

**A PHENOMENOLOGICAL EXPLORATION OF ADOPTIVE PARENTS'
MOTIVATION FOR AND EXPERIENCE OF TRANSRACIAL ADOPTION IN
SOUTH AFRICA.**

**A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of**

MASTER OF ARTS

of

RHODES UNIVERSITY

by

TERRY-ANNE ATTWELL

April 2004

**Whatever the ambition on which you set your heart-
Whatever you're attempting – Whatever be your part-
Success depends entirely on the pains you take -
The day by day endeavour: the effort that you make-**

Patience Strong

Abstract

Prior to the democratic elections of 1994, South Africa was daunted by legislation flooded with racial segregation. Adoption across racial lines is, because of South Africa's racially segregated past, a relatively recent phenomenon in this country. The number of legal adoptions has increased dramatically, especially after its legalization in 1991. Parents may adopt across racial lines for an array of different reasons, from not being able to conceive a baby, to wanting to give a child the best opportunity in life. This study explored the experiences of white parents who have adopted black children, paying particular attention to how they deal with issues of "racial" identity. In-depth interviews were used to generate qualitative data pertaining to the parental perceptions of their motivation for, and experiences of adopting a child transracially in South Africa. The study aimed to explore their motivation for adopting and experiences, as well as issues relating to "racial" identity. Recommendations have been made to assist parents who are interested in adopting transracially. The report presents findings relating to the unique characteristics of the participants who have adopted transracially. These include adopters' motivation and thought processes before taking the relevant steps to adopt transracially; the support that they have received from others in their decision to adopt transracially; communication patterns; their relevant concerns regarding the future of their adopted child; and issues pertaining to race, culture, heritage, prejudices and stereotypes. The findings suggest that parents were pragmatic, without regrets, in their views about adopting across racial lines. The parents' motivations for adopting across racial lines were very similar to various perspectives, but were all due to the fact that they were unable to have biological children. Parents were aware of the child's identity and cultural issues, which may be more perceptible in the future. Their perceptions, views and opinions, and the future concerns of their children were not unrealistic. Due to the children's young age a follow-up study of these children should be considered.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my sincere appreciation to the following people for assisting me in completing this research:

My supervisor, Desmond Painter, for the competent and professional guidance and support, which made the completion of this study possible.

To all the willing participants, each of whom made a valuable contribution to this research. Without them this study would not have been possible.

To Mrs Valerie Kariem, at the Port Elizabeth Childline and Family Centre.

To my sister Rene and brother Julian for their love, support and encouragement.

To my family and friends thank you for your encouragement, support and motivation.

To my parents, Noel and Delene, for their constant love, support, encouragement and sacrifice. Who provided me with a firm foundation and the knowledge that with enough determination anything is possible. This work is dedicated to them.

The Lord is faithful to all His promises and loving to all he has made.

Table of Contents

Abstract	(i)
Acknowledgements	(ii)
 Chapter 1: Introduction	 1
 <u>Chapter 2: Literature Review</u>	
2.1. Understanding adoption	3
2.2. A broadband experience of transracial adoption	4
2.3. Current law and practices of transracial adoption	5
2.4. Adoption as an experience of stress	8
2.5. Biological variables	9
2.6. Environmental variables	9
2.7. Cultural factors	9
2.8. Interpersonal factors	9
2.9. The arguments for and against transracial adoption	11
2.10. Personal identity	14
2.11. Social identity	15
2.12. Race and transracial adoption	17
2.13. Empirical studies relating to transracial adoption	19
 Chapter 3: Methodology	
3.1. The interpretivist paradigm	24
3.2. Understanding qualitative research	25
3.3. Phenomenology	26
3.4. Sampling of participants	27
3.5. Data collection	28

3.6. Procedure	29
3.7. Data analysis	30
3.8. Research questions	31
 Chapter 4: Results	
4.1. Motivation	33
4.2. Communication	38
4.3. Support	41
4.4. Concerns and experiences	44
4.5. Identity and experiences	47
 Chapter 5: Discussion	
5.1. The importance of communication	
5.1.1. Initial thoughts of adoption	56
5.1.2. Apprehensiveness	56
5.1.3. Honesty and openness	57
5.1.4. Biological parents	58
5.2. Significance of support	
5.2.1. Role of the social worker	59
5.2.2. Support groups	60
5.2.3. Support from family members and friends	61
5.3. Motivation for adopting transracially	
5.3.1. Reasons and motivation	63
5.3.2. Race	65
5.3.3. Availability of babies	65
5.4. Concerns about the future of transracial adoptees	
5.4.1. Prejudicial and stereotypical behaviour	66
5.4.2. Age of placement	67
5.4.3. Impact from society	67
5.4.4. School environment	68
5.4.5. Biological parents	69

5.5. The experience and identity of transracial adoption	
5.5.1. Discrimination	69
5.5.2. Race and racism	70
5.5.3. Coping skills	71
5.5.4. Adopting black babies into black community	72
5.5.5. Culture and identity	72
5.5.6. Personal identity	74

Chapter 6: Conclusion and Recommendations

6.1. Recommendations	78
6.2. Limitations of the study	80

Chapter 7: References	82
------------------------------	----

Reference Appendix

Appendices

Appendix A - Letter to Director of Port Elizabeth Child and Welfare Center	85
Appendix B - Consent form	86
Appendix C - Interview A	87
Appendix D - Interview B	95
Appendix E - Combined Interview A&B	107
Appendix F - Interview C	113
Appendix G - Interview D	132
Appendix H - Interview E	144
Appendix I - Interview F	154
Appendix J - Combined Interview E&F	171

Chapter One

Introduction

Despite the demise of racist legislation in the early 1990s, adopting a child across racial lines in South Africa is still an issue fraught with controversy. During the apartheid era, of course, such adoption was simply illegal. This is now in the process of changing, and legal adoptions in South Africa have increased dramatically since it was legalized in 1991. Especially white parents are now willing to adopt black babies.

Its legality, of course, does not make transracial adoption an unproblematic practice. Racial prejudice and practices persist, possibly having major implications for families who want to adopt, or have adopted, transracially. For this reason research within the area becomes critical. Some areas deserving research are mentioned below.

Firstly, adopting transracially has an impact on the adoptee, especially when adopted at birth. As the adoptee develops through the various developmental phases of life, the adoptee may later be faced with identity crises in not knowing where he/she comes from. Identity issues, which may arise as a result of being unresolved, will have to be dealt with during the later adolescent years of development, which may impact on the future relationships with others.

Secondly, parents of adoptees may be unaware of the issues relating to the upbringing of a transracially adopted child, in that the adoptees' culture may be ignored at the expense of the beliefs, values, traditions and behaviour patterns of the new family. The culture of a family is normally passed on from one generation to the other through the process of socialisation.

