sense of community, or the preservation and strengthening of neighbourhood bonds; exclusion, or separation from the rest of society; privatization, or the desire to replace and internally control public services; and stability, or the need for homogeneity, predictability, and similarity" (Blakely and Snyder,1997:5). The diverse functions and characteristics of gated communities have become the centre of much debate, with the arguments in support of, and in opposition to gated communities having created a dilemma for which valid reasons exist for both.

2.2 The Quest for Security



Figure 2-2: *Fortified Settlements in Medieval Times*

(above) - Image depicting a fortified settlement. The main features of these settlements include imposing walls and guards protecting the settlements by patrolling the perimeter and remaining vigilant for intruders from vantage points. ***Source:*** *King of Wallpapers © 2012 from http://kingofwallpapers.com/fortress/img-012.php?pic=/fortress/fortress-012.jpg*

A constant facet of human civilisation has been the need for protection from external threats, to this end much of town and city building has incorporated elements that protected the cities from danger (Ellin, 2001). In the past, the principal incentive for building cities was to band together to increase the success rate for the repulsion of invaders, marauders and neighbouring states. The borders of these cities and agglomerations were characterised by imposing walls (See Figure 2-2) (Ellin, 2001). With the advent of gun powder and canons, the usefulness of these walls gradually diminished, however the idea has persisted saliently with exclusionary communities adopting the same mentality to protect themselves from crime within the larger cities (Landman 2004). Growing criminality is often described as the major or single cause of the spread of gated communities (Glasze, Webster and Frantz, 2006). As such, the motivation of residents to relocate to gated communities cannot be evaluated in isolation or removed from its contextual setting (Geniş, 2007). South Africa experiences one of the highest levels of violent crime internationally and is considered to be a dangerous place due to it been the "rape capital of the world", in the top 5 in terms of highest murder rate and in the top 20 in terms of hijacking (News24, 2014).

These statistics are difficult to effectively compare, due to the differences in the methods utilised by different countries to record crime, however the most important statistic with regards to the subject of gated communities is property crime, a statistic which represents a significant portion (25%) of total crime in South Africa, second only to contact crimes (StatsSA, 2016; Lemanski et al., 2008). In South Africa, the combination of these statistics, the fact that the police are perceived as generally ineffective at deterring crime (Durington, 2009) and the fact that the state has failed to fight crime has resulted in action being taken by the citizens (Lemanski et al., 2008). South Africans have resorted to barricading themselves behind multiple layers of home security, banding together with their communities to prevent crime by closing off their streets and investing in private security companies to protect them in ways that the police is seemingly unable to (Durington, 2009; Lemanski et al., 2008). South Africa is not the only country experiencing crime concerns, with countries like New Zealand experiencing inefficient police services (Dupuis & Thorns, 2008) and citizens of the United Kingdom citing a "concern about crime, vandalism and anti-social behaviour" (Manzi & Smith Bowers, 2005, 11) as their reason for relocating to gated communities. Retreating into Gated communities that provide a sense of security has been shown to be effective with residents claiming to feel safer protected by gates and guards (Low, 2001).



Figure 2-3: *Gated Communities in Contemporary times*

(above) - Image depicting the entrance to a gated community. The main features of the fortified settlements in medieval times have remained complete with imposing walls as well as guards protecting the community by patrolling the perimeter and remaining vigilant for intruders from vantage points. ***Source:*** *Buildesign © 2013 from http://buildesign.co.ke/are-you-really-secure-behind-your-boundary-walls-george-arabbu/*

Developers have responded to these fears by offering gated communities which include security features that were previously available only to the very affluent to the middle-class

(Blakely and Snyder 1997). These security features fall into three categories namely entry controls (for example gates and traffic barriers), Hardened perimeters (such as walls and fences) and internal surveillance (in the form of armed guards, alarms and video cameras) (Low 2003). Those who advocate for gated communities thus argue that these developments respond to the fears of the citizen unilaterally (regardless of ethnicity) provided they meet the threshold income level, offering peace of mind and security with no regard of exclusivity or privilege (Sanchez, Lang, & Dhavale, 2005). Due to the gated communities not permitting through traffic, opportunistic crime is deterred and thus these developments provide carefree environments for parents who elsewhere would have had to worry about traffic, abductions and the character of their children's playmates (Franz, 2006). Therefore, in countries with high crime rates and uncertainty, gated communities grant middle-class urban and suburban residents a sense of control over their neighbourhoods, with the visual impact of such forbidding architectural features serving as a sufficient deterrent to the criminal elements viewing the neighbourhood from the outside (McKenzie, 2006).



Figure 2-4: *The irony of the Residents perceptions of freedom in Gated Communities*

(above) - Image depicting the sense of safety that residents of gated communities feel they have purchased. The resident only feels safe and free to act as they would like once they are protected by the walls and security, but in so doing they have trapped themselves within the same walls. ***Source:*** *Andrew Singer © 2009 from http://www.funnytimes.com/cotw/cotw20021218.php*

With such an emphasis on the perceived level of crime, it would appear that the fear of crime has perpetuated the retreat into gated communities far more than actual levels of crime experienced (Lemanski et al., 2008). It has been found (Abdullah, Salleh, & Sakip, 2012) that residents in gated communities have far higher levels of paranoia and a fear of crime than those who reside in non-gated communities (See Figure 2-4), with other studies (Geniş, 2007) finding that simply residing within these developments causes residents to develop such fears. The elevated levels of fear and paranoia around the reality of crime thus forces one to seek to understand what propagates these emotions and who benefits from such intense concentrations of it. A possible explanation is explored by Durington (2009, 22) who suggests that the media plays a vital role in the proliferation of fear because it benefits financially from the advertising of gated communities. The media therefore benefits from increasing perceptions of crime as out-of-control as it supports the 'fear industry' and increases advertising. "Intense media coverage and contradicting statistics" manipulates the perception of crime by the citizen and exacerbates their fear of it, increasing their apprehension irrespective of the fluctuation of actual crime rates (Glassner, as cited in Vesselinov et al., 2007,11).Whilst the levels of crime in the country are noteworthy, there have been arguments that cite that the usage of the fear of crime as a reason for withdrawing into gated communities is a smokescreen to obscure the true fear, which is that of ethnic diversity, the reasoning behind this argument is that it has been found that the residents relocation did not in fact reduce the level of crime experienced (Low 2003).

The evidence to support the claim that gated communities decrease crime has been found to be inconclusive, leading theorists (Landman, 2000) to assert that the fortifications that gated communities pride themselves on might not actually act as a deterrent for professional criminals. Research further highlights the fact that the crime statistics that are utilised as the basis of the gated community argument are more applicable to deprived "black social groups and spaces" where crime has become highly concentrated as a legacy of the socio-spatial divisions of apartheid (Lemanski, 2004,104). Such statements do not seek to invalidate any fears that middle- and upper-income areas have concerning crime, it simply highlights the fact that the levels of actual crime experienced make the decision to relocate into gated communities seem like an extreme measure (Lemanski, 2004). It is into these neighbourhoods of fear that domestic workers are thrust, often resulting in the residents of the exclusionary community regarding them with an element of suspicion.

2.3 The Failure of the State to Provide?

A frequently cited reason for the retreat of residents into gated communities has been the dissatisfaction of citizens with the politics and the services of public municipal government, specifically ineffective and unsatisfactory service delivery as well as municipal functions (Geniş, 2007; Lemanski et al., 2008). In South Africa, the management of basic government-provided municipal services has been a cause for concern, with the provision of running water and electricity as well as refuse removal being a point of continued frustration (Burger, 2009; Vena, 2011). It has been well documented that there has been an urgent need for improved service delivery (Bekink, 2006). Therefore, the availability of gated community which allows for "private urban governance" (Dupuis & Thorns, 2008, 146) and transfers the onus and power directly into the hands of the residents through private internal bylaws created by the HOAs could prove too tempting to resist. The HOA is independent of municipal politics thus provides a pseudo government, one which is more responsive to local needs (though not without local politics) and is better able to supply services of a quality and quantity demanded by community residents (Franz, 2006; Hook & Vrdoljak, 2006).

Private Governance gives residents a sense of greater control over their area, services and facilities (Dupuis & Thorns, 2008), granting them more choice in terms of services rendered, an assurance that the services will be provided to them and "value for money" (Dupuis & Thorns, 2008, p. 146). Many services, including security and amenities are thus privatised, which turns the legal requirement to pay fees into a favourable situation where the homogeneity of the community's needs and desires results in the residents choosing their package of communal goods according to their personal preferences (Lemanski et al., 2008; Low, 2006). In this sense, private governance is seen to be more efficient and equitable as it taps into the fees contributed by the residents and eliminates the free-rider problem that is, services being used by those who do not pay for them (Foldvary,2006). Proponents of gated communities thus argue that these developments are actually a symptom of the failure of government to provide adequate services, in addition to the desire of residents to enjoy a greater amount and/or a higher quality of club goods than those provided by the government (Foldvary, 2006). Such symptoms are not solely a South African problem with citizens in countries such as Australia sharing a similar desire for private governance (Kenna, 2010).

Citizens in countries where the government has failed to provide an adequate quality and quantity of services can hardly be blamed for privatising such needs and catering to it themselves, the issue this brings to the fore however is that it exacerbates inequality. Given the context that South Africa operates within, effective and efficient service delivery is not a need unique to middle and upper-class citizens residing within gated communities, but rather one that is shared by all groups, with those residing in informal settlements perhaps needing it

the most (Burger, 2009). Internationally it has been well documented that those with lower "social and economic status" are often the individuals excluded from receiving effective and adequate services, facilities and infrastructure (Geniş, 2007, 73). Theorists such as Foldvary (2006) have argued that crucifying the residents for moving to a gated community precisely because these services were previously inadequate is misplacing the blame, instead one should focus concern away from the gated communities to where the obligation to provide adequate services lies, namely the government. Others such as Lemanski et al. (2008) have pointed out that the retreat of the residents into gated communities, and with them an exodus of high income taxes effectively cripples the government and therefore renders them unable to solve the service delivery issues that plague society, thus perpetuating a vicious cycle where services are poor, high income residents withdraw further causing service delivery to atrophy. The development of gated communities has also created additional problems for municipalities due to the fact that the encroaching of the gated communities on an increasing number of fringe spaces presents unique challenges for the management of land (Landman, 2002).

Gated communities which are enclosed not only affect public services but also serve to exclude people from public space through the "privatisation of public space" (Lemanski et al., 2008, 137). The definition of public space refers to spaces such as "streets, sidewalks, parks and plazas that are accessible and open to all people in a particular area" (Lemanski et al., 2008; 137). These spaces are considered to be privatised when they become regulated by an institution other than the municipality, institutions such as housing developments like gated communities (Vesselinov et al., 2007). Gated communities assimilate these public spaces through their introduction of physical barriers and legal stipulations, such barriers serve to exclude non-members and secure the use of the space and its services exclusively for the residents (Vesselinov et al., 2007). Theorists such as Lemanski et al (2008,135) argue that such privatisation is unconstitutional because it denies certain citizens "freedom of access" and thus serves to restrict human rights. The right to safety that the residents within gated communities cling to, thus comes at the expense of the right of non-residents to freedom and for those who service the communities such as the domestic workers, the freedom to gain access to the neighbourhood is only provided at the discretion of their employer and can be revoked at any time.

2.4 The Dark Side of Gated Communities

The phenomenon of gated communities is a complex one to unpack due to the fact that both sides hold valid sets of arguments. Those in favour of gated communities state that their desire to retreat from the world is born from a need to form a collection of homes with others of similar intention in order to create a space which serves as an extension of their homes, reshaping public spaces into "comfort zones" (Franz, 2006, 73). Those against gated communities label these created spaces as Exclusionary Communities as they are often created through the exclusion of elements that are considered undesirable, usually through the fortification of space (McKenzie, 2006). The ideology and history of the subject with separation or integration often shapes the rationalisation of the individual regarding gated communities (Grant & Rosen, 2009). In a country like South Africa with a history in which racial segregation was given physical form through segregated spaces, gated communities are viewed with a wary perspective. Thus, the issues highlighted by the Gated community debate take on a more poignant importance in South Africa, given its history. Internationally, the critiques of gated communities include the fact that they serve as a means of separating citizens and creating fragmented and unequal societies. Thus, this phenomenon is not specific to the South African context, with literature from USA and Brazil exploring similar occurrences (Caldeira 1996; Davis 1990). Caldeira (1996) attributes the emergence of these urban forms to a fear of crime and violence. She explains that these urban forms are usually fortified enclaves within which the affluent residents can exert a large degree of control over their surroundings. In South Africa, this is a division that the citizens are familiar with and thus it is considered to be resuscitating "the social divisions that were inherent in the apartheid state into the post-apartheid context" (Lemanski, 2004, 101). Durington (2009, 72) referred to the "development, construction and availability" of housing as one of the biggest obstacles to the creation of an equal society. Lemanski et al. (2008) took the argument a step further, arguing that gated communities contribute a large part to the obstruction to the creation of a fair society.



Figure 2-5: *The contrast between the rich and the poor has never been so stark*

(above) - Image depicting a gated community bordered by a struggling community. The retreat of wealthier residents into gated communities further hamstrings the local government's ability to provide services to the greater community. ***Source:*** *Silvia Celiberti © 2013 from https://www.nextnature.net/2013/04/gated-communities-in-or-out/*

Theorists that argue against gated communities firmly believe that these developments are utilised as a tool to create social and economic segregation (See Figure 2-5) (Hook & Vrdoljak, 2006). The development of gated communities could be seen to be an extension of the Neoliberalism ideology transferring the management and functions of residential areas to the private sphere thus increasing efficiency by subjecting them to market discipline and increased liberties through freedom of contract and consumer sovereignty (Beito, Gordon and Tabarrok 2002). The placement of such privatised services and infrastructure outside the realm of large scale democratic control and civil liberties is a risky endeavour however, because it leads to the possibility of abuse and conflict. Thus, the fear of crime cited by those in defence of Gated communities is argued to be a façade for more sinister reasons, namely racism and an exclusion of the other (Lemanski, 2004). Therefore, the prestige, exclusivity and elevation of social class benefits that the residents receive from residing within the development are not simply to distinguish them from their contemporaries but also from those who they see as other, granting them protection and security (Hook & Vrdoljak, 2006). In such an instance, the arguments for gated communities could be perceived to be a contrived mask, fabricated with the aim of obscuring the true reasons for living within gated communities (Hook & Vrdoljak, 2006).

2.5 Understanding the Domestic Worker

There is a growing literature on how the globalisation of paid domestic work means that hundreds of thousands of men and women from poor countries in the global south are living in a form of servitude, as part of a global care chain; those under review within this study are the domestic workers (Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2003). According to the International Labour Convention (ILO), a domestic worker is defined as any person who is engaged in domestic activities in a home in which he/she has an agreement with the resident, who serves as an employer (ILO, 2011:10). This definition applies to both full time and part time workers as well as those who are employed by multiple households. The domestic worker's living conditions are equally as flexible, with the domestic workers who live in the household of the employer (live in domestic workers) as well as those who live in their own residences (Commuting domestic workers) qualifying as domestic workers. The domestic worker does not have to be a national in the country that he/she is working in, in order to qualify as a domestic worker. In fact, it has been increasingly found that the domestic workers in most countries are migrants who have relocated to the country in search of better living prospects for themselves and their families (Lan, 2003a; Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2003). The phenomenon of the migrating domestic worker is not a new one, with different iterations revolving around the globalization and delegation of traditional female services.

In the ancient Middle East, whenever a city was defeated, the women of that city would be transported back to the city of the victors, to be enslaved, serving as household workers (Lewis, 1992). During the 16th to 19th century, a third of the African slaves brought to North America were women and children who served as domestic servants (Coquery-Vidrovitch, 1997). In 19th Century England, Irishwomen as well as rural English women often migrated to the major towns and cities in order to seek employment as domestic workers in the homes of the burgeoning upper middle class. Thus, over the course of time it can be traced that services perceived to be innately feminine such as child care and housework have never been highly lauded or as lucrative a career path, however the demand for such services often rewards those who traverse long distances to fulfil it (Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2003). The extent of such prejudice can also be attributed to the reality that women were never allowed to fully participate in the labour force, only being allowed to participate in a select few occupations that were deemed fitting (Kroska 2004).

Society has advanced in leaps and bounds since those days and with the advent of movements for women rights, women's participation in the labour force has increased dramatically over the past several decades. Today, the majority of women work in paid labour (Mwansa, 2012). Yet, there remains an element of discrepancy between the demands of domestic work from women and men. Researchers such as Walker (1999) have found that women are still the most (70%) invested in the housework done within the home. Such findings are by no means universal, a host of theorists (Coltrane, 2000; Haas, 1999; Shelton, 1999) have explored the variations within different homes and couples dividing the share of responsibilities, yet women are, for the most part, found to bear the larger share. In few other professions is that disparity more apparent than in domestic labour where there are far more female domestic workers working in the house than males (Kroska 2004).

Domestic labour in this study therefore refers to labour activities that support and sustain the daily maintenance and upkeep of a household. Such activities can be performed by a variety of agents, with multiple formats, and in different settings. In cases where domestic workers are required, the family members, mostly female, still perform some of the household chores and caring labour themselves but there is a transfer of the other aspects of domestic labour to the market economy (Lan, 2003a). With these different arrangements of domestic work come different forms of compensation depending on the standpoint of the individual providing the service. Unpaid labour provided by family members (usually females) is regarded as a labour of love, with the reward for such labour being of an emotional nature derived from cultural values of womanhood, domesticity and motherhood, whilst the reward for domestic service provided by a non-family member is often in the form of wages in order to compensate them for diverting care from their own families (Hays 1996; Palmer 1989). Women with families on the upper end of the income spectrum can therefore afford to outsource their domestic responsibilities to the market. However, there is a delicate balance to be struck as these affluent women must carefully calculate how much of the responsibility can be delegated to commercial agents without being viewed by society as neglecting their responsibilities entirely or stand the risk of losing their status as the "the lady of the house" (Kaplan, 1987, 23). The benefits of delegating the domestic responsibilities include perks such as the financially privileged women enjoying the emotional value of motherhood without a significant portion of the chores attached to it, making these women more like "mother-managers" (Katz Rothman, 1989, 73). The women who are providing paid domestic services on the other hand are forced to neglect their domestic responsibilities to their family in order to receive monetary rewards to provide for their families. The result of such a decision is often the fact that these mother-domestics struggle to maintain family bonds and reap the full emotional value of motherhood with unpaid or underpaid assistance often required from their extended kin.

Mother-domestics often do not possess the resources to organize their own household labour and cannot delve into the market form of domestic service as easily as their employer counterparts can (Lan, 2003a). This leads to an interesting dynamic where those on the upper end of the scale do not perform all the domestic tasks within their households, whilst those on the lower end of the scale also do not spend all of their time on their family's domestic tasks. These challenges and more are what have caused domestic work to be regarded as a stigmatized and second-class job, with numerous studies (Broom and Smith 1963; McBride 1976; Katzman 1981, Glenn 1986) being conducted to ascertain the extent of upward mobility for not only the mother-domestic workers but their children as well.

2.6 Brief History of Domestic Workers in South Africa

The Apartheid regime was brutal and oppressive for many demographics, but none more so than the African woman. The vast array of policies and regulation implemented by the Apartheid government governing the living areas and conditions of non-whites, made life more difficult for African women far more than any other groups (Ginsberg, 2000). African women found themselves in the peculiar situation of being disadvantaged by discriminatory laws as well as being restricted as a result of their gender. The amplified effect of the Apartheid policies for these women was that it resulted in the women becoming disadvantaged regardless of whether they were in the city, white farms or rural African villages. Thus, both the legal and social structures within which they were operating served to hamper their development and necessitated their dependence on paternal figures for housing and support, resulting in African women having fewer choices and relatively little autonomy in deciding where and how to live (Ginsberg, 2000). Examples of legislation that served to disadvantage African women include the Masters and Servants Act (No. 15 of 1856), this piece of legislation was reworked by the Apartheid government from old colonial legislation to grant the rights of employers more weight than those of their domestic workers (Burman & van der Spuy, 1998). Due to the fact that the profession of waged domestic labour is often comprised of women who are "marginalized" and come from "disadvantaged backgrounds", this sector of employment serves as a nexus where issues of race, class and gender are intertwined (Jacobs, et al., 2013, 280; King, 2007). Thus, it stands to reason that when combined with legislation such as the Masters and Servants Act (No. 15 of 1856), domestic worker were more vulnerable to exploitation and abuse, but as black women they lacked the legal capacity and employment alternatives to resist such oppression (Cock, 1989).

Naidoo (1986) explains further that the Apartheid legislation and cultural customs prevalent during that time ensured that black women were not only legally but socially confined to a lesser position, effectively mandating that they remained beneath the guardianship of a male relative or their employers. The prevalent ideology of the time, driven by the Apartheid system of racial stratification and manufactured white supremacy was replicated and reinforced in the domestic setting through the position of the black domestic worker as subservient and the white employer as the dominant figure (Burman and van der Spuy, 1998; Durrheim, Jacobs & Dixon, 2013). Fish (2006, 108) further states that this process of reinforcing these roles thus utilised domestic labour as a vehicle to "ideologically and materially reproduce apartheid" whilst maintaining the lifestyles and status of middle to upper class white South Africans (King, 2007).

Being a domestic worker during the Apartheid era often meant that one would have to endure poor living and working conditions with most domestic workers being "live-in" maids (Fredman, 2014). The demands of being a live in domestic worker often involves been responsible for household maintenance as well as caring for the employer's elderly relatives, children or pets (Ginsberg, 1999). Due to the large volume of the labour force, job security was usually poor, domestic workers did not have any benefits attached to the job, their wages were low, and their working hours were long (Jacobs, et al., 2013). The working conditions of the domestic workers were sub-standard, even when the workers resided on the property, food was often rationed and of a poor quality. The domestic workers were often victims of verbal and physical abuse, and the accommodation provided for the domestic workers was often poorly furnished and without electricity (Ginsberg, 2000). Several studies have found that "parasitic" level of control and treatment of the domestic worker by the employer was a way through which the employer elevated their status within the household (Cock, 1989; Fish, 2006; Goldman, 2003, 76; Gregson & Lowe, 2005). In the past, the status of the woman in the house was reinforced by her participation in household labour, with the advent of waged labour in the form of domestic workers, that affirmation was no longer credible, as a result it led to the woman perceiving her position in the household as under threat and requiring her to reassert her dominance within the household (Naidoo, 1986). In order to reassert this dominance, the white 'madams' of the Apartheid era utilised symbols of servitude in order to maintain a different social grouping as well as a hierarchy in the household, with the madam and her family, above the domestic workers (Ginsberg, 1999).

The symbols of servitude include demands that the domestic worker may not converse in her mother tongue, the domestic worker's obligation to wear a uniform whilst on duty, a homogenisation of all domestic workers names to "the girl", insisting that the domestic worker only refer to her employers as 'master' and 'madam', and requiring the domestic worker to utilize "servants only" cutlery, plates and toilets (Ginsberg, 1999; van der Merwe, 2009).

The dynamic between the domestic worker and her employer were often complex and confusing, Goldman (2003, 76) described this fluctuating dynamic as social distancing and attributed this to the fact that the relationship between the domestic worker and her employer was based on a "series of contradictions". The contradictions stemmed from the fact that the power dynamics and the position of the domestic worker within the home was incongruent, the domestic worker was simultaneously an "intimate family member" as well as an "interloper" who was able to observe the daily lives of her employers silently and invisibly, only stepping forward to participate at the explicit request of her employer (Goldman, 2003, 77). Such a paradox thus becomes a breeding ground for conflicting feelings such as trust and mistrust, dependency and depersonalisation (See Figure 2.6) as well as actions on the part of the employer that ranged from paternalistic to exploitative (Chen, 2011; Ginsberg, 1999).



Figure 2-6: *The Daily challenges of Domestic Workers captured in a cartoon*

(above) - Image depicting the satirical cartoon strip 'Madam and Eve' was successful because of its caricatures based upon the paradoxical relationship between a suspicious Madam and a calculating maid who ultimately held genuine feelings of affection towards each other. ***Source:*** *e-tv © 2017 from http://www.etv.co.za/show/comedy/madam-eve-iii*

The treatment of domestic workers by their madams has drawn comparisons with the way children are treated, thus researchers have termed the relationship between employers and their domestic workers as paternalistic or maternalistic (Ally, 2009; Cock, 1989; Jacobs, et al., 2013; King, 2007). King (2007 citing Rollins, 1985) was decisively in favour of advocating the use of the term 'maternalism' to describe how emotionally complicated the relationship between the domestic worker and his/her madam is, as the madam often utilises kindness and fictive kinship to coerce the domestic worker into placing the employer's family at a higher level of priority than their own family. Thus, in the literature there is a fair amount of evidence which indicates that certain employers view the domestic worker as an entity in need of supervision and control (Ally, 2009; Cock, 1989; Mwansa, 2012). Employers utilizing this paradigm reason that the domestic worker is unable to make the correct choices and as such the employer must make the correct choices on their behalf. This approach usually forms the foundation for the domestic worker developing a nature of indebtedness to the employer and encourages the employer to encroach further and further into the domestic worker's private life. Such findings however do not discredit the possibility that the domestic worker is not the victim in the exchange but rather stands to gain. Theorists such as Ally (2009) and Cock (1989) have noted that in some cases the domestic worker utilises the maternalistic projections of their employer to secure personal benefits and improved living conditions for themselves. King (2007, 53) goes further to discern that such situations in which the employer provides benefits to the employee can be more appropriately termed "patronage". With the advent of democracy and the introduction of new labour laws, there were certain sections of white employers who consciously strove to reshape their engagements and relationships to their employees, seeing them as people with rights rather than expendable servants (Ally, 2007).

2.7 To Spread or Not to Spread

Historically cities, especially their central business networks (CBD), served as the nexus where consumers and businesses were able to interact within a demarcated physical space. The localisation of these exchanges meant that the distance that a customer would have to travel to procure the goods they desired was reduced (Dupuis & Thorns, 2008). This arrangement was profitable for both parties as the businesses would also save on transportation costs, resulting in higher profit margins. The advent of the car changed the landscape of city living as the distances that the consumers could travel became significantly higher, resulting in more and more families moving to the edge of the city, continually expanding the city's limit, this is referred to as urban sprawl (Glaeser & Kahn 2003). It is therefore no surprise that over the past century, urban growth has been synonymous with urban sprawl. From the 19th century, people and jobs migrated from the high density, public transport cities to the lower density car-based cities by the end of the 20th century, pushing the city's boundaries further. The compact characteristics of cities in the 19th century was replaced by the prolific development of malls, office parks and houses on larger tracts of land further away from the city's CBD (Kenna, 2010). Initially people retained their jobs in the city and relocated to the sprawling suburbs, but soon afterwards the jobs followed the people and now major metropolitan areas are characterized by decentralized homes and decentralized jobs (Glaeser & Kahn 2003).

Sassen (1994) explored the different views on the impact of such decentralisation, stating that on the one hand, such decentralisation was inevitable as cities have outlived their usefulness with the continued expansion of information technology. The growth of information technology has facilitated the opportunity for dispersal of people as communication between people has shifted to virtual networks which do not require the physical presence of all participants. Despite these breakthroughs in technology, face to face contact is still vital for human development and economic growth. As advanced as these offices have become, they are still dependent on high mobility, core city services and contacts, thus the city becomes the hub for the communications networks that such dispersal relies upon. Theorists (Berrigan & Troiano, 2002, 23. Newman & Kenworthy, 1991. Frank, 2000) have utilised different definitions for sprawl but they all agree upon the basic principle that it is characterised by low residential density, low employment density, low "connectivity," and is associated with less walking and bicycling and with more automobile travel than denser communities.

With a large section of the population transitioning to this form of living, it was to be expected that this would have an impact on our environment resulting in ramifications for the health of the citizens, both positive and negative (Frumkin, 2002). The purpose of this segment will be to explore the transition from compact cities to decentralised cities, focusing on understanding what propagates these developments on the fringes as well as its repercussions.

2.8 Living on the Edge: The Development of Cities on the Fringes

Development on the fringes of the city is not necessarily the biggest cause for concern when it comes to these developments, the issue arises from the fact that a common characteristic of what has been termed as "urban sprawl" is the fact that these developments tend to "leapfrog" in a low-density pattern in the fringes (Frumkin, 2002, 42). "Leapfrog" in this contact refers to the tendency of the residents to develop on large plots according to their choosing, with these developments often to the detriment of the context of the site as a whole. Theorists such as Hall (2000, 78) have criticised these developments, which he refers to as "Edge cities" because of the vast expanses of land that they occupy. He criticizes the use of land by the "Edge cities" on the basis of the "leapfrog effect" which causes these developments to be both spatially wasteful and impossible to navigate without the aid of private vehicles which leads to issues around congestion. At the most fundamental level, he finds the design of these developments to be flawed as the different land uses such as housing, retail stores and industries are constructed in silos, separate from one another which necessitates the construction of extensive road systems to connect and service the development. Such a structure leads to problematic lifestyle decisions for the residents as the most basic tasks such as purchasing a newspaper or milk requires the use of automobile transport (Garreau,1991). The construction of these developments is not only problematic for the residents but also for regional planning and co-ordination, which would need to be strong within the metropolitan if it is to avoid the decline of other areas as a result of the shift of economic opportunities and capital investment (Bullard et al., 2002). Theorists (Griffiths & Prozesky, 2010; Slavova & Okwechime, 2016) have noted with concern that whilst decentralization policies and new public management initiatives have been studied in western examples, and solutions drawn for the African context that apply to the domestic representations of urban sprawl, these interventions and reforms have not been effectively translated into the African setting.

Two key tenets underpin the understanding of "urban sprawl" as a phenomenon. The first is decentralisation which pertains to the process through which employment and population is spread out within a metropolitan area. The second relates to density which places greater emphasis on the degree to which employment and population is concentrated in the different areas within the Metro (Mills & Lubuele, 1991). As discussed above, whilst the CBD served as the nexus of interchange, it was more profitable for businesses to remain in close proximity, but the advent of the private vehicle resulted in a change in transportation costs influencing the degree of urban sprawl.

There are two models that help explain this phenomenon, the first is the classic monocentric model which dictates that as the cost of transportation falls, the edge of the city expands resulting in a higher land area being consumed (Glaeser & Kahn, 2003). The second model is the polycentric model which explains that the change from public to private modes of transportation drastically reduces the fixed costs of opening new employment centres in remote locations. The reason for this is that the development of infrastructure for public transportation such as the buses, the road networks as well as the bus shelters require a huge amount of fixed costs which make the employment centres unfeasible. The costs of these remote employment centres are thus internalised by the residents who utilise their own private transport, invalidating the need to provide public transport in these areas, reducing infrastructure costs overall (Glaeser & Kahn, 2003). The Importance for this study at the heart of these models is the fact that the ultimate driver of decentralization is the private automobile and the whilst the cost has been internalised by the residents, the impact on those who service these developments has yet to be fully understood.

2.9 Social Cost of Urban Sprawl

During the industrial revolution, residents fled from the city due to the poor living conditions, not least of which were issues like overcrowding, ill health and squalor. This exodus galvanised the city to improve upon the standard of housing and public amenities available within the city, but these interventions have come too little too late as the neighbourhoods in urban areas have become too physically dispersed and too socially polarized. Such dispersion often has a negative impact on the communities as the flight of the more affluent members results in marginalized communities with little financial power to tackle negative conditions as cities need a mixture of people with different economic capabilities in order to thrive (Power,2001). The allure of well planned, well-designed, well-managed city neighbourhoods is too tempting to resist for many residents, they would rather relocate to such neighbourhoods than live in the city neighbourhoods which often fall prey to crime and lack quality core services. The repercussions of such dispersion are that as the residents disperse further away from the city, the flow of traffic through and around cities becomes significantly greater (Frumkin, 2002). The purpose of this section is to discuss the ramification of sprawl on the city given that it can often prove to be a deterrent to city's quality of life.

The first ill that plagues a city's quality as a result of sprawl is the fact that sprawl encourages the use of private automobiles and requires the residents to drive in order to complete even the most basic of tasks. Brueckner et al. (1999) argues that those who develop on the edges of cities do not fully internalize the cost of their action as it causes traffic congestion which represents a market failure for these edge cities. Kennedy & Bates (1989) proved that there is a well-established and direct relationship between lower density development and more automobile travel. The allure of private automobiles is that they offer personal mobility and independence, the cost of these benefits however lies in the fact that automobile usage is also associated with traffic congestion leading to health hazards such as air pollution, noise pollution, motor vehicle crashes, pedestrian injuries and fatalities (Frumkin, 2002). In the African context, urban sprawl exacerbates and highlights the lack of infrastructure planning and investment, compounding urban mobility challenges (Paeth et al, 2009).

The second category of ills that plague the city due to urban sprawl are the environmental consequences. Urban sprawl results in the elimination of empty space at the edge of the city (Brueckner, 2000). New suburban houses developed on the edge of the city often offer better conditions but occupy space in areas that were previously green spaces such as farmlands or forests. The environmental costs of such a transformation are dire as it results in the conversion of the surface from soil and vegetation to hard roads which expands the urban heat island effect (Frank & Pivo, 1995).

Other environmental effects of sprawl include the loss of wild life, threats to water quantity and quality as the developments cause damage to drainage and water courses, air and ground pollution and increased levels of energy usage (Power,2001). Direct environmental repercussions of the increased use of automobiles are increased levels of car-related air pollution and increased greenhouse gas production. The most dangerous of the greenhouse gasses being emitted is carbon dioxide, the end product of burning fossil fuels such as gasoline, which accounts for over 80% of global warming potential (Frumkin, 2002). Increased driving has played a role in the global warming phenomenon as research (See Newman & Kenworthy (1998) and Kahn (2000) has found that as people drive more, and cities become more sprawled, those cities experience higher levels of air pollution than their higher density counterparts. Climate change as a result of urban sprawl is thus a threat to human health in a number of ways, such as the direct effects of heat and a higher exposure to air pollutants and infectious diseases (Epstein, 2000, Patz et al. 2001).

The third and final category of ills that plague the city as a result of urban sprawl relate to the social ill consequences of urban sprawl. These social ills arise from the fact that developers do not pay for the full costs of their decisions to develop on the edge of the city. The developers are solely responsible for creating a product and the infrastructure that facilitates its use by the residents; however, they are not mandated to cater to the infrastructure that links it to the rest of the city. This gap is what allows the wealthy to find it easier to take advantage of the new edge cities than the poor. Glaeser, Kahn and Rappaport (2000) argue that the general typology in most cities in the USA; is that the poor live downtown or closer to the CBD whilst the rich live in suburbs.

Gin and Sonstelie (1983) illustrate this link by arguing that transportation plays a crucial role in explaining this segregation. They argue that the separation of the classes is compounded by the fact that due to cars being so expensive, the poor are more likely to live in cities or closer to the CBD so as to benefit from public transportation. Glaeser, Kahn and Rappaport (2000) further support this theory by illustrating the relationship between poverty rates and public transit stops, with the poverty rates higher the closer one is to a public transit node. The automobile has led to the suburbanization of the wealthy as it allows them to access the edge cities which are far away from public transit nodes. Whilst theorists such as Jacobs et al. (2013) and Sietchiping et al. (2012) have called for urban mobility systems to be redeveloped with a greater focus on the wellbeing of the poor, other important questions to reflect upon include whether urban sprawl creates or propagates the segregation of rich and poor, racial segregation and social isolation more generally.

2.10 Lessons Derived from the Literature

The purpose of this section was to review the literature around urban sprawl, gated communities, those who reside within them as well as the domestic workers who service these developments. It was discovered that the major reasons why residents of gated communities retreated into these spaces was out of a fear of crime, a perceived failure of the government to provide for their needs as well as a general exclusion of the other. The literature revealed that historically the different iterations of the domestic worker has always been marginalized and a requirement of the job almost always entailed the sacrifice of their own family. In South Africa, the distancing of the domestic worker from their family took on a legislative form as the law prevented the families of domestic workers being in the same areas as live in domestic workers. With the advent of technology such as the car, it has become possible for people to live increasingly further from their place of employment, the literature showed that developments have tended to occur in large tracts in areas that were previously low density. The drawback of these developments is that the developments create an unsustainable commuting pattern for the residents as well as weaken the municipality's ability to provide cohesive utilities to its inhabitants. The amalgamation of these factors results in a situation where a historically marginalized entity such as the domestic worker is still subject to alienation from their family when they work in these communities on the periphery and they operate within a space which thrives on its ability to exclude the other. The literature surrounding these dynamics will be further explored in the subsequent conceptual framework chapter.

3 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

With an understanding of the historical conditions that influence the context of domestic workers both internationally as well domestically and the effect of sprawl on regional planning and coordination, the next section proceeds to unpack literature regarding the deeper underlying influences and effects of domestic workers working in gated communities.