Thirdly, at present there is a dearth of research relating to the experiences of transracial adoption in South Africa. Extensive research has been conducted in the United States of America (USA) and the United Kingdom. However research, in South Africa, relating to transracial adoption has been scant. This is mainly because transracial adoption has only

been legal for approximately eleven years. Therefore, taking cognizance of South Africa's past political climate, it is quite clear that the experiences of adopting transracially will be differently experienced within South Africa, than in countries where it has been legal for a much longer period.

Research on the phenomenon of transracial adoption has primarily focused on various debates surrounding whether it should be encouraged or not. International research focuses on the personal and social identity of the child relating to culture, ethnicity and race, the views on the changing policies as well as the psychological well being and the role of the social workers in the adoption process. The personal and social identity of the adoptee has been questioned to the extent that when the child reaches a certain age he/she may face an identity crisis and not know where he/she belongs.

As mentioned there is a limited amount of research that has been conducted in South Africa on the phenomenon of transracial adoption. The research conducted in South Africa has been relatively exploratory in nature, employed to look into the new insights relating to the phenomena of transracial adoption.

This study aims to explore white parents motivation for, and experience of transracial adoption in South Africa. The study will provide valuable information for prospective parents who are interested and considering transracial adoption in South Africa. It will further provide families who have adopted transracially with insight into other parent's motivations and experiences of adopting a child transracially in South Africa. Conducting research on transracial adoption may assist the Child Welfare organizations and the social workers involved in assisting prospective and present parents who are and have adopted transracially. This will therefore assist in providing counselling for the parents and information to the relevant support groups.

The study may further provide insight to individuals who have been naïve about the phenomenon and would therefore make others more considerate and aware of families' motivations and experiences that have taken the leap to adopt a child transracially.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

2.1. Understanding Adoption

The Concise Oxford Dictionary defines adoption as, “to take (a person) into a relationship, esp. another’s child as one’s own; to assume rights and duties of parent towards”. All adoptions that take place are either legal or de facto. “De facto adoptions are informal and are not recognized by a court of law, whereas legal adoptions are” (Boult, 1998, p.43).

The first law to legalize adoption in South Africa was initially formulated in 1923, which has had several amendments to date. The most significant, and most recent Child Care Act of 1983, Section 20 (2) states that:

1. An order of adoption shall terminate all the rights and obligations existing between the child and any person who was his/her parent (other than a spouse contemplated in section 17(9)(c)), immediately prior to such adoption, and the parent’s relatives.
2. An adopted child shall, for all purposes deemed in law, be the legitimate child of the adopted parent, as if he/she was born of that parent during the existence of a lawful marriage.
3. An order of adoption shall, unless otherwise thereby provided, confer the surname of the adoptive parent on the adopted child.
4. An order of adoption shall not have the effect of permitting or prohibiting any marriage or carnal intercourse (other than a marriage or carnal intercourse between the adoptive parent and the adopted child) which, but for the adoption, would have been prohibited or permitted.

Adoption across racial lines is, because of South Africa’s racially segregated past, a relatively recent phenomenon in this country. The legal requirement, as defined at the

time by the Population Registration Act of 1950, was that of placing adopted children with families that were of the same “race”. This constraint was only removed with the Child Care Amendment Act, No. 86 of 1991.

Gishen (1996), defines transracial adoption as “any person/s adopting a child whose race is dissimilar to their own. This includes: white parents adopting a child of colour, parents of colour adopting a white child and mixed racial couples adopting a child whose race is not the same as either of their parents” (p.5). Although a certain normalization of transracial adoption has occurred since the early 1990’s, it is also still a practice steeped in controversy. Its controversial nature is primarily related to the issues of “racial” identity, which in turn rests upon the way South African identities have been, and to an extent still are, racially fixed.

Within the new South Africa, transracial adoption has become a topic of a rather heated debate, with lobbyist tackling the various dynamics from many angles. This study will attempt to elucidate and expand on the relevant literature, and serve as a platform for practical considerations.

2.2. A broadband experience of transracial adoption

While extensive research has been conducted in the USA and the United Kingdom on various aspects of transracial adoption, including the experiences of the adopting parents, there is a dearth of similar research in South Africa. South Africa’s political past makes it likely that experiences of adopting transracially may differ between this country and those where it has been legal for a much longer period, and where racial identities have been less entrenched. According to Joubert (1993), one of the major differences between the USA and South Africa, specifically, is that in the latter, racial background is often closely associated with obvious differences in language and culture, whereas in the USA there is a much wider sense of a shared language and culture.

Considering why parents adopt across racial lines may include an array of different reasons, from parents not being able to conceive a baby, to wanting to give a child the best opportunity in life. According to a South African study by Gishen (1996), reasons and intentions for parents to adopt transracially included: humanitarian concerns; the availability of an adoptee of a different race; infertility; providing a child with better education opportunities; and the possibility that their biological children could have siblings.

Whatever the reasons, transracial adoption is likely to be accompanied by various stressors and challenges. However, given the absence of formal and structured counseling in the area, there is a possibility that parents adopting across racial lines may not be aware of, or informed about the various problems which may arise when they initially consider adoption. Parents may only become aware of problems as they arise while rearing their child. A study in the USA, for example, reported by Day (1979), showed that out of 200 white families with at least one child from another racial designation, less than one third of grandparents, uncles and aunts, approved from the onset of the adoption. While “over one third were disapproving at first, but eventually came to friendly terms with the adopting families... almost forty percent continued to reject the adopted child” (Day, 1979, pp. 100 – 101). Particular challenges will of course, depend on the age of placement and the way racial differences are addressed, as well as the neighborhood and the school attended by the adoptee (Johnson, Shireman & Watson, 1987).

After attending to the general experiences in the area of transracial adoption, we turn our attention to the current laws and practices relating on this topic.

2.3. Current law and practices of transracial adoption

Transracial adoptions are still a novelty in South Africa. Adoption was not a recognized legal institution in South Africa until 1923, when the Adoption of Children Act of that year was passed, and which was later incorporated into the Children’s Act of 1937 and amended in 1960. The Act had no special section forbidding transracial adoption, but it is

noted that no such adoptions are known, and it can be accepted that such adoptions would have run counter to accepted social views of the time. Transracial adoption was not permitted during South Africa's Apartheid past and had become more prevalent only in the United States of America in the late 1940's, and in the United Kingdom in the 1960's. The Child Care Amendment Act of 1991 nullified the Population Registration Act of 1950, whereby the court was not allowed to place a child in the custody of a person who was not of the same population group as the child (Mosikatsana, 1995).