3.1 Key Conceptual Diagram

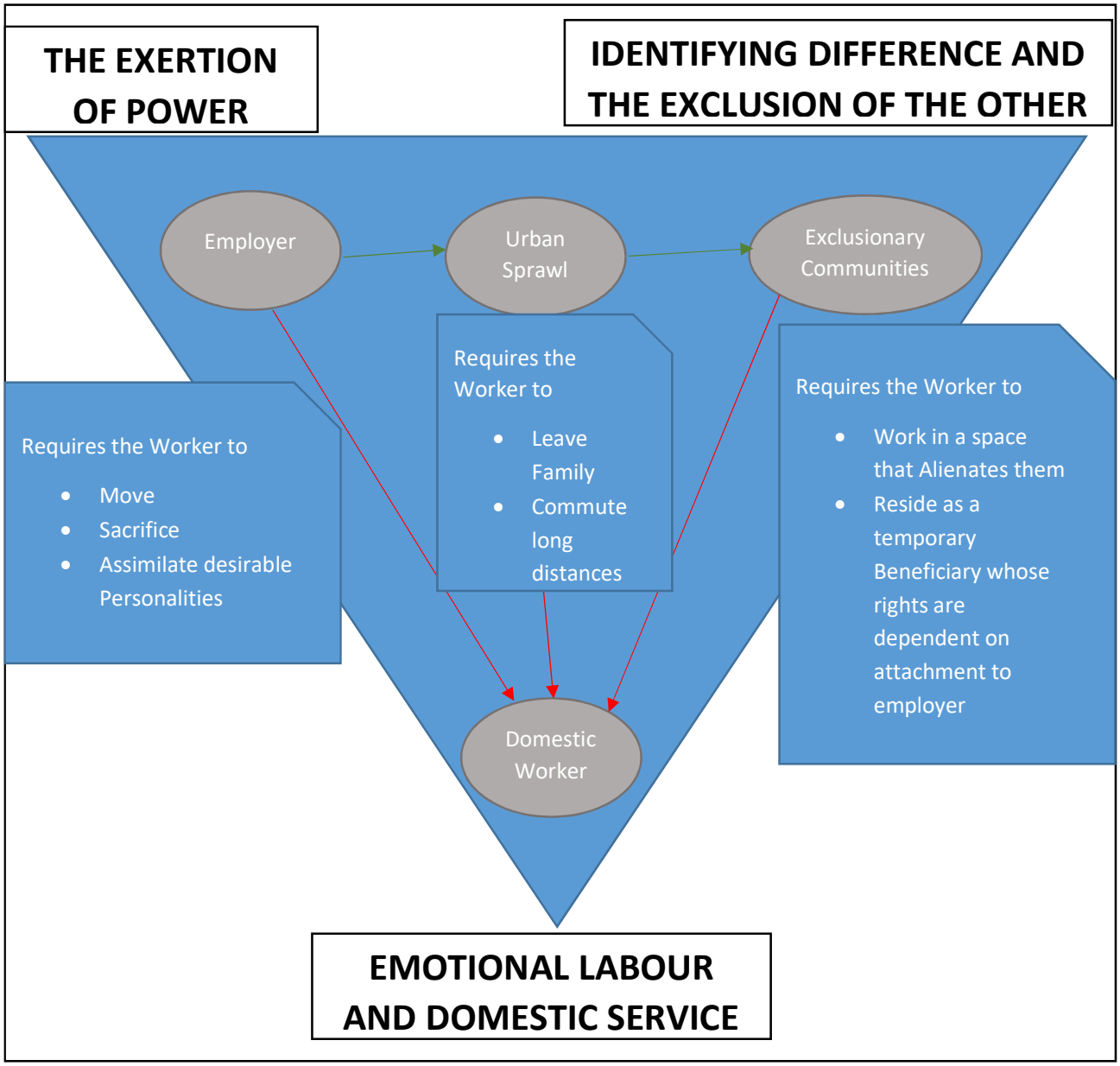


Figure 3-1: *Interplay Between the Key Themes*

(above) - Diagram depicting the Conceptual framework, exploring the relationship between the key themes of the study
Source: *Abraham Ajibade*

The purpose of this research report is to gain an understanding of how the socioeconomic effects of urban sprawl accrue to workers in Exclusionary Communities. The effects of commuting from the periphery to the city affect all who interact with these Exclusionary Upscale Communities. In addition to the socio-economic impact, the power dynamics and relations between the employers and the workers culminate in a unique and delicate situation that workers have to deal with on a daily basis. The purpose of this research report is to document how these challenges affect the workers and how the workers deal with and handle these issues.

3.2 Nature of dependence on Employer (Power)

The concept of the social reproduction of power is defined by Bakker (2003, 32) as processes involved in the maintaining and reproducing of people, most notably the labouring population, in order to ensure that their labour power is secure on a daily and generational basis. Thus, processes that fall into this category include the provision of food, clothing, shelter, basic safety and health care as well as the development and transmission of knowledge, social values and cultural practices, all of which are critical in the construction of individual and collective identities. The vast majority of the processes listed within this category now fall under the jurisdiction of many domestic workers, with the live-in domestic workers occupying this sphere to a larger extent due to the level of influence they have over the children left in their care whilst their parents are at work for the majority of the day (Mwansa, 2012). The context of the domestic worker is explained within the Marxian concept of social reproduction of power because the domestic worker is paid a wage and is therefore a wage labourer; however, the domestic worker is not fully compensated for the value that they produce, as a result the surplus value of the domestic worker's work is accrued unto their employer. Theorists such as Cock (1980) have argued that domestic workers play a critical role in the reproduction of labour due to their indirect production of surplus value for capital. Further studies (Huber and Spitze, 1983; Bezanson and Luxton, 2006) have explored how the concept of social reproduction complements and enhances the debates around domestic labour and the economic role of women within capitalist societies. Explored through that lens, one begins to gain an understanding of how different institutions namely the market, the state and the family interact and cooperate with one another in order to ensure that the work required by the social reproduction of power is completed.

Seeking to understand the effects that saliently acts upon the domestic worker as a result of the relationship they develop with their employer, an effect that is important to consider is the emotional labour that domestic worker is more susceptible to provide due to the personal nature of the work they perform. James (1989) defines emotional labour as the labour involved in dealing with other peoples' feelings, more specifically the regulation and monitoring of such feelings. He argues that the moderation of feelings is a central facet of capital and paid work, especially domestic work as the forms that it takes in the domestic setting often leave the domestic workers subordinated, unskilled and stigmatised. Thus, studies of the home as a workplace can be a prime location i to observe how emotions are managed and what the significance of such management is in the social reproduction of labour power (James, 1989).

Studies (See Rollins, 1993 and Romero, 1987) have shown that domestic workers, from the colonial era to date, have often been exploited in their conditions of service due to the fact that the confined nature of domestic service in the home serves as a climate for the extraction of what Cock (1980:29), deems as surplus labour, referring to the emotional labour that domestic workers provide. The reason why domestic workers are more susceptible to this form of exploitation is because domestic workers are often recruited based on the amenity of their personality to following instruction as well as their inclination to defer to their employer's authority, these characteristics are seen to be the overriding skill requirements for employment. Mwansa (2012) found in a study that the majority of domestic workers in Lusaka had no housework training prior to being employed and as a result they only received their training on the job from their employer. This resulted in the domestic workers often feeling obliged to demonstrate loyalty to their employer in order to secure privileges such as food and visitation whilst on the job. This form of labour can often be exploitative due to the fact that it does not necessarily acknowledge the explicit skills of the individual worker but rather seeks a generic mould of people who are willing to behave in a manner befitting a domestic worker (Mwansa, 2012).

3.2.1 Emotional Labour as a Tool

Hochschild (1983) defined emotional labour as the process that an individual undergoes whilst working for an organization or entity, whereby they deliberately alter and manage their emotions so as to align with not only social and cultural norms that dictate how they should behave, but also the behavioural rules set down by their employer. In order for one's feelings and expressions to match the expectation of their employers, emotional labour requires the worker to supress their personal emotions so as to maintain the outward appearance so highly valued and appeasing to their employer (Hochschild, 2003).

Emotional labour can therefore be performed in two ways; the first is "surface acting" which refers to the scenario where the worker feigns a display of the required emotion in order to align with the expectations of those they are delivering the service to. The second form of emotional labour is deep action which describes the situation where the worker becomes committed to the service they provide to the extent that they actively seek to develop the feelings and emotions required of them by their employers in order to express these emotions as authentically as possible. Regardless of which form of emotional labour is provided by the worker, both forms have been found to have negative consequences on the worker (Hochschild, 2003, 57).

Emotional labour is crucial to understanding the dynamics between employer and employee because this concept often forms the basis of the criteria that employers seek when employing a domestic worker. Cock (1980) explored this concept, explaining that employers often expect domestic workers to behave in a certain manner whilst at work, and this behavioural pattern often results in the employees developing a deep connection to their employer, resulting in a situation where the domestic worker is bound to an employer that not only extracts labour from them but also purchases their emotions at the same cost. Theorists such as King (2007) have built upon the applicability of emotional labour to domestic workers by emphasizing three aspects that serve to amplify its effect on domestic worker. The first is the face to face interaction that fosters personal connections, the second is the emotional state of gratitude that the domestic worker feels towards their employer, and the final aspect is the element of control that the employer wields over the domestic worker due to the training and supervision they provide. Thus, the emotional labour provided by the domestic workers to their employers, results in the domestic worker showing gratitude to the employer for providing them with employment. The effect of such gratitude is therefore that the domestic worker is taken in and accepted as "part of the family" and treated in much the same way as other dependents would be treated within the home.

The dangers of this form of emotional labour where the domestic worker is a paid employee, yet they are unable to reveal their true emotions because they are "part of the family" will be explored in further detail later in this chapter but not least amongst them is the fact that upon the termination of the contract, the domestic worker often does not receive their full severance pay due to the fact that the employer often includes the food, clothes and privileges previously received as part of their compensation. Hochschild (2003) further elucidated upon the concept of emotional labour being a commodity purchased by the employer by arguing that another facet of this exchange is that the employer's requirements often dictates how the domestic worker is expected to feel and think. This is achieved through the alienation of the domestic worker from the work they perform.

Mwansa (2012) in a study found that employers typically classify a "good" domestic worker, not by the individual characteristics that they possess but rather according to the domestic worker's willingness to abide by the employer's rules and regulations as well as their inclination not to question the employer's authority or directives, due to the fact that they are the ones who pay their salary. It is however important to note that this is does not apply to all domestic workers as the very same study found that there were domestic workers who enjoyed their work and found domestic work to be rewarding. Thus, emotional labour would not apply to these domestic workers as they are motivated by a natural inclination to perform their duties as opposed to surface acting or deep acting. This line of criticism has been levied against Hochschild's (1983) work by theorists such as Shuler (2000) who argued that Hochshild placed too much emphasis on the negative effects of emotional labour, Shuler's work demonstrated that in certain cases domestic workers pursued emotional labour because they found it rewarding. Whilst the researcher does acknowledge that such scenarios are possible, one finds that more often than not, the pursuit of emotional labour is not the case and the domestic workers are driven to perform domestic service as a result of circumstance as opposed to a natural inclination. As a result, this report will be conducted utilizing Hochshild's frame of reference.

3.2.2 Interaction between Employer and Employee

The first aspect of the dependency of domestic workers to their employers to be explored is with regards to their interaction with their employers and the different permutations that such engagements have. The starting point of such exploration is based on a prediction that Lewis Cosner (1974) made, predicting that the domestic servant occupation would become obsolete and no longer relevant to modern society. The reasoning behind his prediction was his assertion that the function performed by domestic workers proffered onto them an ascribed status of being "one of the family" yet they would never be able to be fully assimilated into the family because the status was conditional upon the continued employment of the worker. As a result, he predicted that in the future employers would seek more detached service from those performing non-specialized menial tasks and seek universalistic relations between employer and servant (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994). Coser's prediction of domestic service becoming irrelevant was never fulfilled, however the profession underwent shift that resulted in partial fulfilment of the future he envisioned. Studies have documented how the employers were able to maintain the domestic workers whilst achieving a decline in highly personalized and particularistic relations by shifting the majority of domestic work from live in employment to day work (Katzman 1981; Clark-Lewis 1983, 1985; Romero 1987, 1988a).

Such a shift was successful because the day workers were now able to maintain family relations and social ties with others outside of the employer's family, thus reducing the probability of the worker becoming absorbed into the family ideology and seeing themselves as "one of the family" (Young 1987).

The state of the relationship between worker and employer is important because the worker becoming assimilated means they are further estranged from their original family, never being able to fully occupy one realm or the other. Young (1987) compares this dependent paternalistic relationship that a worker has with their employer with the relationship that serfs had with their lords in feudal times. It creates a situation within which the position of the worker or serf within the patron family, as the least powerful and most temporary member, will always be insecure and vulnerable because their relationship with their employer or lord is based upon market values as opposed to true familial bonds. Much like a serf building upon a lord's domain, any investment made by the worker (in terms of emotional value and familial bonds created) is lost once they leave. The perpetuation of such a situation means that the socioeconomic reality of the worker is masked by their position within the family, mistaking a market exchange as a deeper connection. Whilst within the family the worker's position is obscured by the familial ideology of dependence and paternalism, however once the worker is outside of the patron's sphere of influence, their social insecurity comes sharply back into focus. Such a constantly undulating state of flux highlights the duality and contradiction of a domestic worker's situation, the family (in this case the patron family) which is ideally a haven to offer protection and security is the main contributing cause of their insecurity and volatility because once the market relationship has elapsed, so too will the protection and familial security, offered by the patron family (Young, 1987).

Cock (1980) argues that the reason why domestic workers operate within such a complex set of social constraints is as a result of the power dynamic that govern the relations between the employer and the worker. These social constraints whilst operating saliently, ensures that the domestic workers and their employers are not free and equal participants in the interaction. The reason for this is that the general structures that govern society have created a situation in which the distribution of power and resources allocated to each party in the transaction determines the hierarchy and sway of each participant. In addition to the structural divisions of power between employer and employee, Rollins (1993) advances the notion that ego and systematic psychology induces the employers to seek workers with personality traits that make them more amenable and pliable. These personality traits enforce within the mind of the worker, their inferiority which provides the employer with a psychological advantage with regards to wages and authority. Studies have shown that employers who choose older domestic workers are likely to experience difficulty whilst attempting to supervise due to the age aspect (Mwansa, 2012).

Culturally it is seen to be rude and impolite for a younger person to chastise or speak harshly to an older person, thus such societal norms clashes with the employer/worker dynamic because the employer is not able to exert their situational advantage as easily. As a result, the employer is aided by structural power dynamics because it allows them to select the attributes that appeal to them and discard those who do not fall within their criteria. Finally, King (2007) further sheds some light on the construction of difference between the employer and the worker, is that the employer derives an affirmation of self and their status through the subordination of the "other". He further explains that the dominance of the employer is mitigated or downplayed through kindness shown to the worker. Thus, gaining additional leverage through emotional pressure, feigning equality to mask the market forces that entrench the gap between the two parties.

The distinguishing of employer and worker is so deeply entrenched in Lusaka, Zambia that the domestic workers in Lusaka view themselves to a large extent as a socially different class of humans that cannot be equated to the classes of their employers in a sort of "us" and "them" stereotype which inhibits the ability for more effective industrial relations communication (Mwansa, 2012).

3.3 The Distant Provider (Urban Sprawl)

By virtue of being a member of society, societal roles are often attached to each individual depending on their characteristics, for a woman that role would be to be engaged in the forms of work that are classified as women's work or domestic work in one capacity or the other. In the past Domestic work was often unpaid labour completed by the women within their private households, but the advent of the domestic worker reshaped the landscape and resulted in an overlap between the private domain and the market domain (Folbre, 1991). Thus, this overlap created a new frontier for women since what was once considered to be an unpaid function and was hitherto an intangible quality, their emotional value, now held monetary value. The development of this frontier providing economic compensation for emotional value within the private home therefore became an attraction for women in rural areas (Folbre, 1991). The allure of this frontier has been documented to not only draw from the women within the country but also from across borders, resulting in the flow of female labour moving not only from rural to urban but also from poorer countries to richer ones (Lan, 2003a). The increasing migration of millions of women from poor countries to rich ones where they serve as domestic worker has been supplemented by the fact that the women in the richer countries, sometimes due to the absence of male partners, have had to venture into "tough male world" careers at the cost of outsourcing the care of their children, elderly parents, and homes to domestic workers (Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2003, 40).

This has resulted in a facet of ongoing migration trends being women from poorer areas migrating to do the "women's work" of the wealthier women in the richer areas who are no longer able or willing to do "mother-work" (Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2003, 42). A consequence of such migration is that it leaves a vacuum in the rural areas, as the children of the women who migrated to the urban centres are left in the care of grandmothers, sisters, and sisters-in-law. So great is the vacuum at times, that an elder sibling is often drawn out of school in order to care for their younger siblings (Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2003). The scenario that thus develops is that through the recruitment of the domestic worker to handle the household tasks, the employers are therefore able to devote themselves to their careers and vocations whilst their children are cared for, but the children of the domestic worker are unable to receive the full level of care from their mother.

The home is said to be a microcosm of global issues, and in this case the issue at play is the continued inequality that such an arrangement if unchecked, will continue to engender (Grant & Rosen, 2009). England and Folbre (1999) argue that caring skills and functions have been culturally devalued over time due to the emphasis that society places upon it being the responsibility of a woman, whilst its monetary value has also been undervalued due to the social belief that the commodification of love and care degrades and sullies the notion. Neoclassical economists therefore believe that It is as a result of these reasons that domestic workers receive such low wages and are so poorly compensated for the mother-work that they perform as some believe that the emotional compensation they receive from those in their care should serve as an intrinsic reward for the workers (Lan, 2003a). To make matters worse, the private "behind closed doors" nature of domestic work also makes it harder for them to rally together and make their complaints heard like factory workers, taxi drivers or mine workers because not only are the conditions for each worker different, they work in isolated environments making it more difficult to foster connections with their colleagues (Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2003, 62)

Whilst there is a boundary that prevents a domestic worker from becoming fully integrated into the family of the household that she works for, Ehrenreich & Hochschild (2003, 45) identified that there was a "continuity of domestic labour" which allowed for a domestic worker to traverse the divide of maid and madam. They utilise this concept to explain how domestic worker can sometimes occupy both roles simultaneously, maids whilst they are overseas performing waged domestic work and madams when they are in their home countries and seen as breadwinners. Thus, the position that the domestic worker occupies differs substantially and even contradictorily depending on the location in which they are situated. Despite the fact that the locations are disparate, to the domestic worker the roles performed in both locations are interdependent, taking care of the employer's family translates into being able to take care of their own families.

However, the degree to which domestic worker are able to take care of their family through their employment has been scrutinized by Lan (2003a), she argues that domestic workers, in fact shoulder the gendered burden of two families and thus as a result of serving as providers of caring labour to the families of their employers, they have to sacrifice the provision of care to their own families. Therefore, Lan (2003a) argues that the attempt of the domestic worker to carry out these caregiving roles simultaneously is prone to conflict and disarticulation. domestic workers who are mothers would have to neglect their own children whilst those who are yet to be married sacrifice the possibilities of starting their own families, Ehrenreich & Hochschild (2003, 47) refer to this dilemma as the "cost of diverted care".