Joubert (1993, p.728) summarizes the South African law as follows:

1. Adoption is an institution in the interests of the child
2. The adoption must be conducive to the welfare of the child and advance its interests
3. The adoptive parents must be fit and proper persons to adopt the particular child
4. There is no explicit or absolute prohibition on interracial adoptions
5. Interracial adoptions are therefore legally possible

Both Joubert (1993), and Zaal (1994), suggest that transracial adoption is an acceptable practice and a necessity in the South African context. According to Joubert (1993), "the adoption market is one regulated by supply and demand" (p.728). This could be as a result of more black and coloured babies being available for adoption than white babies. Mabry (1997), stated that it would be much easier for white parents to adopt black or coloured babies because of the extended delay in finding a white baby. These delays could extend over a period of up to five years. Zaal (1994), expresses his concerns with regards to the increase in the availability of black and coloured children, as a result of factors that includes family disintegration, violence, the HIV/AIDS crisis, and poverty resulting from an ailing economy.

The myth that black families do not want to adopt black children is extant. But this notion cannot be proved. According to McRoy (1989), it was perceived that "most traditionally white private adoption agencies had difficulty finding black families interested in

adopting children. Agencies then blamed the number of black children and families for the failure to find sufficient black adoptive homes. It is believed that “the ‘myth’ that black families don’t adopt,” was promulgated and used as a convenient excuse for the white agencies’ failures to place black children in homes” (McRoy, 1989, p.148).

Social workers play an important role in the adoption placement process. As regards the placement of children in transracial adoptions, social workers have always believed that the best interest of the child must be served first, regardless of transracial issues, yet their recommendations have often been undermined. “Social workers’ delineation of the problem of the recruitment of black foster parents in terms of cultural differences, resulted in their professionalism being challenged on several accounts” (Rhodes, 1992, p.1984).

According to a *Forum on Adoption Issues* (1998), during 1972, the National Association of Black Social Workers, in the United States, issued a paper opposing transracial adoption, which led to a decline in transracial adoptions.

There are many researchers who are ‘anti’ or ‘pro’ for individuals to adopt transracially. However, the number of babies, especially black and coloured children, that are abandoned and voluntarily given up for adoption is increasing daily throughout South Africa. According to Mabry (1997), one of the core reasons includes the fact that “the country’s political transformation has made women feel more comfortable about giving their babies to the state. And, new freedoms allowing greater movement within the country have broken up extended families, which traditionally have taken in unwanted children” (p.1).

As we have seen, to a large extent, the law is unequivocal in its thrust that the interest of the child should have prominent consideration – regardless of racial dissimilarities between adopter and adoptee. It is at this point, that adoption as an experience of stress is considered.

2.4. Adoption as an experience of stress

Adoption is a process that requires adaptation and the adjustment of all parties involved, including the biological parents, adoptive parents, and the adopted child. However, the dynamics of adoptions not only affects these parties, but also extends to affect the extended family. We must keep in mind that stress – to a greater, or lesser degree – always accompanies change. Brodzinsky (1990), states that the stress that may be confronting the three parties in the “adoption triangle” includes:

1. The unwanted pregnancy on the part of the birth parents
2. Infertility and childlessness on the part of adoptive parents
3. The state of homelessness and sense of insecurity on the part of the prospective adopted children.

As each party in this adoption triangle is adjusting to the change in their lives, some individuals may experience stressful times relating to particular issues pertaining to the post-placement period, or other issues relating to matters of race and identity.

One of the aims of this study is to determine parent’s motivation for adopting a child transracially. According to Hoopes (1990), there are various reasons why families adopt, which includes “altruistic reasons to provide homes for either the racially, physically, or intellectually different child, who needs permanency and a loving family, infertility, or the desire to expand the family beyond the one-child family” (pp.147 – 148). It is clear that adoption is a dynamic and complex phenomenon, which must be clearly understood, gleaning all its fundamental facets, and which is paramount to understanding the dynamics surrounding transracial adoption.

The following variables are relevant to all types of adoption with extreme bearing on transracial adoption, as regards the adjustment of the adopted child.

2.5. Biological Variables

It is believed that a child's adjustment is influenced by his/her genetic endowment, including their prenatal and postpartum experiences. According to Brodzinsky (1990) research supports the position, that adoptees come from less optimal hereditary background than their non-adoptive counterparts, and that more disturbed unwed mothers produced children who were calmer and more secure in their adoptive homes.

2.6. Environmental Variables

According to Brodzinsky (1990) these variables incorporate an array of demands, constraints, and resources, which is associated with cultural attitudes, and the practices concerning adoption, as well as, the individual's specific interpersonal adoption experiences within, and outside the family.

2.7. Cultural Factors

It is important to consider cultural attitudes concerning adoption. Adoption is an accepted and recognized institution within society, however, according to Brodzinsky (1990), "there is still a feeling within most cultural groups that [adoption] is a 'second best route to parenthood', and the 'second best way of entering a family'" (p.17). As a result of society's ambivalent attitude about adoption, the challenges and demands that are often placed on the family, may provoke a certain amount of stress among adoptive family members.

2.8. Interpersonal factors

The factors influencing the child's adjustment are the experiences that the child has with his/her family members, and which relates to the quality of the care-giving environment, the adjustment of the adoptive parents, and the manner in which adoption issues are communicated between the parents and children.

Therefore, the manner in which parents communicate openly and honestly to their adopted children, will assist in the transition and the extent to which adoption issues and challenges are confronted. This will assist in allowing a more positive outlook on the various issues that may be raised, as well as how the adjustment affects the adopted child. “To the extent that adoptive parents are able to confront these issues openly and honestly, it is expected that they will be in a better position to foster a more positive adjustment among their children” (Brodzinsky, 1990, p.19).

Related to these tasks, is the manner in which parents communicate with their adopted children with regard to adoption related issues. Kirk (1964), introduced the classic Social Role Theory of adoption adjustment and suggested that the fundamental issue for adoptive parents, is the way in which they are able to handle inherent differences of adoptive family life. Kirk (1964), refers to these differences as the unique tasks, challenges and conflicts, which differentiate adoptive from, non-adoptive families.

Furthermore, Kirk (1964) labeled a pattern of behaviour relating to the adjustment of adoption as: “rejection-of -difference” (RD). Kirk argues that couples tend to replicate non-adoptive family life as closely as possible. Consequently, while communicating with their adopted child, they forget the importance of impressing it upon them that they have been adopted.

By contrast, parents who openly communicate the differences that are experienced in adoption, and seek to resolve the conflicts related to adoptive life, have a more direct and active involvement with these issues. This pattern of behaviour is labeled as “acknowledgement-of-difference” (AD) (Kirk, 1964). Parents, who encourage this behaviour pattern, allow their adopted children the freedom to explore their feelings of being different in the course of their life experiences.