The process of globalisation has contributed to more domestic workers paying the cost of diverted care as it has presented them with the impossible choice, demanding they choose whether to live with their children in their home country with little or no economic power or to secure a stronger financial position away from their children. The conditions for the cost of diverted care stipulate that the domestic worker cannot both live with their family and support it (Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2003). Globalisation is a key process at play in the role that domestic workers find themselves in contemporary times, as it has made possible the global transfer of the services associated with a wife's traditional role such as homemaking and childcare from poor countries to rich ones. As a result, the women who migrate from their home countries to more affluent ones to work as domestic workers are remunerated not only for their service to the household but also for the human nurture and care that they invest in their employer's family, which would have otherwise been invested in their own families (Lan, 2003a). As more women from affluent countries make strides into paid work, the effect of the "cost of diverted care" becomes more pronounced as the children and elderly people they are responsible for become the mandate of the domestic worker. For the domestic worker, the incentive to migrate and pay the cost is high as the financial remuneration is greater than they would be able to secure if they remained in their countries or areas of origin (Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2003).

3.4 Operating in a Space that Rejects You (Exclusion of the Other and identifying Difference)

South Africa is no stranger to the process of a settler community creating a home away from home, Apartheid was a process through which the white minority were able to identify and manage "others". Theorists (Steyn, 2001 & Norval, 1990) have advanced arguments that the construction of the white identity during the apartheid era was facilitated by the utilisation of othering to distinguish the other races as inferior. The term othering refers to the processes that engender marginality and persistent inequality across any of the full range of human differences, it involves the sorting of people into social categories and creating mental associations with those categories (Cuddy et al., 2002). Through "othering", dominant ideologies are able to depict the racialized other as possessing inferior qualities and attaching negative associations such as lazy, licentious, criminal and dirty. In so doing, the reverse holds true for the dominant ideology and a positive self-image is created, one depicting its people as hard working, moral, clean: broadly, as civilised (Ballard,2004). The process of "othering" was prevalent during the Apartheid[1] era, with black people being marginalized and segregated through structural interventions such as in housing and schools, these were all means through which the dominant ideology conveyed to the "other" that they did not belong. In order to maintain the social hierarchy that othering facilitates, the strategy of relegating the "other" far away from the settlements of the citizens of the dominant ideology is utilized (Sibley 1995,50).

Despite the fact that the Apartheid regime was dismantled in 1994, racism still continues to be a social ill that plagues the contemporary South African society, an ill that some have argued to have been exacerbated and reinforced by gated communities (Hook & Vrdoljak, 2006; Lemanski, 2004). Whilst the apartheid strategy revolved around decentralising the "problem" to remote outlying settlements, the solution offered to those who reside within gated communities is to retreat into these spaces of "protection" (Lemanski, 2004, 18). This resulted in the development of a new form of separation that bears a resemblance to the apartheid system in the sense that poor black people are restricted from travelling into affluent areas, in this case the Gated communities, without producing a form of identification not too dissimilar from "passes" that justifies their presence in the community (Lemanski, 2004). There have been cases in which researchers have found that a gated community has been accused of racism in its admission protocol, after it was found that only the black workers were required to provide identification whilst their white counterparts did not (Oliphant, as cited in Hook & Vrdoljak, 2006). Whilst this is not an accusation that can be

[1] The word Apartheid meant separation, emphasizing that the other was not a part of the community.

levied against all gated communities, the parallels with the apartheid regime where black citizens were required to carry passes, sign registers, and receive permission to access an area as well as the fact that the barriers to the black citizens living in the community are no longer structural but a result of the enduring economic effects of Apartheid make gated communities a cause for concern (Hook & Vrdoljak, 2006, Lemanski et al., 2008). Despite the fact that it is no coincidence that a large proportion of the demographic within gated community are white, where previously exclusion was based on race, such exclusion has now evolved along with society into an exclusion based on class, for the purposes of this study, class refers to their level of income and the jobs they perform (Hook & Vrdoljak, 2006).

The history of South African society has resulted in the class division experienced by the contemporary society being intricately linked to divisions along the classification of race (Neves, 2006) and, although an individual may be excluded from a gated community due to their lower-class status (Hook & Vrdoljak, 2006), the significant likelihood of that individual being a non-white citizen is not coincidental. The development of a space in South Africa in which only middle- and largely, upper-middle-class people can choose to live (Hook & Vrdoljak, 2006) immediately excludes the majority of the country's population, that being black citizens (Statistics South Africa, 2013). Thus, it would seem that the intentional development of such a space serves a very particular function in terms of who it keeps out and who it allows into the space and, in the South African context, those kept out are predominantly black individuals (Lemanski et al., 2008). As these individuals gain more ground economically, the racial ratio within gated communities may reach a balance in time. Should such a time come about, it would be interesting to note whether or not black residents, and other non-white residents, feel accepted and comfortable within the gated communities. Similarly, white residents' feelings and experiences would be noteworthy if their numbers were matched or surpassed by other racial groups within the gated community.

This does not imply that all, or any, gated community residents hold racist attitudes. However, the choice to live in such a community, a place where particular individuals are excluded due to their class, and therefore, to a large degree their race (Hook & Vrdoljak, 2006), does bring into consideration their reasons for doing so. One's conceptualisation of the space they operate in affects and influences their sense of self, to such an extent that the space a person occupies is often said to complement and reinforce their sense of self. Ballard (2004) refers to the process through which individuals subconsciously attempt to shape the world around them to complement their identities as the creation of "comfort zones". "Comfort zones" are therefore spaces within which the individual's sense of self does not feel threatened and they feel uninhibited to truly be themselves. Whilst homes are the most common examples of "comfort zones", individuals often reflexively tend to gravitate towards other spaces which match the individual's identity (Ballard, 2004). It is into these

"comfort zones" that domestic workers are introduced and have to operate. The domestic worker in these spaces thus occupies a unique category, they do not qualify as residents, whites or upper middle class, the three categories that are assimilated and accepted within these developments. Such a classification contributes towards the alienation that they would feel working within this space as one has to consider that a further potential relationship between gated communities and race involves the perceptions of the outside communities that are created and maintained by gated communities.

When gated communities are advertised as offering secure and natural spaces to live (Clover, as cited in Hook & Vrdoljak, 2006) and are described as being private and clean (Tanulku, 2011), the world outside these communities is subsequently constructed as being the opposite (Hook & Vrdoljak, 2006). The construction of the world outside directly influences the construction of the people who occupy those spaces, a process of othering (Mathiti, 2006). Therefore, the domestic worker by virtue of not falling within the classifications that allow one to be accepted within this community belongs to the outside world and is attributed with the negative connotations associated with the outside world, these manifests themselves in feelings of mistrust and ostracization (Hook & Vrdoljak, 2006). This speaks to the construction of those outside gated communities as dangerous and implies an understanding that the 'outsiders', who the gated community residents are protecting themselves from, are largely black people (Barry et al. 2007). This supports the construction of black citizens, specifically those of a lower class, as dangerous who are different from other people (Hook & Vrdoljak, 2006). These racial attitudes may not be conscious, and the holders of such attitudes perhaps feel justified by having security and the maintenance of property value as their main motivating factors for separation (Ballard, 2004; Barry et al., 2007). However, the current South African context, tied so intimately to the country's past (Foster, 2005), situates such practices in a racial light and the connection of such practices to racist beliefs, however out of awareness these beliefs may be, must be considered.

Without placing a label onto all white, and perhaps even non-white, gated community residents, the desire for safety and security is hard to separate from the desire to be excluded from particular groups viewed as posing the danger to them and their families. In addition, as research has illustrated, informal settlement residents who are largely black individuals, are often viewed as posing a danger to residents in more affluent areas (Ballard, 2004; Barry et al., 2007). Furthermore, should gated community residents desire to live with like-minded and affluent neighbours (Grant & Rosen, 2009), this may be considered an economically based phenomenon; however, a potentially relevant factor is whether or not a person's wealth can be separated from his or her race in a country where one's economic standing is very often associated with race, as explained above. Racialized identities in post-apartheid South Africa are "complex, dynamic and contested" (Geniş, 2007, 74), it can be argued that

gated communities do indeed blur the lines between racialized identities because within these developments, individuals from diverse racial groups live and interact with one another, unifying over common ground rather than emphasizing their difference (Durington, 2006). Thus, the alienation that one would feel within these gated communities is no longer directly tied to race as the Post-Apartheid society which has become increasingly populated by upwardly mobile black individuals, has created a scenario in which an increasing number of successful black families move into gated communities, and are no longer barred from entry on the basis of class (Hook & Vrdoljak, 2006).

The alienation for domestic worker is therefore based on class and their access to these communities is based upon their contribution to their employer's family. The western culture of individualism, which refers to the tendency to resist outside help and display independence has resulted in a shift from the previous era, in which helpers and workers were displayed as status symbols. The domestic worker is therefore expected to remain in the background or disappear when company comes not only within the home but also within the gated community. Furthermore, affluent careerwomen increasingly earn their status through their appearance to be "doing it all", hallmarks of such a life include managing a full-time career, thriving children, a contented spouse, and a well-managed home. In order to preserve this illusion, domestic workers and nannies make the house hotel-room perfect, feed and bathe the children, cook and clean up—and then magically fade from sight (Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2003). Thus, whilst these racial attitudes within gated communities may not be as a result of a conscious effort on the resident's part, the prejudice gains more gravity when considered in light of the country's past, mandating one to scrutinize such practices, however innocuous it might seem (Ballard, 2004; Barry et al., 2007).

3.5 Deeper Contextualisation of the Domestic Worker's Working Conditions

The purpose of this section of the research report was to gain an understanding of what the socioeconomic effects of urban sprawl accruing to domestic workers in Exclusionary Communities were. The effects of synthesized into three categories, namely the exertion of power by the employer on the domestic worker, the identification of difference and the exclusion of the other employed by the gated community as well as the emotional labour demanded by domestic service. An exploration of the literature into these dynamics revealed that the exertion of power by the employer on the domestic worker resulted in them becoming distant providers for their family, present in the form of their financial support but markedly absent in the form of physical, social and emotional support to their families. The identification of difference and the exclusion of the other employed by the gated community resulted in the domestic worker operating in a space that excluded others who were like them. The purpose of the gated community is to provide a setting for the residents where they are surrounded by those of their class and as result do not have to interact with those below them, the domestic worker falls into that category but as a result of their contribution to the lifestyle of their employer they are granted entry, the consequence of this is that the domestic worker is indebted to their employer. Such levels of indebtedness thus resulting in the domestic worker performing emotional labour, changing aspects of themselves in order to suit the employer's needs. The literature can only offer so much insight into the lives of these workers, thus the research report provided further insight into their experiences through the use of 5 qualitative and 30 quantitative interviews. These research methods suited the emphasis of the domestic worker experience whilst also providing a snapshot of what the collective worker experience in the area was.

4 WATERFALL ESTATE THROUGH THE EYES OF A DOMESTIC WORKER

The purpose of this chapter of the study is to relay the findings from the fieldwork. The findings are therefore divided into three sections namely the observations garnered through the fieldwork, the basic demographic of the domestic worker as identified from the surveys and the exploration of the different themes identified during the interviews.

4.1 Observations of The Estate

If one were to describe the environment around the gates and entrances of Waterfall Estate, the definition employed by Franz (2006, 42) that such environments are often characterised by "landscaping of fear" would not spring to mind. The landscape (See Figure 4.1) in stark contast is one of beauty and serenity, the grass is green and lush, the ponds still and tranquil and the roads leading up to the estate wide and inviting.



Figure 4-1: Look, But Don't Touch:

(above) Pictures taken of the entrance to Waterfall Estate, the environment looks warm and inviting but the reception received at the gate is not quite the same unless you are a resident. **Source:** *Abraham Ajibade 2017*

The invitation ends at the gate however, beyond which access is granted only to those who fall under the category of Resident or Visitor. Such barriers to entry are in keeping with Hook and Vrdoljak (2006) assessment that the "potentially public space" that exist outside of the homes of the residents but within the estate are reserved for the residents.

4.1.1 Security and Privacy a priority for residents

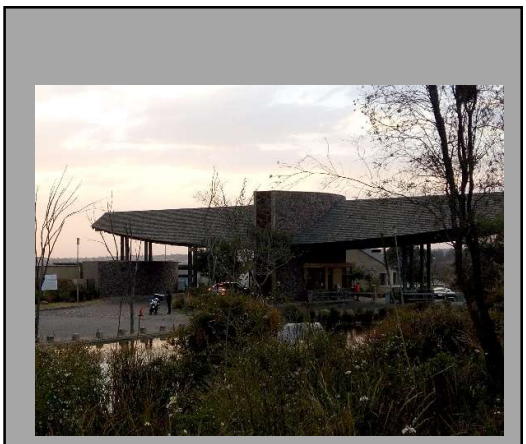
The literature (Li et al., 2012; McKenzie, 2006) regarding the characteristics of gated communities held true with regards to Waterfall estate with a heavy emphasis on security, protection and the exclusion of undesirable elements for its residents. Thus, the "landscaping of Fear" that Franz (2006, 42) referred to only applies to the other perimeters including the gates. Along this perimeter the characteristics that he described are present with the high walls and obstructions (See Figure 5.2) serving the function of intimidation which deters non-residents and criminal elements from approaching the development (McKenzie, 2006).



Figure 4-2: Keep Out

(Above) The perimeters of the estate exemplify the fortification of space **Source:** Abraham Ajibade 2017

4.1.2 Discovering the Invisible Workers





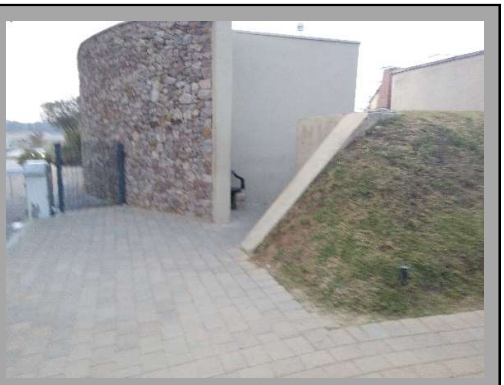




Figure 4-3: View from the other Side

(Above) Images depicting the pathway utilised by the domestic workers from the Service Entrance to the Road where they catch their taxi. The path is narrow and hidden from view. **Source:** Abraham Ajibade 2017

The purpose of this study was not only to understand how working as a domestic worker in Waterfall Estate affected the domestic worker and their families but also to gain a sense how different their experience of the space was from those for whom the space was designed. These differences were immediately apparent from the outset as the large gates, wide avenues and inviting entrances were reserved for the residents, with the domestic workers utilising an alternative entrance hidden from view by the pond (see Figure 4-3).

This narrow pathway led from the service entrance to the road, often traversing across knee length grass to reach their destination. This duality of experiences forms an aspect which this study aims to explore, seeking to understand how the very same "undesirable elements" are incorporated into the daily workings and operation of the estate (McKenzie, 2006).

4.1.3 Congestion a Small Price to Pay for Reclusion?



Figure 4-4: Bumper to Bumper to Paradise

Utilising the roads around Waterfall estate during peak hour traffic is often a difficult task, with many of the roads experiencing high levels of congestion. **Source:** Abraham Ajibade 2017

As Brueckner (2000) surmised, the residents of gated communities never fully internalise the cost of their decision to relocate to the peripheries. However, some of the costs of urban sprawl such as traffic congestion is often keenly felt by the residents due to the fact that the congestion is as a result of the development. In Waterfall Estate, this phenomenon can be seen during peak times when the residents are returning or going to work when most of the

private cars attempt to utilise the same routes (See figure 4-4). Such high levels of traffic congestion and use of private cars results in the same environmental issues such as air pollution that Paeth et al (2009) sought to dissuade developers from.

4.2 Framing the Snapshot

The purpose of this section was to communicate the findings from the survey performed with 31 domestic workers in Waterfall Estate. These findings were divided into two categories, with the first covering the characteristics of the average domestic worker, the second going into further detail explaining the more nuanced aspects of their lives.

4.2.1 Demographic of the average domestic worker

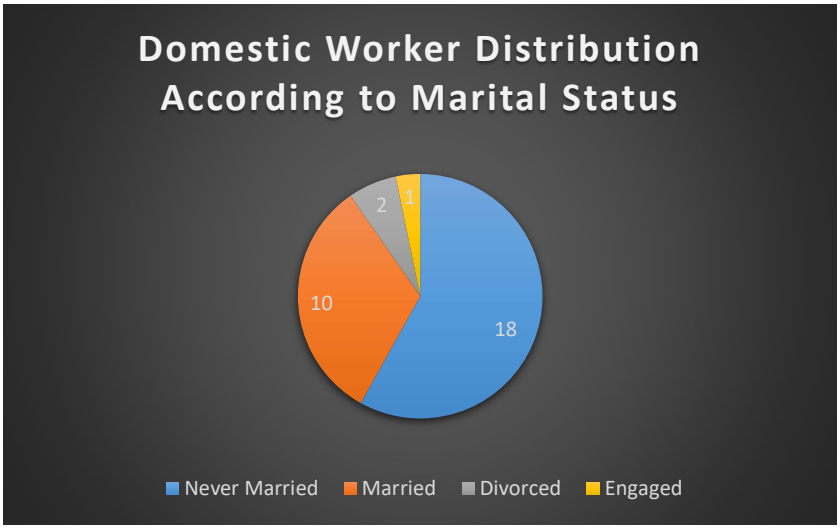
The surveys were carried out in person by the researcher, with the researcher asking the domestic workers the questions individually and recording their responses. As a result, the surveys were only conducted with the domestic workers who indicated their inclination to participate in the study. The surveys were carried out whilst the domestic worker were in transit from the gates of Waterfall Estate to the point where the taxis would arrive. Thus, some of the surveys had to be omitted as they were incomplete, with only the complete surveys included in the findings, culminating in the final sample size being 31.

The average age of the domestic workers was 39, with the oldest domestic worker participating in the study being 57 and the youngest being 30. The gender of the domestic workers interviewed was found to be 100% female with the average number of children being two, with the results ranging from zero to four. 92% of the domestic workers were able to send their children to school. The average number of dependants relying on the domestic workers was found to be three. 81% of the domestic workers did not have a matric Qualification, of which the average highest grade completed by the domestic workers was Grade 9. 23% of the domestic workers had completed some form of further training, this included O- levels, Diplomas, Business Startup, Computer Studies and Marketing Certificates. The average number of years spent as a domestic worker was eight, with the most being 19 and the least being four. The average number of years spent on Waterfall Estate was two. The average number of days worked in a week was 5, in the cases of the live in domestic workers (23% of the sample), they worked up to seven days a week whilst some of the casual workers worked as little as two days. 25% of the domestic workers worked for more than one household, with their other place of employment usually being in the vicinity in areas like Waterfall Village and Midrand, the others worked in Sunninghill. The average monthly Income

for the domestic workers was R3620, converted into a daily figure, the average daily income was R203. Taking into account the fact that the average daily cost of transportation was R31, this meant the average cost of transportation took 15% of the average domestic worker's income, with the domestic worker absorbing the full cost as the employers only paid the domestic worker their wages as an all-inclusive monthly amount. 97% of the domestic workers purely utilised Taxis as a form of transport, the outlier utilised trains in addition to the taxis. The average length of time for the domestic worker to walk from where the taxis drop them to their place of work was 16 minutes.

4.2.2 Domestic Worker Figures

The purpose of this section of the findings was to highlight the key graphs that convey crucial information relating to the domestic workers, the remaining graphs from the study can be found in the appendix of the report.

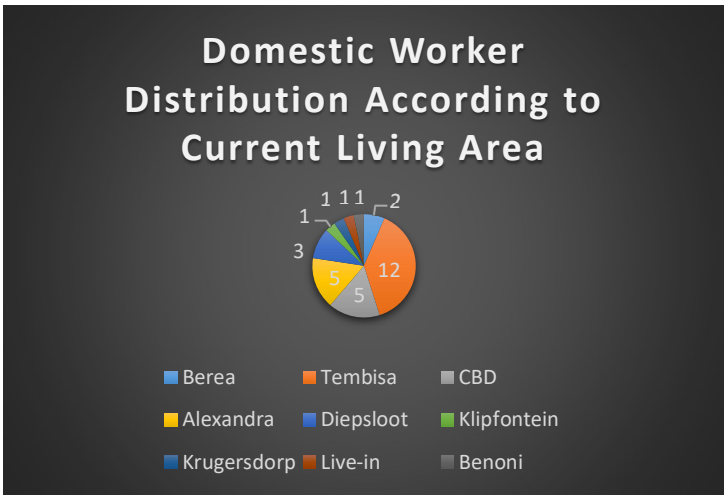


Marital Status	Number
Never Married	18
Married	10
Divorced	2
Engaged	1
Total	31

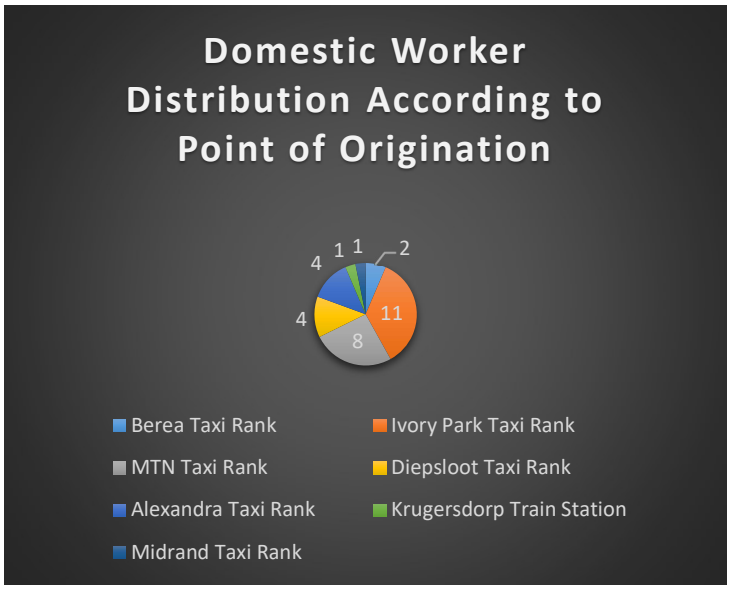
Figure 4-5: Domestic Worker Relations
The Marital status graph indicates to us that the majority of the Domestic workers have never been married, this has ramifications for the study as it indicates that the profession might hampers the domestic worker's opportunities to settle down. **Source:** Abraham Ajibade 2017

The marital status of the domestic workers (See Figure 4.5) reflect the observations made by Mwansa (2012) that due to the demands of the profession, most domestic workers are unable to cultivate relationships. Despite the fact that the majority of the domestic workers interviewed were unmarried, 58% of the domestic workers interviewed were supported financially by a partner, with the professions of their partners including Carpenters, Waiters,

Drivers, Plumbers, Security Guards, Casino Workers and Prison Wardens. This could thus be interpreted to mean that the difficulty is not in the cultivation of relationships but rather a difficulty in maintaining and sustaining them for long periods of time. The demands on the domestic worker to commute long distances and be absent for the majority of the day, in the cases of travelling workers and absent for the working week in the case of the live in domestic worker results in the domestic worker finding the balance of work and life very difficult. Whilst the claim for most domestic workers being unable to marry as was the case in Zambia (Mwansa, 2012) is not as strong as this case study revealed only 55% of the workers being unmarried, the fact that only 33% of the sampled workers were married is an indication of a correlation between the nature of the work and its suitability for maintaining a functioning family unit.



Living Area	Number
Berea	2
Tembisa	12
CBD	5
Alexandra	5
Diepsloot	3
Klipfontein	1
Krugersdorp	1
Live-in	1
Benoni	1
Total	31



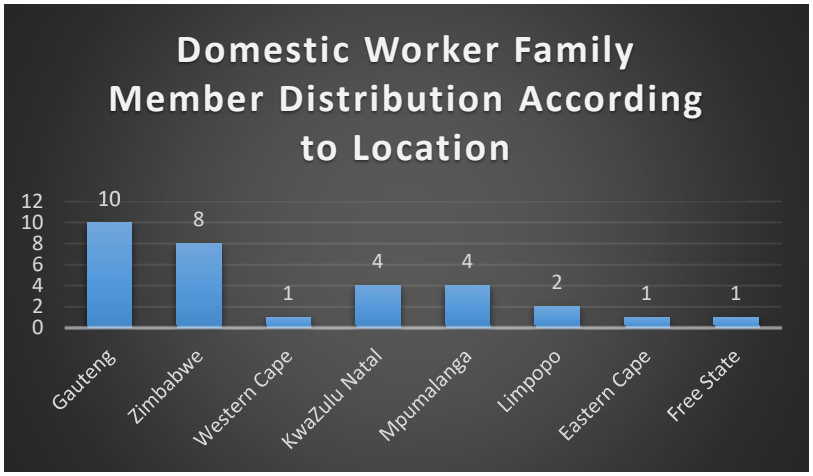
Point of Origination	Number
Berea Taxi Rank	2
Ivory Park Taxi Rank	11
MTN Taxi Rank	8
Diepsloot Taxi Rank	4
Alexandra Taxi Rank	4
Krugersdorp Train Station	1
Midrand Taxi Rank	1
Total	31

Figure 4-6: Domestic Worker Transport Patterns
The Transportation graph indicates to us that the majority of the Domestic workers travel long distances from their homes to their places of employment. **Source:** Abraham Ajibade 2017

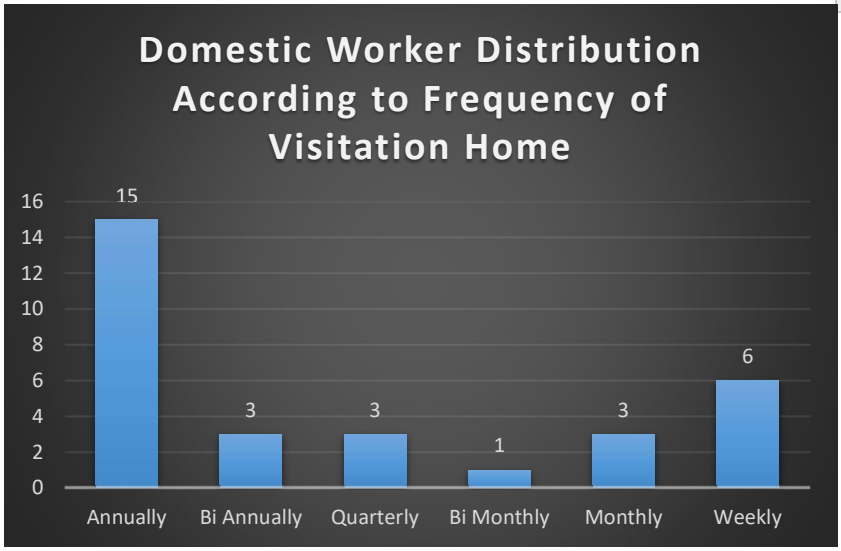
With transportation being a key factor in the impact of working in Waterfall Estate for the domestic worker, understanding their mobility patterns (See Figure 4.6) was an important area for the research to uncover. From the surveys carried out, a pattern could be seen with the domestic workers. This pattern illustrated the fact that the highest percentage (38%) of domestic workers who live "closest" to waterfall estate in Tembisa were over 20 Kilometres away and the closest taxi rank; Ivory Park was over 17.1 Kilometres away. The next highest cluster of workers who lived in the CBD (16%) were even further away, living 19 Kilometres away and utilizing the MTN Taxi rank (25%) which was 22 Kilometres away. These two categories of domestic workers account for the majority (over 54%) and can therefore lend credence to the fact that the majority of the domestic workers servicing Waterfall estate commute very long distances and as such transportation to the area on the periphery poses a challenge. It is important to note however that the distance remains the most problematic aspect, the cost of transportation remains relatively low because only 32% of the domestic workers require 2 or more forms of transportation (See Appendix 7.5).

The issue of transportation cannot be evaluated in isolation however, as any exploration of the distance travelled from their place of residence must investigate the aforementioned residence. In the case of the domestic workers sampled in this study the majority of the workers live with their immediate family, with 78% of them residing with partners and 89% of them residing with their children. Only a few of the domestic workers were able to support additional/extended family with 17% of the domestic workers living with family members and 11% of them living with their grandchildren. From these statistics it is possible to infer that the nature of the residences occupied by these domestic workers are able to sustain functional family units in the city that include a partner, children and in some cases additional family members. The location of lucrative job opportunities thus served as a pull not only for the domestic worker in question but for their family units as well. It was therefore important to explore the nature of the connection the domestic workers were able to establish not only with their immediate family members who were in close proximity but also their extended families wherever they might be.

Another facet of the mobility of the domestic worker that was taken into account when trying to understand the distance that domestic workers cover, was to understand that for the majority of the domestic workers (67%), their extended family members are not in Gauteng (See Figure 5.7). With over 41% of the domestic worker's families spread out across South Africa and the remaining 25% in a situation where their families are in a neighbouring country namely Zimbabwe, the opportunities to visit these family members are severely limited.



Family Location	Number
Gauteng	10
Zimbabwe	8
Western Cape	1
KwaZulu Natal	4
Mpumalanga	4
Limpopo	2
Eastern Cape	1
Free State	1
Total	31



Frequency of Visitation	Number
Annually	15
Bi Annually	3
Quarterly	3
Bi Monthly	1
Monthly	3
Weekly	6
Total	31

Figure 4-7: Domestic Worker Long Distance Commuting Patterns
The Domestic Workers are often alienated from their family members due to the distance and the frequency of their visitation.
Source: Abraham Ajibade 2017

Thus whilst 90% of the domestic workers interviewed had family living elsewhere, the challenge of visiting those family members were tougher for some than others. 48% of them were only able to afford to see their families once a year, whilst if we define regularly as at least once a month, only 29% of the domestic workers were only able to see their family regularly. This results in an increasingly distant relationship with their families and can be categorised under the "cost of diverted care" (Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2003). There are a multitude of further avenues for the exploration of the quantitative aspect of this research (such as comparisons to other countries) but as this area is not the focus of the research but

rather to provide a snapshot, the quantitative explorations ends here and more emphasis is placed on the qualitative aspects.

4.3 Building a Picture of the Domestic Worker Experience

The purpose of this section was to communicate the findings from the Interviews conducted with five domestic workers in Waterfall estate (See Appendix 7.4 for interview questions). The Interviews were carried out in person by the researcher, with the researcher conducting the interviews with the domestic workers individually and recording their responses. These interviews went into further detail than the survey seeking to further understand the intricacies involved with working as a domestic worker in the gated community. As a result, the findings and responses from the domestic workers have been divided into key themes, which each theme exploring the different responses from the different domestic workers to different issues. The respondents have been given aliases to protect their identities.

4.3.1 Lifestyle patterns

The circumstances that result in a woman choosing to become a Domestic Worker are several but for the most part, the experiences of those interviewed fell into two broad categories predicated by the same desire to provide for others. The first category is populated by those who migrated from neighbouring countries such as Naledi, due to difficult circumstances in their home countries. This category of domestic worker fit into the profile of migrant workers that relocate to more prosperous countries, a profile identified by Lan (2003a) and Ehrenreich & Hochschild (2003).

> *You know in Malawi, people go to school but it's not easy to get a job so I decided to travel and find life for myself, so I decided to come to Joburg. When I got here, at first, I was working in a shop in town but the money that I was getting in the shop was very little, so I decided to go to school to at least learn how to look after kids, I got a certificate for it and then I got a job.*
>
> *-Naledi*

The other category pertains to those who are citizens of the country but faced hardships of their own, forcing them to turn to Domestic work in order to provide for their families.

I worked as a security guard, it was around 1994, then I left, and I went to the university of Johannesburg to study, where I part timed as a model for figure drawing. I worked there for a long period. Then I decided to leave because my problem was that according to this time of the year then there was no income coming to me and I would have to struggle with the kids, so I decided to do something permanent even though its little, but it will at least give me a steady monthly income to live with the kids, that Is what I did.

-Camila

Due to Waterfall estate being a new development there was a mixture of circumstances that brought the domestic workers to work at the estate, in the case of those who were new to the profession, they were trained.

I went through a course with an agency in Randburg called Domestic Angels, they trained me to become a domestic worker and attached me to where I am. They find us a job and then they are done with us.

-Naledi

In other cases, the domestic worker had forged a bond with their employers to the extent that their services were highly regarded. Cases like these exemplify the connection that some employees form with their employer.

There was a person I as working for in Kyalami and she moved to Waterfall Estate and then I moved with her to help her with the new house

- Lily

In such cases the domestic worker is willing to literally travel the extra mile in order to maintain the relationship. This relationship, to the domestic worker would not be considered purely working, it is usually indicative of a long period of interaction and as such the domestic worker has already begun to feel as part of the family. But despite these different circumstances that bring them to Waterfall Estate, and despite the relationships that they have fostered with their employers, their work in the homes are nigh on identical.

I do general work around the house, cleaning, washing and ironing. There are no children, so I don't have to deal with that for either employer.

- *Lily*

I don't cook, When I get there I start at 7:30 then I have to dress the little one who is 5 years to take her to school. I am allowed to use one of the club golf carts to take her there before school starts at 8. Then I come back home, there are two kids and so there are two of us workers. The other lady takes care of the other little one while I do some things around the house like cleaning and Ironing. If it's my turn to put the baby to sleep then I do that. Normally we sit with the baby inside the room, so it's your time to rest, if the baby sleeps for two and a half hours then you get to sleep for two and a half hours as well, you are allowed to do that. It's because the baby is too young and he normally crawls on the bed so they are always scared that the baby will fall down, so you have to be there with him at all times. Those are our duties each and every day, to take care of the children and do the chores around the house.

- *Naledi*

To see that the house is properly cleaned, washing, ironing. At this time of the day I would usually be looking after the children when they arrive back from school until the parents come back from work. After they come back from work, I go to my room. I don't have to do anything after that, but if they ask me to take care of the children because they have to go somewhere then I come back inside. Sometimes they have to go out after hours and they tell me ahead of time to babysit for however long until they come back. I don't have to cook, I usually don't cook, I only cook for myself because they do the groceries for me, so I cook my own stuff but I don't cook for them.

- *Camila*

4.3.2 Impact of Transportation

The impact of urban sprawl on individuals is that it forces the individual to commute a longer distance from their home to their place of employment. In the case of the domestic worker, it is not their home that has moved away from their place of employment but rather the opposite. As a result, the domestic worker must come to terms with the shift in the transportation dynamic and account for the increased budget that must be allocated for the trip.

The easiest job to travel to was in Bryanston because Greenside is just one taxi away, although at the time I was living in Joburg at the time not Turffontein. From Joburg it was R11, which amounted to R22 every day so it was cheaper and it was fair. To travel here is R60 every day, First I take a taxi from Turffontein to Faraday which is R11, from there to Joburg is R6 then from Joburg to Waterfall is R13, so one way is R30 and to go back is another R30. I take three taxis to get here every day. So, yes, it is harder to get here than it was to get to my previous place of employment.

- Naledi

When the domestic workers who work during the weekends as well are factored in, one finds that transportation becomes a bigger cost to their monthly budget as the transportation patterns differ over the weekends.

Interviewer: Would you say that transportation is a big part of your monthly spending?

Interviewee: Yes, Its R500 a month but sometimes if you work on the weekends you spend more, because during the weekends there are no taxis, you have to take two taxis to get here. The first taxi is from my place to Section 2 then from there I take another one here. On a normal week day, I get a taxi straight here.

- Lily

There are also subtle negative factors that arise from transportation which impact upon the domestic worker. For instance, when asked to compare the areas in which she had worked, Alice acknowledged that according to some comparisons, Waterfall Estate might have the edge, but to travel such distances can still be problematic.

Waterfall estate is easier to get to, it's not that it's cheaper to get here, It's the same price, but in terms of transport, Waterfall is easier because when I worked in Sunninghill I used to walk a long distance to get to the taxi rank but here in Waterfall Estate, the taxi rank is closer to where I work. It is still very expensive, If I could put it in a percentage, it would be around 25%. Transport is very expensive, sometimes when I knock off late, I would be worried that I would get home it's too dark so i have to take a taxi that's not going exactly where I am going but its close, then when I get there I have to take another local one to get to my place.

- Alice

This is not to say that the experience is the same for all workers, however from those interviewed, their experience with transportation had become normalized and as such they viewed it as an inconvenience but did not seem to harbour any grudges towards it. The fact that their work had taken them further away from public transit nodes to an edge city was not a negative enough factor for them to resent their workplace, it was simply another facet of their experience.

> *Interviewee: To travel from my home to town, it is R13 and from town (To waterfall) it is R13, so in total it is R26, so for a trip there and back it can be rounded off to R50.*
>
> *Interviewer: Is that provided for you or does it come out of your own pocket?*
>
> *Interviewee: That comes out of my salary, it's not that they add it to it, as they give me my salary then that is everything and I have to make it work.*
>
> - *Alice*
>
> *Interviewer: Which was easier to travel to between all of your previous occupations?*
>
> *Interviewee: It was all the same, to me it is just the same, no difference.*
>
> - *Camila*

4.3.3 Experiences of Working in the area

Mckenzie (2006) described gated communities as exclusionary communities due to the fact that they were often created with the intention to exclude elements that were considered undesirable. Thus, an important facet of the lives of domestic worker in these communities to document would be their interactions within the space and their engagements with other residents. When asked if they had felt the residents regarding them or treating them differently, there were opposite reactions.