Kirk (1964), suggests that the two patterns of behaviour namely that of acceptance of difference, and rejection of difference which represents a continuum of attitudes and

communicative behaviour, with “the acknowledgement-of-difference pole more closely associated with optimal adjustment among members, and the rejection-of-difference pole more often tied to problems in adjustment” (p.19). This continuum of the acknowledgement of difference and psychological well being of the adoptive families involved has been referred to as a linear relationship.

Antithetically, Brodzinsky (1987), argued that Kirk’s theory is not linear but that the relationship between the acknowledgements-of-difference is rather curvilinear. His view is due to the fact that he believes parents who adopt extreme views at either end of the belief system, are naturally assumed to foster poorer adjustment among their adopted children.

Hence, Brodzinsky (1987), suggested that effective coping efforts of the adoptive parents must be viewed in light of the family life cycle tasks that take place. During the initial stages of the family life cycle, while the children are still young, an RD coping pattern of behaviour may serve the family well by supporting the primary socialisation goals, building family unity, connectedness, and interpersonal trust. During later stages of the family cycle when the children are struggling to understand the meanings of being adopted, the RD pattern of behaviour may hinder the open and honest parent-child communication, which may lead to detrimental outcomes.

After reviewing adoption as a cause of stress, we focus on arguments for, and against, transracial adoption.

2.9. The arguments for and against transracial adoption

In Mosikatsana’s (1995) lecture, Madam Justice Wilson reasoned: “In my view, when the test to be met is the best interest of the child, the significance of culture and heritage, as opposed to bonding abates over time. The closer the bond that develops with the prospective adoptive parent, the less important the racial element become over time” (p.625). At the outset, it must be stated that all arguments for and against transracial

adoptions are merely a matter of ideological and emotional debate – there is no empirical evidence in support of, or in opposition to, transracial adoptions.

The vast majority of adherents who lobby against transracial adoptions are social scientists that question the negative psychological effects of transracial adoptions of children. Kallgren and Caudill (1993), noted that these critics argued that transracial adoptees would be at risk for developing a poor racial identity and self-concept, due to insufficient socialization with others of their race with whom to identify. They also argued, that the adoptee's lack of contact with their birth race would result in deficient skills for interacting with the racist elements in society, as well as their birth cultures.

Research has shown that two factors, the child's age at placement, and the adoptive familial context, play a crucial role in the transracial adoptee's psychological development. The earlier the child is placed in the adoptive family, the better the adoptee will be assimilated into the new family. The adoptive familial context refers to the family's over-all racial attitudes, or stance, and the extent of the family contact with members of the child's race. The more the adoptive family is racially aware and comfortable with different races and accepting of the child's race, the better developed the child eventually will be.

In addition, it is noted that transracial adoption may have a negative impact on the family. Mosikatsana (1995), is of the opinion that:

... some prospective adoptive parents may seek to adopt transracially in order to resolve a personal or social problem, or to make a political statement consistent with the current reform in the new South Africa or out of deep religious conviction, and be unaware of the social and psychological consequences for the child. Such a family may be well meaning, but they will not be able to meet the child's individual's needs, and this may place an undue burden on the child. They may also be unaware of the social implications of living with a child of a different race. For instance, the transracial adoptive parents may be regarded as having

‘negative’ social traits attributed to blacks, thereby subjecting themselves to racial slurs and ostracism. A white family that adopts a black child may no longer be considered white by the community, and may lose the ‘positive’ traits associated with whiteness. (p.614)

Jones (1972), a proponent of the aforementioned school of thought, bases his opposition to the placement of black children in white homes on the notion that “being black in the United States is a special state of being”, consequently, he questions adoptive parents who are overcome with good will to adopt black children, but are unable to grasp the totality of being black in society, and to create the adoptee’s black identity which is of crucial importance.

Jones (1972, p.159), states the following major concerns with regard to placing black children in white homes.

- 1) There is an identity crisis for the child as he reaches that period in maturation when he begins to question who he is, and from whence he came, including not only his race and colour, but also his ancestral and cultural background.
- 2) Reality dictates consideration of social culture in relation to any adoptive placement, but certainly most seriously in the placement of a black child in a white environment. What is the reaction of white grandparents to their black or racially mixed grandchild?
- 3) A certain status is accorded to many people in a “liberal” metropolitan environment, based on the degree to which they entertain and enjoy social contact with people of various racial and religious backgrounds.
- 4) The central party in any adoptive placement is, and must continue to be, the child. It would seem that a headlong dash in transracial placements – while in some instances perhaps meeting the needs of a particular child – is basically a switch to focusing on the needs of the adoptive parents.
- 5) Nothing can yet be determined regarding the adjustment over time, for black youngsters thus far placed in white homes.

After drawing from the pool of idealistic contradiction, we now turn our attention to the classical Social Identity Theory to better understand this topic under investigation.

2.10. Personal Identity

Individuals derive their identity, i.e. their self-concept and sense of self from the social categories to which they belong. Individuals belong to various different social categories in their daily lives and therefore draw upon various repertoires of identity. Each individual is unique in the group to which he/she belongs, be it on a personal, or social level within society.

An individual's personal identity is defined as "that part of the self-concept that derives from individualistic qualities such as traits, beliefs and skills" (Forsyth, 1999, p.70). It is important to distinguish an individual's personal identity from his/her social identity. An individual's social identity is "that part of the self-concept that derives from one's membership in social groups and categories; self-conceptions shared by members of the same group or category" (Forsyth, 1999, p.70).

It is the premise of Tajfel & Turner (1986), that all people have both a private self and collective self. According to Taylor, Peplau & Sears (1997), "the private self is closely linked to our sense of personal identity, and to our personal self-esteem" (p.191). An individual's collective self-esteem is dependent on how well your in-group does related to your achievement. According to Taylor et al (1997), threats to an individual's collective self-esteem may be responsible for prejudiced behaviour against various out-groups.

To address the issue of identity and transracial adoption, the proposed study will utilize Social Identity Theory (SIT) (Hogg & Abrams, 1988). The aim is not to derive and test hypotheses based on SIT, but to use it's conceptualization of social identity, and social

identity, *crisis* or *confusion*, as “sensitizing concepts” (Johansson, 2000), in the interpretation of the data.

2.11. Social Identity Theory

Social identity is defined as “the individuals knowledge that he belongs to a certain social group, together with some emotional and value significance to him of the group membership’ (Tajfel, 1981, p.31). Where a social group is ‘two or more individuals who share a common social identification of themselves or, which is nearly the same thing, they perceive themselves to be members of the same social category” (Hogg & Abrams, 1988, p.7). An individual’s identity, or group identity, is linked to one’s conception of who one is (one’s identity) which is composed of self-descriptions and the defining characteristics of the social groups which one belongs to.