> *No, to me, I have never experienced it, I don't know about others but where I work, I am okay and happy for now, I don't have any problems, even the kids they are good, they know how to respect those that care for them. I know that these things happen in life, and things aren't perfect, but right now everything is okay.*
>
> - *Naledi*

That is one thing that I don't like is when you see people around, especially those people who are not working, the way they look at you, the way they address you, they think that you are a nobody, somebody without a future.

Interviewer: Are these the residents?

Interviewee: Yeah! They treat you like somebody who's not normal and who is not worth their time or consideration. When they see you in the street with the children, they don't greet you, but they greet the children, I really don't like that at all, makes me feel bad.

- *Alice*

From these responses, it becomes evident that despite the fact that Hook & Vrdoljak (2006) described these developments as tools used to create social, class and economic segregation, the level to which these conditions are felt varies. Seeking to understand these variations, it was important to distinguish whether these feelings of judgement were as a result of class or as a result of the expectation of the residents for what a domestic worker was supposed to do. The first step was to compare these conditions to a normal workplace where the worker would be allowed to take sporadic breaks.

Interviewer: While you're working within the house, are you allowed to leave the house for breaks?

Interviewee: No, I don't leave the house for breaks, I only go out when I am going to fetch the kids at school, or taking the kids to tennis, ballet, hip-hop, or taking them to the parks or the clubhouse. Those are the only times I ever leave the house.

Interviewer: So, you would only be going to all of these places on the estate when you are taking the kids somewhere?

Interviewee: Yes

- *Alice*

The domestic worker usually works for a period between 8 in the morning to 5 in the afternoon, it seemed difficult to reconcile that they would take any breaks throughout that time unless they were with the children, many of the other respondents simply could not answer the question as it seemed to be a non-negotiable fact. Rephrasing the question, the researcher sought to further understand the situation by asking if they could see other domestic workers, as working in the home usually unaccompanied would amount to operating in a state of isolation.

Interviewer: Whilst you are in the estate, are you allowed to spend time with the other workers?

Interviewee: Yes, we are, we can have lunch and stuff like that.

Interviewer: So, you know the other workers? Can you sit and have conversations with them after you have completed your duties?

Interviewee: yeah, I know some of them but obviously not all of them because the estate is very big, and I think we have got more than 8 gates. But yes, the ones I know, my bosses allow me to do that. I don't know about with other bosses, from what I have heard it depends. Some bosses don't want all those things, but my bosses don't have a problem with all those things

- *Camila*

Interviewer: Would you be allowed to visit other domestic workers?

Interviewee: That we do! I mean there is no permission but sometimes we do it, it's completely normal, the only thing you would have to worry about is the other residents judging you while you're there. We are allowed to take walks around the estate only when you are with the kids, because I can't take a walk and leave the kids at home alone.

Interviewer: Have you ever had an experience where you and your friends were sitting, and they give you funny looks?

Interviewee: No, they can't do that, but you always hear stories from other people saying this resident said this about that domestic. It's not nice because we are all people.

- *Alice*

It thus became apparent that variation to which the domestic worker experienced any form of judgment or suspicion was based on the attributes of the resident as an individual as opposed to a common attribute shared by all residents.

Interviewer: Are you allowed to visit and spend time with other domestic workers?

Interviewee: No, No. you can't, in the morning I do have a break to have breakfast but, in the house, not outside. You can't sit and talk, maybe sometimes you can have a conversation with someone next door, but you are not allowed because they say they don't know these people. She said she can't talk with the neighbours because

she doesn't know them. There's also no time to sit and talk on the side of the road, doing what? As a domestic worker, there is no time for that unless you are a nanny. A nanny is allowed to go to the park with the kids and see the other kids, but I am a cleaner I don't go around doing such things. My employer would not want me to do that.

- *Lily*

Interviewer: Are you allowed to visit and spend time with other domestic workers?

Interviewee: Yes, like the boy is one-year old, he doesn't like to stay inside the house, he likes to go out, so we are free to take a pram and put the child in it and take him for a walk around, you get to meet your friends and start chatting, you go to the park, have fun, there is no problem with that.

Interviewer: In a scenario where you didn't take the child, perhaps the child is at school and the other lady is with the baby, are you allowed to go outside and take a break?

Interviewee: No, that's not good at all, to me, maybe we are allowed but I have never tried to do that, to go outside and sit because that is time, that is time that you are being paid for, you should find some other things to do. You have to make your own timing, now the baby is doing this, let me just do this in the meanwhile. No way that I will go outside and sit, at the most I will use my phone while I work, I have time for WhatsApp, I can do that but not to go outside and sit or spend all my time on WhatsApp, you are at work.

- *Naledi*

The domestic worker was not restricted from utilising the facilities of the development out of any salient oppression or repercussion, but rather refrained from utilising those facilities due to their levels of professionalism. For the domestic worker, their duty to the home, the children and their employers came before any consideration of enjoying the perks of their station.

Interviewer: Are you allowed to leave your place of work for breaks when you're not busy?

Interviewee: no, those things, breaks and lunch? (laughs). According to the contract, we do get breaks but to me I don't feel like I have time because I'm rushing to fetch the child at school so usually I would have my breakfast while standing to do whatever work I am busy with. I don't even have time to sit down to drink tea or whatever, even when there is no one at home.

Interviewer: So, you never sit at all throughout the day from when they leave to when they come back?

Interviewee: its far better when they are home because then they are looking after the child, then I can go for my breakfast or lunch if they are around, but if they are not around it becomes far more difficult.

Interviewer: So, if you wanted to leave the house and take a walk around the estate, would you be able to?

Interviewee: In the complex, yes you can, there is a clubhouse that you can go to, especially when I'm taking the child, or even if I am off duty when I have knocked off, I can walk all over the yard, all over the complex, I do have the access.

- *Camila*

4.3.4 Engagement with the Security Team

Another facet of the investigation of the domestic worker experience seeks to explore the ways in which they interact with the security in these gated communities. An aspect of the "privatisation of public space" that the domestic worker has to engage with includes their navigation of the barriers to entry which would ordinarily exclude them (Lemanski et al., 2008, 137). These take the form of the requirements to entry explained by the domestic worker as the fingerprint system.

Interviewer: Could you describe your typical day, what your typical process is like in the morning to get into the estate?
Interviewee: I just use my fingerprint, there is a turnstile and I use my fingerprint to go through into the estate.
Interviewer: So, you have no engagement with the security?
Interviewee: No, once your employers have registered you on the system with the security guards, you don't have to deal with them, the only issue is that there are usually a lot of us in the morning, but there is only one turnstile so you have to wait quite a while.

- *Alice*

Interviewer: When you get to the estate, what is your morning like, what is the procedure?
Interviewee: It's not an easy one, unless they trust you first and get you fingerprint recognition to get you through the gate, but for those who do not have fingerprints they must use a code. Which means their bosses must send a code to their phone every morning and they pass that code unto the security who have to verify the code and the person providing the code with the boss by calling them. Once they are clear, the security then inputs the code into the computer which issues a receipt to the worker, the receipt contains a pin code that the worker must input into the turnstile to gain access. Which is why it is not a simple process, but once you get the fingerprint then it becomes easier.

- *Naledi*

It thus becomes apparent that the exclusion of the undesirable elements described by Hook & Vrdoljak (2006) is outsourced to the security guards with the residents providing the exceptions to the rule to the security guards. Such a system would thus be prone to its challenges as there would be instances with a breakdown in communication. The domestic worker is therefore at the mercy of their employers when it comes to the validation of their presence in the space, if that validation is not present then the domestic worker becomes categorized as the undesirable element and dealt with as such. In this way, the domestic worker subconsciously begins to perform the emotional labour described by Hochschild (2003), so as to display the characteristics desired by their employer in order to pass the vetting process required for them to be rewarded with fingerprint access. This is another example of how the status of the domestic worker is intrinsically tied to their employer.

Interviewer: Have you ever had any difficulties with the security guards or the residents whilst you have worked there?
Interviewee: I would say yes. There was once a time when I was going to fetch the child at school because I'm the one who fetches him from school and I had a problem with my fingerprints. It wasn't working and those people… that's why sometimes I don't even want to greet them, I just pass straight by them. Perhaps it's how they work, the way they talk to you is not in a nice way, they don't have respect sometimes. I don't know what is wrong with the security guards sometimes.
Interviewer: So, if you don't have the correct access, they can be aggressive towards you?

Interviewee: Yeah! You can't even go inside, they would stop you, in fact if you want to go inside to come and see me, they have to call my boss and then my boss has to give you a pin code to come inside. Without that, it's a waste of time, it would have to be me who comes out to see you and we will have to finish our discussion outside and then I would go back inside. But you would not be able to come in.

- *Camila*

Interviewer: Have you ever experienced any issues with the security guards or have you seen anyone have issues with the security guards?

Interviewee: Yes, it happened to me personally, I had problems in the beginning when I started before I had a fingerprint. On Mondays, all the workers are often returning, including those who are live in, most of them don't have fingerprints, so the process of entering the estate with the codes causes long lines in the morning because there are so many people. Perhaps there are 14 of you and he has to get all of you numbers and he has to call all your bosses and he has to issue all of you receipts so it can take quite a while. So even though you arrived at 7:30 you end up being stuck there for 30 minutes because you don't have a fingerprint. So those are the problems that I see most of the time, the problems that most workers complain about because their boss doesn't want to give them fingerprint access because they don't trust us, they are white.

- *Naledi*

The arduous processes that domestic workers are subjected to in order to gain access to the estate buttress the point made by Clover (as cited in Hook & Vrdoljak, 2006) that due to the fact that gated communities are advertised as secure spaces to live, the outside is portrayed as opposite. As a result, the domestic workers who approach the estate from the outside experience a process of othering (Mathiti, 2006). The comments made by Camila and Naledi exemplify the fact that the space regards those from the outside with feelings of mistrust and ostracization (Hook & Vrdoljak, 2006). As predicted by Barry et al. (2007), these demarcations often become constructed along racial lines as more often than not, the outsiders that gated community residents are excluding themselves from are mostly black people, a sentiment that Naledi picked up on.

Interviewer: And the worst experience you've had has been with the security guards?
Interviewee: Only the security guards, nothing bad inside with me and my bosses but with those guys outside, ever since that day I don't even smile at them. There was an incident with the boss, the man, he shouted at them one of the days when I was coming back to

work. I saw him entering so I tried to rush to him and enter with him by following the car inside. My boss told me to come inside, he opened the gate so that I could follow him through and enter the car. After that, Yoh! They (The Security guards) screamed as though I had just jumped the fence, they screamed at me asking why I couldn't go through the little gate with the turnstile. Then my boss started shouting at them, what's wrong, why can't you tell her nicely that she has to go enter from the other side and use her fingerprint, is that a problem? So, I had to get down from the car and go through the little gate with the turnstile even though my boss was standing right there. So that's why I don't get along with those security guards.

- *Camila*

The dynamic between the security guards and the domestic worker might be tied to their relationship with their employer, but in some instances, it transcends that relationship and operates according to the mandate of the gated community as an institution. In such cases the intention of the employer is often irrelevant as their choice to reside within the gated community has resulted in them relinquishing their autonomy with regards to how external factors are dealt with. This shows that the assessment made by Ballard (2004) and Barry et al., (2007) was accurate, as the hostility displayed by the gated communities security towards domestic worker is no longer as a result of a conscious effort by the employers but rather inherent in the nature of the gated communities as exclusionary spaces.

4.3.5 Interaction with Employers

The relationship and levels of communication between the domestic worker and their employer is often a determinant of how the two parties interact with one another. Thus, the ways in which the domestic workers interpret their interaction with their employer is a function of the level of intimacy and mutual respect they receive from their employer as well as the individual's characteristics. The interaction between the two parties forms a crucial component of the domestic workers experience as King (2007) identified this interaction as the setting within which emotional labour is performed.

The couple in Greenside were very good to me, if I asked them for a loan, they would give me, if I asked for things for my house then they would give it to me but these ones I haven't been able to ask them for anything so I cannot say whether they are good or they are bad. But from what I can tell, I can see that they are good because they give me transport for the week each and every week, to me that makes them good.

- *Naledi*

I would say that it would have to be the people I am working for, they are so good, they make it easy to work, it's a pleasure to work for them. they don't treat you badly just because you are a domestic worker. They don't treat you like dirt, they know that I am a human being like them.

- *Alice*

To me they ones that I have now are very good, at first, I worked in greenside for an Indian lady, it was horrible, I don't even want to discuss it. Then I also worked in a house in Melrose Arch for a black family and it was also horrible. So, this has been my best employer experience, to me they are the best. Even their money though its less than with the others, I prefer the treatment, they treat me so good as you see now. When I went to the hospital they gave me two days off, they are so good to me and I've been with them for three years now.

- *Camila*

No, working as a domestic worker is not good. Sometimes you try your best, the person can tell you to do this today and when she comes the next day, she's telling you another thing and she's shouting at you.

- *Lily*

She shouts a lot, when she comes back from work, she shouts even over the little things. Even the things that you think to yourself that she could not possibly shout over, she finds any reason to shout. But her husband is a very good man, he understands me and he is part of the reason I am still working there, because he is a nice husband, he understands people and he doesn't shout at me. Sometimes the woman just says things like my man doesn't want this, my man doesn't like this, one day he is going to shout at you too, but I have been working there for a while now and this man has never said anything bad to me, it's only ever been her who shouts at me, every time. My second employer doesn't shout at me, not even once, they are friends but she doesn't shout at me, the same thing with her husband. She doesn't complain about anything but the first one is always complaining. If a cup is left somewhere, knowing that you will take the cup later, she will shout at you over the cup. Even if you say "no I'm still here, I'm going to take the cup" she doesn't understand.

- *Amanda*

The face to face nature of domestic work results in very personal connections being formed resulting in most of the domestic workers experiencing an emotional state of gratitude towards their employer as identified by (Hochschild, 2003). As a result, those who are able to develop good relationships with their employers who have good employer characteristics, are able to enjoy a good work experience, where their employer grants them perks and benefits in addition to their salary.

> *Well when it comes to work, you can't say anything is fun or good because at the end of the day its work. The only thing I can say is that my bosses are good to us, when they are going out to buy some groceries for the house, they invite us along. When they do that we know that we will normally get our own groceries for our houses not for their houses. They ask us to pick some things up to a maximum of R400 so we know that we are lucky to get such a boss. So, I feel that things are good for me. If I had to pick the best three things would be firstly that when my boss comes back at four then we can also leave at four, I appreciate that about them. Secondly the fact that they buy us groceries and pay for our transport is amazing, I really appreciate that about them. Finally, I live far, they told me that if I want to move anywhere I should use their cars, their company owns bakkies and I can call the guys to help me move my things, which means we don't have to use our money to relocate. So, these favors that we get from them are very helpful and I do appreciate that. I would say during the holiday time when we are going home, that is part of the huge role that the play because I am from Malawi, they buy me a plane ticket, this is apart from the salary that they pay you, the bonus that they give you and the groceries that they buy for you usually, they buy me a ticket and they buy me groceries for the whole of December.*
>
> *When you come back from the holiday, what they do for that month is that give you R1500, for example if you came back on the 15th, you get your full salary for that month but on the 15th they give you R1500 because its January and you may have spent all of your money over the holidays. They don't deduct it from that month's salary either. They are very good to me*

- *Naledi*

> *What I would say is how they treat me, they are very nice and kind as well as helpful in whatever I need, they are there for me, they are like a family to me. They are quiet, friendly and helpful, the whole family, I'm like part of the family, that Is what I enjoy the most. If I ask for help with my finances, they usually help me, even though they*

deduct it from my salary, they usually help me. Like last time when I lost my phone, they are the one who gave me the phone that I am using. Even clothes, they give me lots of things. There are a lot of things they have helped me with.

- *Camila*

Normally when I've got a problem, like maybe financially, I ask them so they provide, normally they don't ask me to pay them back. The first time I started working for them, after like two months I got hit with a car. They took me to the doctor, and they covered some of the expenses which was like R2800. My boss said he would meet me halfway, so I paid half and he paid the other half. But I didn't even pay, they paid all of it. When it was my sister's birthday at home, they sent her something, when it was my son's birthday they give me money to buy him something. When it's my birthday, I get something special, not a small birthday gift, so normally they always come through for me.

Alice

In such instances, domestic worker who have a good relationship with their employers are able to resolve any issues that can cause a rift in the relationship, because they are able to understand where the other is coming from and reach an amicable resolution.

(laughs) Yeah at the same time a boss is a boss and everything is not always perfect. Sometimes when you do something wrong, you have to accept that you were wrong. You can't be perfect as well, there have been situations where there were expensive items in the house and we have accidentally broken them, we have made mistakes, they shout! Of course, they have to shout "I bought this for this much money, why are you doing this?" all you can say is "sorry boss" and we exchange words but at the end of the day we understand one another and we move on.

- *Naledi*

This is not the case with those who are unable to forge an understanding with their employers, as the employer not only provides the domestic worker with the basic remuneration, but their engagement is also fraught with tension and suspicion.

If you work for someone who is very harsh, that's where the problem arises like for me. In November, while I was working my son was sick and I told my employer that my son was sick, and she forced me to leave, why? She said her son had a weak immune system, so he can't meet or be with people who are sick. When I came back she asked me if my son went to a doctor, I said yes, she asked what the doctor said about his illness, because the doctor said my son might have measles, the first thing that came to my mind was measles, just like that. It wasn't that I wanted to say that but because I was busy thinking about that, I said that, and she said no no no, you must go home, you mustn't come here because your son is sick. I had to go back home, and she insisted on a doctor's note with what he says was wrong with my son. So that day I went to the doctor and the doctor wrote a letter and I returned on Monday with the letter, she took the letter and she said the doctor did not say he had measles, you lied to me. I said no, because I was talking to the doctor about measles last time, I never asked him what was wrong then. She said if you are not telling the truth that means you are a liar. I said I wasn't lying it was only because I never asked about the result. I had told my doctor that my son had all the immunizations that he can't have measles.

Interviewer: All the time that you had off, did she pay you?

Interviewee: Yes, she did, then she sent me a message asking me to come back to work. But I didn't want to see her because of the way she talked to me about my son, but I went back and that's when she called me a liar again and I ended up crying. She said if you are not telling the truth then you are a liar, she wanted me to agree that I was lying but I wasn't, I was just confused by my conversation with the doctor. That was just a painful experience, I didn't want to work for her anymore but if I don't have a job then I won't be able to feed my family, so I have to stay with her.

Interviewer: Apart from this incident, do you usually get along with her?

Interviewee: Sometimes we do but other times she just says mean things, maybe she has a lot of stress at work and then she takes it out on me by shouting at me. I don't have any other job opportunities, so I have to stay and deal with my job.

- Lily

Other than that, there are cameras all over the house. There are cameras and I'm not talking about on the outside wall or in the garden, I mean inside the house. If you look into this corner, there's a camera, but we are okay because we are workers, this is how it is. I think they did it on purpose because we heard that the previous lady who worked here stole some money so because of that problem that they had, they said no, this time around we can't just let them be free, let's just do this for our own security. But its fine, we are workers, beggars can't be choosers.

- *Naledi*

Regardless of how good the relationship with their employer is, the domestic worker is always regarded with an air of suspicion, this is an example of the prediction made by Cosner (1974) that whilst domestic workers have proffered onto them an ascribed status of being "one of the family" they would never be able to be fully assimilated into the family because the status is conditional upon the continued employment of the worker.

4.3.6 Impact on Family Life

The choice that a domestic worker therefore has to make is either to spend time with their families to leave their families in order to secure a stronger financial position; this decision often takes them away from their children. The conditions for the cost of diverted care stipulate that the domestic worker cannot both live with their family and support it (Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2003).

Interviewer: You come back here every weekend to spend time with your children?

Interviewee: Yes, every weekend and public holiday I don't work, I have to come home

Interviewer: Can you bring your family onto the property to visit you?

Interviewee: That is something I have never done, I have never tried. It was only once when their son was having his one-year birthday party that they invited my daughter to join them. That was the only time, this year they haven't asked.

Interviewer: What if it was a case where your child was sick and couldn't go to school, can he come stay for just the day?

Interviewee: No, I have never done that, they have never even given me that opportunity, they would rather say go and stay with him than bring him here.

Interviewer: So, none of your family members can live with you on the property?

Interviewee: No, my family can't. For one, the security is very tough, the second thing is that the place where I am staying in the house, the room is so little, I've got a single bed that can't hold two people.

Interviewer: Do you think that working there has affected your relationship with them?

Interviewee: Yes, to me it has, you see how young my daughter is and she is going to school, she's in Grade R. She is my last born, its only on days like today when I have a day off that she can see that her mother has love for her, I can bathe her in the morning, we can have breakfast together, I can fetch her back from school. All those things, kids they miss all those things but according to the way I am working I can't have that love to show my child, as young as she is that I can look after her until she grows up. But there is nothing I can do.

- *Camilla*

A consequence of such migration is that it leaves a vacuum in the home area, as the children of the women who migrated to the urban centres are left in the care of grandmothers, sisters, and sisters-in-law. So great is the vacuum at times, that an elder sibling is often drawn out of school in order to care for their younger siblings (Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2003). Such was the case for the majority of the domestic workers interviewed.

It is affecting my family because for example right now at 5:45 pm in the evening I am here, my kids have been home from school since 5 but I am here, I as their mother am not yet home, I am not even close to being home because I still have to take the three taxis to get back home, before I get home it will be 7 or 8pm at night. That's part of the things that I feel like I'm not responsible enough as their mother. I was supposed to be there for them when they come home from school, now that puts a strain on my mother who has to take care of them on my behalf. It is my mother who has to go and pick up my kids from school and sometimes in the morning as well she's the one who has to go and drop them off at school. That means that as a daughter I have also failed because at this stage of her life she should not be stressing herself, she should not have to be raising any more kids, she's supposed to be relaxing and I'm supposed to be taking care of her, instead she has to raise my kids because I am never there. That affects me a lot as well but there is nothing I can do about it, I have

to accept it. It also reduces the quality time I get to spend with them because by the time I get home, it is late, the kids are already tired, they can't have time with me, only on the weekends, on Saturdays. Even then on Saturdays the father can't spend time with them because he still has to work, I miss them. It's part of a hectic life for us but I'm sure one day we will catch up.

- *Naledi*

I am here on the weekends but at the age that my children are, especially my little girl, no one is looking after them. If I am not there, it will just be her, her brother and their father, they are only three. The boy is seventeen years old now, he is doing grade 10 now. He has so many medals, he is a footballer, he plays soccer, he's the one who's looking after his young sister most of the time and the father is not always at home. He comes home late, all those things but there is nothing you can do because you are trying to make a living for them.

- *Camilla*

After working for a long period of time, some of the domestic workers have begun to experience the long-term effects of such long-distance parenting, yet they are not able to implement any changes as they require the financial stability that the profession provides. The relationship between the domestic worker and their employer is therefore as dependent and paternalistic as Young (1987) theorized as the worker becomes more estranged from their families the more they are assimilated in the families of their employers.

You know sometimes I look at the way they are with their children, they get to spend time together in the morning and afternoon whilst my son has to come home alone, he walks home with his friends but there is no one at home to meet him, no one at home to greet him, he gets the key from my neighbour and she keeps an eye out to make sure he is okay but apart from that he has no one because his father is nowhere to be found. He has to stay alone until dark when I come back home, that is no way for a child to grow up. I think about leaving this job all the time but it is the only way I know how to provide for him, he's young right now so it's still okay, but when he gets older I am afraid that he will become like all these other boys in the street because there is no one to keep him away from all that, it's supposed to be my job to keep him away but I cannot do that because I am here trying to provide for us, so it's hard.

- *Lily*

My daughter doesn't live with me anymore, when I started working as a domestic worker she was in grade 3, now she is 19, she didn't finish her matric and she lives with her boyfriend. When I tried to tell her not to go with him and to go to school she told me that I can't tell her what to do when I am not there at home anyway. It was so painful that the child you go to work every day for so that she can have a better life than you did can say something like that to you.

- *Alice*

I would want to spend more time with my children, especially when I knock off to be able to be with them. Even if my bosses are only wiling to allow me to take her with me and they pay for her education because here (in the neighbourhood where I live) we don't pay for the school fees, even though we pay, it's such a little amount of money. But if she goes that side (Waterfall estate) then that means that all of my salary will be for her school fees and then I won't manage. Even now I am failing to manage when they are staying here alone.

- *Amanda*

4.3.7 Sociological Impact of Working as a Domestic Worker

To work as a domestic worker entails working in a state of fluidity, where one must come to terms with the fact that their employer might be understanding or might be difficult to work with. This state of fluidity can often have a negative impact on one's state of mind, as one is never quite secure. This can be attributed to the fact that the relationship with their employer or lord is based upon market values (Young, 1987), thus as Cock (1980) theorized, the domestic worker and their employers are not free and equal participants in the interaction.

It's not a very nice environment where I work, a domestic worker is good if you are working for person that understands you. That means communication, they say what they want and they are consistent about that, it doesn't change from day to day. It also means if the worker asks for help or to explain how to do a task, you must help them. I think they must understand if your son is sick, if somebody at home is sick then she must understand that something has happened and if someone is sick, she must not take that for granted. She told me that her last maid was sick, the maid had T.B and she kicked the maid out. It was very hurtful to me because she (the maid) had

two boys then, so if I contract some form of illness that means I will also lose my job. I heard from the other domestic workers that she fired the two previous maids who worked for her. She has a white lady who looks after the child, and she hired me as the cleaner. Sometimes you find that there are people who are right, who are good to their employees but the other ones, I don't know what is wrong with them.

- *Amanda*

My current employer is terrible, but my other employer is a good person, the one I work for on Tuesday and Thursday. I like working as a domestic worker for people who can understand me and communicate with me. The other one is very good, I like to work for her because she understands that working as a domestic worker doesn't mean you are stupid or you don't understand and that you are a human being. The reason we work as domestic workers is because there are things that we need to do with that money, it's not working for the sake of working, you are working for your kids, we are all parents. That first woman doesn't think of you as a human, just as a servant who just makes her house clean and takes care of her dogs.

- *Lily*

Most of the domestic worker interviewed did not consider their profession a vocation they would continue in the future as the drawbacks and limitations it placed on their family time, personal development and self-image did not outweigh the benefits. Whilst they enjoyed engaging with children, the dynamics within which they operated with the children did not allow them to fully enjoy the engagement.

No, to tell you the truth, no one wants to work like this. But because of the situation that you are in, you end up working in this profession. You end up working the way we are working but to tell you the truth no one wants to work like this. We wish we can work like starting at 8 and by 3 we are home, normal working hours but we don't have a choice.

Interviewer: If there was something you could change about the profession that would make it more viable what you change?

Interviewee: How would you change it? The profession is the way it is for a reason and there is no way you can change it, without changing yourself. To me, it's better to go back to school that's the only I can change my profession. If I go back to school, I have some other papers, I can get a good job.

- *Naledi*

Frankly no, as you can see to be a domestic is not something that I wanted when I was growing up, because of my country's situation I am forced to do this. Under normal circumstances no I would not be doing this.

- *Alice*

If it happens, especially if its better money wise, there are people working in Waterfall Estate are earning more than R5000 a month some are almost R10000 whilst I'm earning R3000. If I get a family like that then I think I can continue, who allow me to take care of the kids like an au pair or something then I can live like that. Anywhere is fine, even if someone can say I'm employing you, come to Britain, I would go, I wouldn't mind.

- *Camila*

Despite their need for a well-paying position which would provide their families with financial stability, domestic worker are careful when choosing their places of employment as the behaviour and attributes of their employer has a massive effect on their willingness to work for an employer.

Interviewer: As a hypothetical situation, would you rather have a family like the one you have now that's nice but can only pay you a little, or a family like the Indian one for R10000, which would you pick?

Interviewee: Even for R10000 I wouldn't go back to the Indian family, No I can't, she was horrible, the way she works you, they follow you while you're doing your work. Two they don't have trust in you, if something goes missing, they come straight for you. Sometimes white people, and I am sorry to say this but white people when you stay with them, they develop trust in you, but Indians they will never trust you, in fact Indians and blacks will never trust you, you may stay for 10 years with them, but they will never trust you. But with the white people I now work with, within 6 months they have trust in you. They can deduce according to what I am doing that they can trust me, even if they are away I can stay in their house and they can say "we are going for a holiday for a weekend, please come stay with the puppies and look after them", they feel free to do that with me but with the Indians, never.

- *Camilla*

With regards to domestic work specifically, most of the domestic workers interviewed who had understanding employers were happy with their jobs at Waterfall estate. Those who would have rather been employed elsewhere were either seeking to escape from their current employers specifically or had a different expectation for their career progression.

> *I would rather be in Waterfall, because first things first it is near my place, even If I knock off late, I don't have to stress about transport because of this mall. But I don't think I can stay here because I don't like this lady.*
>
> - *Amanda*

> *I haven't worked in too many places, its only being Sunninghill and waterfall. But out of those places, Waterfall by far.*
>
> - *Camilla*

> *I have kind bosses, so it is easy to work here (In Waterfall Estate) for people who care for you apart from you being their worker.*
>
> - *Alice*

> *I would go to Cape Town, I wish I could go to Cape Town. It's a good place. It's about the adventure to see what life is all about out there, you can't just get stuck in one place, I need to go around and see what life is all about and see what the difference is, because here in Joburg all we know is I wake up, I go to work, I come back home. You can't! You need to refresh your mind, you need to have a vision of life ahead of you. You can't always be stuck in one place and do one thing.*
>
> - *Naledi*

Lan (2003a) highlighted that many of the domestic worker were drawn from rural to urban spaces as a result of the opportunities that could be found in the urban settings. These migration patterns result in the domestic worker setting up homes in the urban areas. In the cases of all the domestic workers interviewed, despite the finances that they were able to secure in the urban areas, they considered the home that they had settled in, to be a temporary state of affairs. Regardless of how long they would remain in the urban area, they did not consider the urban area as a place in which they could settle.

> *No, Tembisa is not my home, I am a tenant. I stay there with my two children, but I am not married. They go to a government school during the day. Even though I have family members here, my younger sister is nearby, she works at a clinic, my other family members are at home in Kwa Zulu Natal. I can only visit them during the December holidays, if I could I would be with them the whole year.*

- *Lily*

I can't say that it is my home no, you know as foreigners we always have one leg in each country, you can never say this is my home, we are here for a purpose and when we achieve our purpose, then we obviously have to go back to our country and start life again. We can't just stay here forever.

- *Naledi*

Home is always Home, home will always be the best, because that is where your heart is. That side, there is a problem of finances but even if I'm here, I'm always thinking about home. I don't plan to settle down here, I am only here to make enough money for me and my son so that we can go back home and live nicely. That's the hardest part, having to leave home and my family to go somewhere else for a whole year, working all year just for those two weeks. But I'm here for a reason and soon I'll be able to go home for good.

- *Alice*

4.4 Ramifications of Domestic work in Exclusionary Communities

The purpose of this study was to provide an exploration into the dynamics and implications of being a domestic worker in a gated community. To this end, the themes above explored the different facets of the domestic worker experience, resulting in a composite of the physical, sociological and geographic challenges they face being presented. Ehrenreich & Hochschild's (2003) theory on the migration of labour from poorer areas to more affluent areas were found to be in effect in Waterfall Estate, as all of the workers in the study had migrated from areas outside Gauteng, with some coming from outside South Africa. Hook & Vrdoljak's (2006) argument that the major function of gated communities was to exclude undesirable elements was also found to be the case in Waterfall Estate as the domestic workers experienced resistance when trying to gain access to the Estate, despite the fact that they were employed. Thus, the paternalistic relationship described by Young (1987) between the domestic worker and their employer was on display as the domestic worker was required to perform emotional labour as described by Cock (1980) to behave in a manner appeasing to their employers in order to receive fingerprint access. The retreat of the residents into gated communities on the peripheries was also found to have affected the domestic worker as the theory by Gin and Sonstelie (1983) that the poor live closer to the city to benefit from public transportation was exemplified by the fact that the closest domestic workers lived twenty kilometres away, whilst their employers were able to utilise their own means of transportation such as private cars and the Gautrain. This meant that the domestic

worker was heavily reliant on transit nodes such as taxi ranks in order to commute to the estate. The scale of the Estate warranting a taxi route however mitigated the financial cost for most of the domestic workers, but the long distances travelled still had other effects on the domestic worker. Most of the domestic workers in the study were found to be paying the cost of diverted care described by Ehrenreich & Hochschild (2003), resulting in strenuous relationships with their families, other family members having to care for their children and a negative outlook on the profession and their fulfilment of their roles as mothers.

5 IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Literature from theorists such as Ehrenreich & Hochschild (2003) highlighted the fact that globalisation had facilitated the movement of paid domestic work across the globe. Thus, it had become increasingly more common place to find domestic workers in more affluent countries being migrants who relocated to the country in search of better living prospects for themselves and their families (Lan, 2003a). Within the country itself, there is another level of migration occurring with the more affluent retreating from the world to form a collection of homes with others of similar intention in order to create a space which some have labelled as exclusionary (Franz, 2006; McKenzie, 2006). The implication for those who service these estates is that despite the fact that they live in more central parts of the city, they are required to commute to the developments on the peripheries. Thus, whilst the residents have internalised the cost of their commute, very little regard has been allocated to the impact on those who service the development. As a result, such developments should be more closely scrutinized and monitored by planners, as the developments of these estates not only redirect resources from the central areas of the city but also require the development of infrastructure for the public transportation of the domestic workers (Glaeser & Kahn, 2003). The literature that exists relates to domestic workers as a whole but there was a scarcity of research exploring the experiences of these domestic workers and how they operate within and commute to these spaces. This exploratory research study was an attempt to fill in the gap and contribute to a better understanding of some of the experiences of Domestic workers working within exclusionary communities in South Africa. The researcher was intrigued by the intricacies surrounding the perceived experiences of a sector that tends to go unnoticed by the public's eye, even though they can be seen in great numbers, in plain sight, serving as a critical resource in providing labour to the economy. This research was therefore an attempt to develop a more profound and nuanced understanding of the lives and narratives of some of the people who service these exclusionary communities.

5.1.1 Summary of Main Findings

The average demographic from the findings of the study paints the picture of a middle aged Domestic Worker who has a lot of people depending on her income. These dependents include various family members such as children, uncles, grandmothers and even partners. The domestic worker often enters into the profession due to difficult circumstances and as a result the majority (81% of those interviewed) did not have a matric qualification. The nature of the profession also does not allow for many of them (58% of those interviewed) to develop families in the conventional manner as a result, despite having children, they are often unmarried and supporting the child on their own. Their children thus become the major focus of their efforts and the quest to provide their children with better opportunities than they had is often their major motivating factor. In order to accomplish this, the highest percentage (38% of those interviewed) of domestic workers travel over 20 Kilometres from Tembisa with the closest taxi rank Ivory Park is over 17.1 Kilometres away. Taking into account the fact that the average daily cost of Transportation was R31, this meant the average cost of transportation took 15% of the average domestic worker's income. The development of Waterfall estate could also be seen to be well connected as very few (32% of those interviewed) of the domestic worker required more than 2 or more taxis to travel either from their home to the estate or vice versa, with many of those cases including a local taxi to a major taxi rank. The major problem for the domestic worker in terms of transportation was therefore not difficulty of accessing the estate but rather the distances they would have to travel and by extension the amount of time it would take. Thus, this development can be classified under the second form of urban sprawl theorised by Glaeser & Kahn (2003) as the polycentric model which explains that the change from public to private modes of transportation drastically reduces the fixed costs of opening new employment centres in remote locations as this development becomes one of many nodes around the city. The task for the planner therefore becomes less focused upon restricting these developments and more concerned with mitigating the negative effects of urban sprawl accruing to these workers. Whilst the researcher could not quantify the negative impact of transportation on the domestic worker from a cost perspective, there were other non-financial issues affecting the domestic worker as a result of their work on the estate.

Further investigation into the impact of operating within an exclusionary community uncovered that the level of discrimination that the domestic worker felt as a result of their station within the estate depended heavily on the attributes of the resident as an individual as opposed to a common attribute shared by all residents. The domestic workers in the estate were not directly restricted or sanctioned from the use of the facilities, however it was apparent that the level to which they could utilise the facilities was dependent on the

benevolence of their employer. In this way the domestic worker is still reliant upon their relationship with their employer, but it could not be conclusively tied to a common outlook engendered by the community, but rather by the gated community as an institution. On a more personal level, the treatment of the domestic worker by their employers was also found to be unique experience for each domestic worker as opposed to a conclusive pattern. The decisive factor in determining whether the domestic workers were treated well was not their operation within an exclusionary community but rather on the individual attributes of their employer, with domestic worker being treated well and ill in equal measure. One aspect of the exclusionary community that could be definitively categorised as oppressive to the domestic worker were the security measures in place.

The security measures in place for the community ensured that each domestic worker was made to feel their position as an intruder into the space through the fingerprint system. The method of acquiring the fingerprint system serves as a means of ingratiating and indebting the domestic worker to their employers, who through their act of granting their trust (in the form of the fingerprint) endeared themselves to the domestic worker, becoming cast as the benevolent saviour who specifically handpicked the domestic worker from the masses to be granted entry. Despite being granted entry into the exclusionary community, the domestic worker can never quite settle because they are all too aware that their position is a delicate one and their benefits can be revoked at any time, should their employer become displeased with their service, further entrenching the dynamic of employer/employee regardless of how much of a part of the family they feel.