The membership that is associated with groups and the recognition of identity is socially defined by Tajfel, (1981, p.256), and which has various consequences including:

1. It can be assumed that an individual will tend to remain a member of a group and seek membership of new groups if these groups have some contribution to make to the positive aspects of his/her social identity; i.e. to those aspects from which he derives some satisfaction.
2. If a group does not satisfy this requirement, the individual will tend to leave it, unless: (i) leaving the group is impossible for some ‘objective’ reasons, or (ii) it conflicts with important values which are themselves a part of his acceptable self-image.
3. If leaving the group presents the difficulties mentioned, then at least two solutions are possible: (i) to change one’s interpretation of the attributes of the group so that its unwelcome features (e.g. low status) are either justified, or made acceptable through a reinterpretation; or (ii) would lead to desirable changes in the situation. (Of course there may be various combinations of (i) and (ii) such as, for example,

- when the negative attributes are ‘justified’ and social action to change them is undertaken at the same time.)
4. No group lives alone – all groups in society live in the midst of other groups. In other words, the ‘positive aspects of social identity’ and the reinterpretation of attributes and engagement in social action only acquire meaning in relation, or in comparisons with, other groups.

According Hogg & Abrams (1988), social identity is a theoretically integrated set of processes and assumptions explaining the relationship between socio-cultural forces, and individual social behaviour. The Social Identity Theory is based upon certain assumptions concerning the nature of people and society and their interrelationships. The Social Identity Theory is dependant on two intrinsic concepts of interlocking cognitive processes of social categorization and social comparison.

“Seen from this inter-group perspective of social identity, social categorization can therefore be considered as a system of orientation which helps to create and define the individuals place in society” (Tajfel, 1981, p.255). Social identity is a comparative perspective that links social categorizing to social identity. Social comparison is defined as: “evaluating the accuracy of personal beliefs and attitudes by comparing oneself to others” (Forsyth, 1999, p.81). During the process of social comparison, individuals are constantly comparing themselves with other individuals on a continuous basis. This approach maintains that society is comprised of social categories, which stand in power and status to one another. However, it is important to remember that the social categories do not exist in isolation.

The nature of social categories and the relations, which they have with one another, divides the society into its distinct structure, which precedes individual human beings. Therefore “individual people are born into a particular society and thus social categories are largely pre – existent individuals” (Hogg & Abrams, 1988, p.14). The social structure is not seen as a monolithic entity, but rather as a constantly changing state.

According to Forsyth (1999, p. 77), “we do not just categorize other people; we also classify ourselves into various groups and categories”. We, as individuals, have vast amounts of information pertaining to the self in our memory, but this stored information is a reflection of our group level qualities, and not our personal attributes. Therefore, at any given time an individual’s self-definition may shift from “me” to “we”, if something prompts the individual to categorize oneself as a group member.

Categorization is a cognitive process, which is an automatic rather than a controlled process of the human mind. “Controlled cognitive processes are initiated, monitored, and terminated at will. Automatic processes, in contrast, are rapid, autonomous, effortless, and involuntary, and they take place outside of awareness, (Bargh, 1990, in Forsyth, 1999, p.77). Individuals may not realize how their social identities are activated in daily activities, but these identities may influence their lives nonetheless.

Social Identity Theory provides a valuable definition on the person’s concept of self and must now be linked to personal identity.

2.12. Race and transracial adoption

“Race” and identity are such important dimensions of the experience of transracial adoption, especially in South Africa; these are likely to be important stressors in the adoption process. According to Popenoe, Cunningham & Boulton (1998), race is defined as “a group of people who are believed to share certain physical traits and to be genetically distinct” (p.206). Race is therefore seen as a social fact rather than a biological fact within society. Ethnic and racial groups are often overlapped within South Africa, which might be confusing to many individuals. An ethnic group, which an individual belongs to, is defined as “any group that is socially distinguished from other groups, has developed a distinct subculture, and has a ‘shared feeling of peoplehood’” (Popenoe et al, 1998, p.205).

Racial consciousness varies considerably from society to society, and in the South African context this is commonly associated with the colour of your skin. This is as a result of apartheid, legislation, which was adopted in 1948 by the Afrikaner-dominated National Party. “The rationale for apartheid was that the different races were so different in heritage, culture and ability, that they should each develop separately” (Popenoe et al, 1998, p.212). This resulted in the segregation of racial groups, living in separated living residential areas, institutions and other facilities. However, the early 1990’s saw the final repealing of the last apartheid legislation. This culminated in the first democratic elections in South Africa in 1994, which marked the end of the apartheid regime, but it is yet to be seen whether the racial and ethnic tensions has been and will be alleviated.

“Race” is generally defined by physical characteristics and is often treated as an impermeable social boundary; it constrains how parents can approach the “racial” identity of their adopted child. Despite the fact that social identities are not naturally given but learnt, “racial” identities are often treated as if they pre-exist the child’s adopted context – even if that child had been adopted at birth. To raise a child “as white” is therefore more problematic, for example, than raising a child “as English”. The child is still likely to be perceived as “black” by other people, which may, according to Social Identity Theory, give rise to a weakened identity and an accompanying low self esteem, due to the tension between subjective and objective social identity.

Choosing to raise the child as “racially separate” from them, i.e. to raise the child “as black”, is an equally problematic alternative. Even if the child identifies as “black”, it is not certain that this identification will be supported by acceptance from other black people, or that any meaningful socialisation of social and racial identity will take place. Kallgren & Caudill (1993), argue that in such a scenario, “transracial adoptees would be at risk for developing a poor racial identity and self concept, due to insufficient contact with others of their race with whom to identify” (Kallgren & Caudill, 1993, p.551). Tizard and Phoenix (1994, p.95) go as far as to suggest that black children adopted by white families might “be rejected by black people, as not black enough in culture and attitude”.

According to Mosikatsana (1995), “transracial adoptees may also suffer identity crises resulting from loss of racial or cultural identity, which is fairly important in South Africa, because it is a race-conscious society” (p.611). Mosikatsana (1995), is of the opinion, that transracial adoption is not conducive to the welfare of the child who is transracially adopted. A child who is transracially adopted may suffer racial prejudice from the adoptive parents or the community in which the child is raised, and which may be damaging to the self -concept of the child.

Empirical studies have shed considerable light on transracial adoption and will now be given due consideration.

2.13. Empirical studies relating to transracial adoption

Mosikatsana (1995), discusses the debates surrounding public policy in terms of the political and social integration that is to take place, and addresses the missing aspects of the phenomenon of transracial adoption. He further discusses the equality relating to the historical background and the human rights legislation surrounding the issues, as opposed by American and Canadian law. This is based on the fact that adoptions are based on supply and demand, and that there are implications with regards to the future of the adoptee, relating to the adoptees loss of identity and culture. Another concern is that the law in South Africa is significantly different from that of the United States and United Kingdom.

A comparative study conducted by Gishen (1996), on transracial adoption in South Africa compared literature and research from overseas, to evaluate how transracial adoption in South Africa compared to this relatively new phenomenon. The respondents of the study included fourteen parents who had adopted transracially, and twenty-one social workers involved in transracial adoption. Gishen (1996, pp.94 – 95), concluded that:

1. Transracial adoption appears to be viewed as positive and successful by parents who have adopted.
2. Agencies view transracial adoption as an acceptable alternative to intra-racial adoption, which is still considered preferable. Transracial adoption is generally preferable to institutionalization of children, as being placed in a family is believed to be in the best interests of the child, regardless of race.
3. A lot of childless respondents who adopt transracially do not intend to do so from the outset, but end up doing so due to the availability of black children and the unavailability of white children.
4. Racial identity of the child was identified in the literature study as one of the greatest concerns about transracial adoption.
5. The majority of agencies in South Africa provided people wishing to adopt children with some form of education.

Ledderboge (1996) conducted a study on transracial placements of children in the Durban Metropolitan area in South Africa. The researcher analyzed eleven case scenarios qualitatively, which was obtained during the period of 1991 to 1995. The researcher further mailed questionnaires to all families who had adopted transracially in the Durban metropolitan and received fifty useable questionnaires, which were analyzed. Ledderboge (1996) concluded that, the children who had been placed transracially had received beneficial effects of the family environment that they had been placed in. Ledderboge (1996, p.154) confirmed that:

“The children caught up with developmental delays, and health improved greatly, they acquired emotional security and progressed intellectually. Such health all-round development was the consequence of the children’s secure bonding and the loving care and stimulation provided for them. The children had meaningful interaction with persons of various races, including their own, and had racially and culturally compatible role models in mixed schools and family support systems.”

Ledderboge (1996) stated that parents acknowledged that the children experienced a positive impact on the family but noted that they had experienced stress factors and initial problems. The families were coping very well and that the agencies' screening criteria and the relevant training programmes were deemed appropriate and justifiable.

Ledderboge (1996) further stated that the public's interest in transracial adoption was often experienced as intrusive and as a stress factor for families who had adopted transracially. The public's interest was focused on "the transracial children's well-being in terms of the physical, emotional, social and intellectual development. The children's ethnic or cultural identity seemed to be a matter of concern to the public." (Ledderboge, 1996, p.155).

A study conducted by Mc Roy, Zurcher, Lauderdale and Anderson (1984), investigated the familial and contextual factors that influences the development of racial self-perceptions amongst black children. The study included thirty white families residing in the United States who were identified by adopter support groups and adoption agencies. The sample included families who had adopted children who were at least ten years of age with one black birthparent. The adoptees were in their respective adoptive homes for at least two years. All the adoptions were finalized.

The findings of this study suggested that there is a tremendous amount of effort that is required from both the adoptive parents as well as the children. "Parents should be able realistically to perceive the child's racial identity as being different from their own and be willing to make changes conducive to the child's development of a positive racial group orientation" (Mc Roy et al, 1984, p.39). However, the socio-psychological context in the development of racial self- feelings of the child is important. Children being raised in a racially integrated or racially dissonant, context definitely have an impact on the identity of the child as he/she grows up.

Feigelman and Silverman (1984), conducted a study on the long-term effects of transracial adoption, which was based on a national survey of three hundred and seventy

two adoptive families of whom the adoptees were in their adoptive homes for at least six years. The authors carefully contrasted and compared the long-term adjustments of Columbian, Korean and Afro-American transracial adoptees. These researchers concluded that they could find very little evidence to support the critical claims of those researchers who oppose transracial adoption.

They argue that the results indicated that the children's adjustments were similar to those of white in-racially adopted children. "There is no evidence that any of the serious problems of adjustment suggested by the critics of transracial adoption are present in any meaningful proportion for nonwhite children who have been adopted by their parents" (Feigelman & Silverman, 1984, p.601). As a result, they found very little support to arguments put forward, of transracially adopted children in white homes will produce damaging psychological consequences.

With an increase in the amount of adoptions in the 1960's, critics argued that transracial adoptees would be at risk to develop a poor social identity and self-concept due to insufficient contact with others of their same race with whom to identify. According to Kallgren & Caudill (1993), "transracial adoptees would be abandoned in a cultural wasteland where they would be rejected by white society and isolated from their own minority society" (p.551). This was suggested by many critics, and still currently.

Psychological research conducted, focused on the initial adjustment and the later formation of the racial identity of the adoptee. This clearly indicated that two major factors, including the child's age at placement, and the adoptive familial context, plays an important role on the transracial adoptee's psychological development. It is suggested that early age placement is encouraged as the new adoptees are easily assimilated into the new families. "An easy adjustment to the adoptive home lays the groundwork for the transracial adoptee's later formation of racial identity" (Kallgren & Caudill, 1993, p.552). The familial context refers to "the family's overall racial attitudes, or stance, and the extent of the family's contacts with members of the child's race" (Kallgren & Caudill, 1993, p.552).

The central premise of Kallgren & Caudill's (1993), research was there concerns regarding the healthy racial identity and self-image of minority children, who may no longer remain with their birth parents, and that transracial adoption can be a healthy alternative to long-term foster care. The study also examined whether agencies were placing transracial adoptees at an early age, educating adoptive parents about the need to create a racially aware family setting, counseling adoptive parents on racial identity issues, and evaluating the racial awareness of the prospective adoptive parents.

The findings of this study concluded that the majority of placements of children were in white homes before their first birthday. Only fifty percent of the agencies counseled adoptive parents about extended family reactions to transracial placements. A vast majority of agencies did not provide adequate resources or support systems for the adoptive parents.

Every study, regardless of the extent of the research, has its inherent limitations, which must be kept in mind if we hope to do any justice to an academic investigation of this nature.

Chapter Three

Methodology

3.1. The Interpretivist paradigm

A qualitative research design will be undertaken for this particular study, which will be explorative in nature, and which will employ an open, flexible and inductive approach to gain new insights into the phenomenon of transracial adoption. The interpretivist research approach will be implemented throughout the research process. According to Terre Blanche & Kelly (1999, p.124), interpretivist research “tries to describe what it sees in rich detail and presents its ‘findings’ in engaging and sometimes evocative language.

The holistic understanding of the concept is based on the empathy, during the research process, which is to assist in the understanding of the text obtained within its specific context. It is important as a researcher to consider all relevant aspects including the outside perspective of the context.