The major cost for the domestic worker operating within an exclusionary community lies in the fact that they are alienated from their family members. The cost of diverted care that the domestic worker has to pay becomes more pronounced in the exclusionary community context because the domestic worker (in the case of the travelling domestic worker) has to travel a longer distance and as a result arrives home from work very late. This has profound ramifications for the remaining units of the family as the domestic worker has to outsource their mother work to other family member such as grandmothers, sisters, and sisters-in-law. The distance that the domestic worker experiences is therefore not only physical but also emotional as their continued absence within the household results in them becoming more alienated from their immediate and extended family members. In the case of their support networks, due to the fact that they had to leave their extended family members, they often do not consider the urban area to be home. All of these factors result in the domestic worker considering the profession to be a transient one, whilst they plan for the future making it a volatile state for them to maintain for long periods of time

5.1.2 Suggestions for Further research

The contents of this study represent the tip of the iceberg when it comes to understanding many of the forces at play within the domestic worker labour market, but it sets the foundation for much more incisive explorations. These explorations would include devising ways through which one can improve the domestic worker experience and to make the profession more rewarding for these women who have sacrificed their families to take care of the families of others. For planners, this means accepting that the nature of gated communities will remain exclusionary as it is inherent in any attempt to create a secure zone. However, whilst the exclusionary communities might not be fully internalising the costs that are placed upon the workers who service these developments, there are areas in which they could improve and mitigative the harmful effects accruing to the domestic workers.

The reduction and mitigation of these harmful effects would result in a profession that serves to aid the economic development of marginalized women who seek upward mobility. Low skilled occupations are defined by Statistics South Africa as Elementary (occupations consisting of simple and routine tasks) and Domestic Work. Out of a labour force of 20 122 000, 4 321 000 are employed in Low Skill occupations, this equates to 22% of the labour force (StatsSA, 2014). As such, the issues that affect this demographic of workers affects a substantial percentage of the population. Those within this demographic are employed and earn an income, however their income does not allow them to secure the services they need. domestic worker serve as a crucial part of the labour market as they allow their employers to focus on their careers, but the burdens and costs associated with this service industry is still too great. An example of an improvement would be to incorporate an initiative which creates low cost housing for the domestic workers so that they could live relatively close to their employers, with their families and would not have to travel long distances.

> *I think it would improve something, like what you are doing now, I think it will be going somewhere that could make a change for us. That's important so something like that would help because the distance would be shorter, so I would be able to get home to them sooner, it would be a huge help because then I would be able to improve my relationship with them. To me the aspect of a school would also be important, so if that could be included. Also having the extra time would allow me to develop myself, perhaps take a training course, perhaps start my own business but it would give me the opportunity to make my own way in life outside of what I am currently doing.*

- *Naledi*

Yes, because one would be saving money, because with us, you are travelling but sometimes you think that if I live in, it will be better, I can save that money for transport, use it for something else

- *Alice*

I think that would be great, it would be perfect

- *Camila*

The needs of this demographic go beyond simply housing, it requires the provision of an integrated service system that caters to their needs. Simply relocating into the vicinity of their job would reduce the strain of transportation but it would also lead to a shortage of affordable services.

. But if she goes that side (Waterfall estate) then that means that all of my salary will be for her school fees and then I won't manage. Even now I am failing to manage when they are staying here alone.

- *Amanda*

Thus, the crux of the task facing contemporary planners is that despite the fact that the focus is on constructing sustainable housing, the requirements for those working in low skill occupations includes not only flexible accommodation in close proximity to their workplaces but also affordable services in these areas. The need for the provision of services such as education, childcare, entertainment, healthcare and food are services shared by all, and as such those working in low skill occupations require them as much as everyone else. The difference arises from the fact that they are unable to afford these services in the area of their employment. It is therefore imperative that before the implementation of low cost housing, due consideration is given to the services available to the workers within the area. The success of such an intervention would depend on the cohesive integration of housing, transportation and services in these areas. Areas for further research would thus include investigations into the financial feasibility of low cost housing in these estates and

explorations into the prospects of a successful implementation, this would involve perceptions of the residents and developers regarding such an intervention. Another potential area of research would entail explorations into the provision of affordable services for the workers in these areas and would thus pave the way for a truly integrated solution. Finally, the last suggestion for further research would be to investigate different initiatives implemented by gated communities in order to mitigate the effects of urban sprawl accruing to those who interact with the development.

5.1.3 Concluding Remarks

The danger of engaging in social research that seeks to explore the experiences of a set of people is that the researcher is often tempted to offer generalised statements that apply to all who fall within the study focus. However, the researcher would like to firmly state that the findings from this report do not present the whole picture as the dynamics within which the domestic workers operate is extremely complex and any interventions or conclusions should be drawn with extreme care. All the same, the area of domestic work in South Africa and the due diligence of these exclusionary communities is an area that needs to be explored further in order to ensure the least harm is being done to all parties involved. The responses of the domestic worker interviewed revealed that they were vaguely aware of the different forces that were acting upon them but often times felt they did not possess the power to change anything, restoring that agency to the workers and ensuring that they can also lead fulfilling lives should be taken into consideration when developing the spaces within which they will be traveling to and operating in.

6 Appendix

6.1 Participant information sheet

To whom it may concern,

My name is Abraham Ajibade, I am a student enrolled at the University of Witwatersrand and I am currently undertaking research in partial fulfilment of my Masters in Urban and Regional Planning. The title of my research report is “Investigating the experiences of workers in Exclusionary Communities: A case study of Waterfall Estate". The aim of my research is to understand how the effects of urban sprawl affect the labour force working in the Waterfall Estate. It aims to discover the migration patterns and movements of the workers that service Waterfall Estate and investigate their lived experiences and modes of interaction. The potential benefit of this research is that it will serve to enhance the academic body of work that is dedicated to improving the understanding of decision makers about the intricate effects at work within the communities they govern. This letter serves as a formal invitation from me, for you to participate in the study and help provide answers that will be crucial to the success of the study. You have been selected because you are a worker in the Waterfall Estate development who has experience in the area for a period longer than 2 years. If you choose to participate in the study, you will be asked a series of questions for no longer than half an hour, at a place of your choosing. In the event that there are further questions, I might contact you to schedule another appointment at a time that is most convenient for you. The purpose of the research is purely academic and as a result there is no compensation or reward to be provided for your participation. I would like to stress that your participation in this study is completely voluntary and should you choose not to participate in the study, there shall be no penalty or loss of benefits you currently enjoy. You may simply decline to participate and I will be completely respectful of your decision. Should you choose to participate in this study, I guarantees your anonymity and the information that is gathered from the interviews will remain strictly confidential. In the event that your views are included in the research report, pseudonyms will be used in order to ensure that you are not directly identifiable or implicated in any way. At any point in the interview, should you feel uncomfortable with the questions, you may decline to answer or even completely withdraw from the study without any penalty or losses incurred. I must warn you that the questions I will ask might make you slightly uncomfortable as the discussion will revolve around your experiences in the area and your current standard of living. The findings from the study will be reported in a research report format that will be made available at the university library (if selected) and on the university website, accessible to the university’s students and staff members. Should you have any questions, please feel free to contact me, and I would be more than happy to resolve any inquiries. I could also make a summary of my research available to you once it is finished, should you want to read it. Thank you very much for your consideration, should you accept, I look forward to working with you.

My contact details are
Name: Abraham Ajibade Phone: 072 737 6555 Email: ronanstr@yahoo.com
Supervisor Contact Details
Name: Associate Professor Aly Karam Phone: (011) 717 7724 Email: Aly.Karam@wits.ac.za

6.2 Consent form

I _____, hereby agree that the details of the research titled "Investigating the experiences of workers in Exclusionary Communities: A case study of Waterfall Estate" have been explained to me. I hereby agree to participate in the study and contribute to enhance the academic body of work that is dedicated to improving the understanding of decision makers about the intricate effects at work within the communities they govern. I have been selected because I am a worker in the Waterfall Estate development who has experience in the area for a period longer than 2 years. In this capacity I have agreed to help provide answers to the study and I am aware that the purpose of the research is purely academic and as a result there is no compensation or reward to be provided for my participation. I understand that my participation in this study is completely voluntary and if at any point in the interview, I feel uncomfortable with the questions, I understand that I may decline to answer or even completely withdraw from the study without any penalty or losses incurred. The researcher has guaranteed my anonymity and assured me that the information that is gathered from the interviews will remain strictly confidential. I am aware that in the event that my views are included in the research report, pseudonyms will be used in order to ensure that I are not directly identifiable or implicated in any way. I have been warned that the questions asked might make me slightly uncomfortable as the discussion will revolve around my experiences in the area and my current standard of living. I am also aware that the findings from the study will be reported in a research report format that will be made available at the university library (if selected) and on the university website, accessible to the university's students and staff members.

Please Circle your Choice

I hereby Agree/Disagree to be interviewed

I hereby Agree/Disagree to complete a questionnaire

I hereby Agree/Disagree to have the audio from the interview recorded

Signature of Participant: _____

Date: _____

6.3 Quantitative Questions

1. What is Your Age? (15-25)(26-35)(36-50)(50+)
2. What is Your Home Language? _____
3. Male/ Female (Please Circle your choice)
4. What is your Marital Status? (Circle Applicable)
    a. (Married)(Living Together)(Never Married)(Widower/Widow)(Separated)(Divorced)
5. Who lives in your Household where you live most of the time?
        i. Husband/wife/partner ( )
        ii. Son/daughter ( )
        iii. Adopted son/daughter ( )
        iv. Brother/Sister ( )
        v. Parent(mother/father) ( )
        vi. Parent in law ( )
        vii. Grand/great grandchild ( )
        viii. Son/daughter in law ( )
        ix. Brother/sister in law ( )
        x. Grandmother/father( )
6. Do you have a Second Home? _____
7. Do you have family living elsewhere?
    a. If Yes, Where _____
    b. How often do you visit them? _____
8. Are you the primary provider for the Household you currently live in?
    a. Who do you support/send money to with your salary?
        i. Husband/wife/partner ( )
        ii. Son/daughter ( )
        iii. Adopted son/daughter ( )
        iv. Brother/Sister ( )
        v. Parent(mother/father) ( )
        vi. Parent in law ( )
        vii. Grand/great grandchild ( )
        viii. Son/daughter in law ( )
        ix. Brother/sister in law ( )
        x. Grandmother/father( )
    b. If with Partner, Does Partner have a Job?
    c. Are you able to send your children to School?
9. Do you have a Matric Qualification?
    a. If Yes, Have you completed any further training after Matric? (Please Indicate your choice) _____
        i. For Example FET College/College/ University/ Sewing School
    b. If No, What was your highest grade completed? _____
10. Where do you live? (Please specify area/suburb) _____
11. How long have you been a worker? (Closest Month and Year)
    a. 1-3 Years/4-6 Years/ 7-10 Years/ 10+ Years
12. How long have you been working in Waterfall Estate (Closest Month and Year)
    a. 1-3 Years/4-6 Years/ 7-10 Years/ 10+ Years
13. How Many Days a week do you work? _____

14. Do you work for other Households besides this one in Waterfall?
    a. If yes, How many? _____
    b. How many of your working days are spent in Waterfall estate? _____
15. What is your monthly income bracket?
    a. (0-1499)(1500-2999)(3000-4499)(4500-5999)(6000-7499))(7500-8999)(>9000)
    b. Would you be willing to specify the daily amount? (a range of minimum and maximum) _____
16. Does the value remain the same on a daily basis or does it differ between employers? (Please Circle your choice)
    a. Yes/No
17. Do you commute to Work from home or do you live on the premises? (Please Circle your choice)
    a. Commute/Live In
    b. If Commute
        i. What is the daily cost of your transportation to work and back home? _____
        ii. What time do you leave for work? _____
        iii. What form of transportation do you use? _____
            1. If Buses/Taxis(Please specify the number and the areas of interchange)
            2. _____
            3. Where does your mode of transportation drop you off? _____
            4. How long does it take to walk to the gate from that point? (in Minutes) _____
18. Do you purchase or prepare your lunch?
    a. If purchased, Where do you buy it (Estate Shopping Centre, or elsewhere)?
    b. If Prepared, Do you utilise your own ingredients or are you allowed to use your employers?
19. Would you be willing to further aid me in my Research by conducting an interview about your experiences as a worker at a time of your choosing?
    a. If yes , Please provide me with your cell phone number _____

6.4 Qualitative Questions

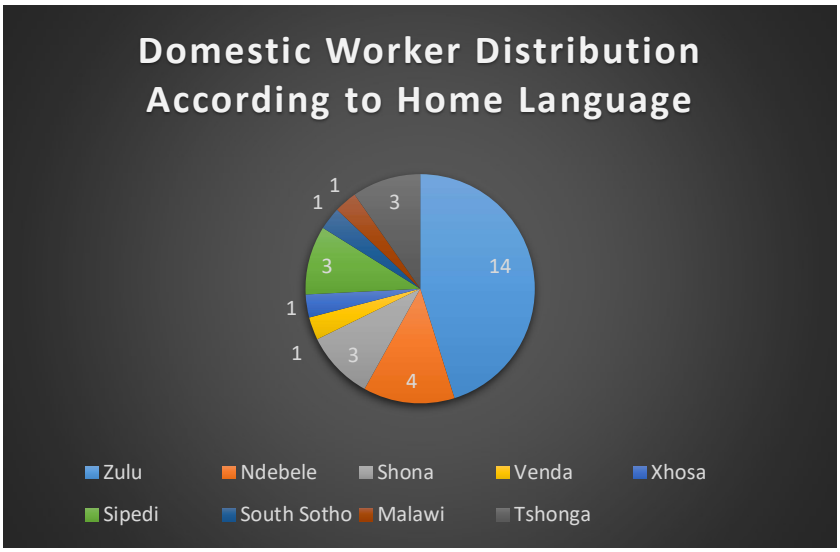
1. Which Province were you born in?
2. How did you find out about this employment Opportunity?
3. How many days a week do you work? Please Indicate Below the Days, Employer and Area. Work Schedules at alternating periods of time (e.g. every second week) will be annotated.

Day	Length(Full/Half)	Employer Code (1- Employer No 1 etc.)	Area of Work
Monday			
Tuesday			
Wednesday			
Thursday			
Friday			
Saturday			
Sunday			

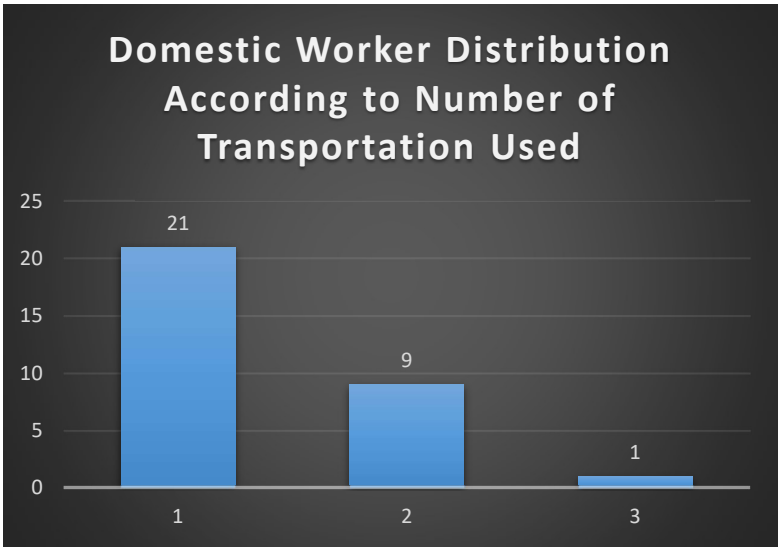
4. Prior to working on this Estate, where did you work?
    a. Did you move here with your employers
    b. Is it better to work travel here or was it easier to travel to your previous place of employment?
5. What are your duties, if working for multiple employers, how does it vary between the jobs?
6. How has your experience of working for your employer been?
    a. If multiple employers,
        i. Which employer have you worked for the longest? (Indicate which employer code corresponds with the aforementioned employer).
        ii. How long have you been working for them? (Closest Month, Year)
        _____
        iii. How do your employers compare?
7. How do you access the estate?
    a. What is the procedure when you arrive at the point of entry?
8. How do you access your place of work?
9. Have you had any difficulties with security or residents whilst working here?
10. Are you allowed to leave your place of work for breaks?
11. What has been the best experience you've had working in this area?
12. What has been the worst experience you've had working in this area?
13. What do you enjoy most about working here? (if multiple, list them)
14. What do you enjoy least about working here (if multiple, list them)
15. Are you allowed to visit or spend time with other domestic workers?
16. Are you allowed to take walks around the estate?
17. Are you allowed to rest by the side of the roads of the estate
18. Do you get holidays (Christmas, Easter, New Year etc.) off?
19. How much of a role does your Employer play in your life?

    a. Do they help you financially? (Other than salary e.g. help you build a house, send your children to school etc.)
20. Questions for travelling Workers
    a. Do you consider where you live to be home?
    b. Do you live with your family?
        i. If not, where do they live?
        ii. How often do you visit them?
        iii. How long can you stay with your family when you visit?
    c. Is there another place you consider to be home?
    d. Do you know of any households with live-in domestic workers?
        i. Are they allowed to visit or spend time with other domestic workers?
        ii. Are they allowed to take walks around the estate?
        iii. Are they allowed to rest by the side of the roads of the estate?
21. Questions for Live in Workers
    a. Is the family you live with your only employer?
        i. If Not, What days do you work for your other employers?
        ii. Is there an arrangement or understanding between your employers?
    b. What are your working hours?
    c. Where does your Family Live?
    d. How often do you visit your family?
    e. How long can you stay with your family when you visit?
    f. Can you bring your family onto the property to visit you?
    g. Can your family members live with you?
22. Do you want to keep working in this profession?
23. Are you happy with your job?
24. If you could switch jobs, what would you work as?
25. If you could work elsewhere, where would it be?
26. The government has been discussing building low cost housing within Estates
    a. Would you want something like that if it were possible?
    b. Do you think such an intervention would work?
27. Do you have any colleagues who work in Waterfall Estate that you could recommend to participate in this Study?
    a. If yes , Please provide me with their cell phone number _____

6.5 Graphs representing Domestic Worker Demographics



Language	Number
Zulu	14
Ndebele	4
Shona	3
Venda	1
Xhosa	1
Sipedi	3
South Sotho	1
Malawi	1
Tshonga	3
Total	31



Number of Transportation	Number
1	21
2	9
3	1
Total	31

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