The fundamental difference, which incorporates the qualitative paradigm, includes the ontology, epistemology, and methodology of the specific paradigm:

“Ontology specifies the nature of reality that is to be studied, and what can be known about it. Epistemology specifies the nature of the relationship between the researcher (knower) and what is known. Methodology specifies how the researcher may go about practically studying whatever he, or she, believes can be known” (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 1999, p.6).

As a consequence, the aim of the interpretive approach is to explain the subjective meanings and reasons, which lie behind social action.

The ontological nature of qualitative research is subjective to the reality of the social world, thus in order to understand that reality as a process of discovering meanings according to what individuals attach to them. The behaviour, is therefore, intentional and creative, in the sense that it can be explained, and not predicted. The epistemological

relationship of qualitative research emphasizes a subjective role in the research because of the interaction with the subjects being studied. Furthermore, qualitative research is also dialectical and interpretive in nature.

The process involves an exchange and interaction between the researcher and the subjects, which is discovered and interpreted by means of qualitative methods.

3.2. Understanding qualitative research

The description and operationalisation that constitutes the qualitative research paradigm, exists within five complex historical moments, which operate simultaneously in the present. “Qualitative research is a multi-method focus involving and interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter” (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, p.4). The qualitative researchers often refer to naturalism; “naturalistic research implies the minimizing of the presuppositions with which the researcher approaches the phenomenon under study, as well as the closed searching description of the mundane details of everyday human interaction” (De Vos, 1998, p.240).

Qualitative research emphasizes a value laden nature of enquiry, that seeks to answer questions that enforce how a specific social experience is created and gives meaning to “qualitative research is many things to many people. It’s essence is twofold, viz. an interpretive approach to it’s subject matter, and ongoing critique of the politics and methods of positivism” (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, p.4).

The interpretivist paradigm is based upon the post-positivist traditions within the physical and social sciences. Post positivists argue, “reality can never be fully apprehended only approximated” (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, p.5). They rely on various methods as a basis of capturing as much reality as possible. A substantial amount of emphasis is placed on discovery and verification of theories throughout the research process.

Whilst capturing the individual's point of view the qualitative researcher has the ability to get closer to the participants through a detailed process of interviewing and observation. Qualitative researchers confront the constraints of the social world, which embed their findings. Their research is based upon the 'valuableness' placed on the rich descriptions within the social world. According to Becker (1992; see also Denzin & Lincoln, 1994), qualitative research differs from quantitative research in various significant ways, which addressed various issues in research reflecting styles and approaches, epistemologies and forms of representation. Therefore a qualitative research approach will be appropriate for the research process.

3.3. Phenomenology

A qualitative research design will be undertaken for this particular study with the emphasis on the phenomenological approach as a means of understanding the participants lived experiences of the phenomena. "Phenomenology is the study of phenomena, of things or events, in the everyday world; from the view point of the experiencing person" (Becker, 1992, p.7).

In phenomenological research, "the researcher aims to describe as accurately as possible the phenomenon as it appears, rather than indulging in attempts to explain it with a pre-given framework" (Kruger, 1988, p.78). According to Kruger (1988), any form of phenomenologically inspired research must meet the following basic criteria:

1. The research interview situation should focus on the phenomenon in its lived, world context.
2. Explication of the protocols should be concerned with the meaning of the data from the participants' perspective.
3. Essential themes should be extracted in their varying manifestations.
4. The logic between approach, method and content should be maintained.

The research process of selecting the phenomenological approach was on the basis of wanting to describe, explore and understand the participants daily, lived experiences and views of the social realities in which the participants live. “Phenomenology is both a philosophical approach to our understanding of the world, and also a way of gathering information about it” (Lemon & Taylor, 1997, p.229).

3.4. Sampling of participants

The participants of the study were selected by means of non-probability sampling method of purposeful sampling. “This type of sample is based entirely on the judgment of the researcher, in that a sample is composed of elements which contain the most characteristic, representative or typical attributes of the population” (De Vos, 1998, p.198). Therefore, the research question will be significant for a defined group of individuals, which is maintained through purposeful sampling.

Families who had legally adopted an infant transracially within the provinces of the Eastern Cape and Western Cape, South Africa, were identified with the help of an adoption social worker who contacted families who fit the criterion, a namely, legal transracial adoption of a black infant, and explained the research to them, and selected three willing families to participate in the study. The presence of other siblings, and their ages, will not be controlled for.

Two of the families who participated in the research reside in the Eastern Cape and the third family in the Western Cape. Participant A and B: The age of the mother at the time of the adoption was thirty-eight years of age and the father was thirty-three years of age. They legally adopted one child transracially who was two months old at the time of the adoption and who is presently two years old. Their biological child who was born after the adoption passed away. Presently the mother is expecting another child. The father in this family is a driver for a cash-in-transit company and the mother is a housewife.

Participant C and D: The age of the mother at the time of the adoption was thirty years of age, and the father was twenty-nine years of age. They legally adopted one child transracially who was thirteen days old at the time of the adoption, and who is presently three years old. They have biological twin daughters who are presently eleven months old. The father in this family is a woodworker and the mother is a housewife.

Participant E and F: The age of the mother at the time of the adoption was forty years of age and the father was thirty-eight years old. They legally adopted one child transracially who was eleven weeks old at the time of the adoption and who is presently two years old. They have no biological children. The father in this family is a building contractor and the mother is a housewife.

3.5. Data collection

Firstly, an individual in-depth interview was conducted with each parent. This was followed up with an interview of both parents simultaneously. The follow-up interview only took place two days after the first. This arrangement allowed the parents the opportunity to reflect on what they had said and make any additions or changes to their original statements. The reason for this approach is to explore individual, possibly divergent experiences of this phenomenon. Interviews with each parent lasted for up to ninety minutes. Provisions had been made for follow-up interviews, where deemed necessary.

A range of open-ended questions was asked to obtain the participant's motivation for and experiences of having adopted a child across racial lines. The interview schedule was produced in advance to elicit specific issues relating to transracial adoption. Specific issues relating to the development of social and "racial identity", were also explored.

Interviews were tape-recorded with the consent of the participants to ensure that the interview process was conducted efficiently, while establishing rapport with the participants. The tape recording of the entire interviews allowed for the capture of all

information. Notes were also kept throughout the interviews, which was of significant assistance during the transcription and analysis process.

3.6. Procedure

An explanatory letter (cf. Appendix A) to the Director of the Port Elizabeth Child and Family Centre was drafted, explaining the research endeavour and requesting permission to have access, through the mediation of an adoption social worker, to the relevant documentation and information in their database. An interview was scheduled with the adoption social worker to answer and explain any further uncertainties. The social worker agreed to make the initial contact with participants, to explain the study and ask whether they were willing to participate in the research.

Because the participants only had contact with the social worker at this stage, a brief meeting with the researcher was scheduled in the privacy of their homes. Here the researcher introduced herself to the participants and explained the research project and all aspects of confidentiality and anonymity. The interviews, which were conducted with the participants at their respective homes at a time convenient for them, were scheduled during the initial meeting. The interviews were conducted according to the requirements of the interview method stated by Stones (1988). These included:

1. The establishment of rapport between researcher and participants through the creation of a climate of openness and trust.
2. Absolute confidentiality, including the destruction of overtly identifying information, as soon as the final protocols have been obtained.
3. Disclosure of the purposes of the research.
4. A plea for honesty of all responses.

Each participant was required to sign a consent form (cf. Appendix B) allowing for the interview to be tape-recorded and to reiterate the process.

The researcher transcribed all the interviews verbatim, with the aid of the provided transcripts before the analysis took place.

3.7. Data analysis

The study adopts an interpretive phenomenological approach (Smith & Osborn, 2003). In order to discover a little of the participants psychological world it is essential to engage with the available text and through the process of interpretation. Like all phenomenological research, “the main currency for an interpretive phenomenological study is the meanings particular experiences, events, states hold for participants” (Smith & Osborn, 2003, p.51).

However, interpretive phenomenology accepts that data analysis is not just descriptive, but an *active* and *interpretive* process. While emerging meanings and idiosyncrasies of experience thus remain the principle focus of the analysis, these can be made sense of by using both concepts emerging from the data and “sensitizing concepts” taken from existing theories.

The analysis will proceed as follows. Firstly the data was coded into different thematic elements. This stage is basically “free textual analysis” (Smith & Osborne, 2003, p.67), allowing the researcher to explore ideas and connections that emerge from the data, as well as to make theoretically sense of these. It is fundamental that the transcripts be read and re-read a number of times so that new insights into the analysis could arise. The emergence of theme titles, may arise with various psychological terminologies would be brought into play during this process. The entire transcript was treated as data during this step of analysis and at no time was special attention paid to specific passages and no data was omitted.

During the second stage these elements were grouped into broader thematic wholes. These elements were clustered together and emerged as super-ordinate themes during this process. These super-ordinate themes were decided upon, not only because of their

prevalence in the data, but for theoretical reasons as well; how, for example, they illuminated a theoretically grounded research question. It is crucial that as the themes emerged to ensure that the connections are accurate, and illustrative of the participants' actual words. Tables of themes were ordered coherently and were clustered, named and represent the super-ordinate themes.

This process continued for all the available transcripts which took into consideration the divergences and convergences in the data. This process may elicit, the imperative nature that the participants may be similar in nature but are also different in their viewpoints, experiences and motivations for adopting across racial lines.

At this stage, it will be necessary to prioritise the data, while this may be dependent on the richness of the data of the highlighted themes. The themes will then be translated into a narrative description, and will then be explained, illustrated and nuanced, with the assistance of verbatim extracts.

While the discussion of broad themes technically ends the analytic process, the study will take an extra step. It will discuss the possible application of these findings to aid the preparation of adoptive parents, before - as well as during the adoption process. The results will be made available to the participants as well as the Port Elizabeth Child and Family Centre.

3.8. Research Questions

The overarching research question is: What is the motivation for and experiences of white parents adopting a child transracially in South Africa? This broad, open-ended question is further supported by sub-questions related to the issue of "racial" identity: (i) What determines parents' decision to foster in the child a "racial" identity that is either similar or separate from their own? (ii) How do parents foresee dealing with threats to the child's identity, including direct instances of racial discrimination and the child's own

questioning of his/her identity? (iii) How are parents' own social and "racial" identities affected by transracial adoption?

Chapter Four

Results

The following themes were extracted from the relevant interviews conducted with parents who have adopted a child transracially. It is important to note, that the themes and experiences of these parents are unique to each individual family. The themes extracted, include motivation, communication, support, culture and identity, concerns and experiences, which will be discussed in more detail.

4.1. Motivation

Parents are of the opinion that when they want to adopt a child, it is important that the decision is consensual, and that both parties are willing to go through with the process. A participant(C) reported: “I discussed it with my husband he was initially anti the whole thing.” Thinking about the adoption process, and going through the process is a serious decision and should not be taken without due consideration to all the necessary aspects and consequences. The wife (C) of the couple stated, “he hadn’t thought about it and his mind wasn’t as open to it as ... he thought that adoption meant an older child, he wanted a new born, he wanted to bond straight away.” The husband (D) confirmed “I hadn’t considered it much at all because my wife had just been thinking about it and mm I hadn’t actually thought about adoption at all mm and since we had been struggling to have kids, my wife suggested that we get to an adoption agency.”

In the perceptions and misconceptions about the process of adoption, it is important that the parties involved become attentive to the various differences in adopting. It is important, that if the parents have doubts about the process, that this should be resolved. A participant (D) revealed, “my whole problem was mainly with adoption initially, I didn’t have a problem with the colour issues.” A participants (D) view on adoption was that “the adoption thing initially the thought of taking on someone else’s child mm.... I was thinking adoption happened from generally from a couple of years old but mm when I realized that you could adopt from birth then it mm you know I had no problem with

that or the thought of adopting.” The ability to change an individual’s mind set about adoption is obtaining as much information as possible to ensure that you are aware of the necessary aspects. A participant (E) confirmed “it was just thoughts initially about adopting interracial children, he just could not seem to get used to the idea you know, I don’t know why, I think he was worried about what people might think or what people might say.”

Individuals are constantly questioning while deciding to do something in their lives and are constantly aware of what other people might say or think. Thus, when making a decision to adopt it should be your own personal decision; you should not consider how other people are going to react. A participant (F) acknowledged that “for me to think what other people think about adopting a black or a coloured baby was out of character for me.” The decision should be of a personal nature but it is important that all the necessary factors should be taken into consideration. He further (F) stated, “it doesn’t matter what other people think, it’s what we think. It’s us who are going to be happy not other people...”

When considering adoption, transracial adoption is not necessarily the first choice that the couple is given. Couples usually want to adopt a baby of the same race. A participant (D) reported “initially we had thought obviously you try adopt something, a child as close to you as possible...then you think of the logistics, the logicity of it, the child is obviously going to look different to you no matter what.” White babies are not always available and there is usually a waiting list when going through an adoption agency. A father (D) stated, “We realized from the start that there wasn’t any white babies available mm so it wasn’t an issue with us, so we were quite prepared to adopt a different colour baby.”

A participant (F) stated that “...you think you want a white baby, you want a white baby, you want a white baby and its only when we got to know Justin we realized hang on a second here’s something that we overlooked here you know...there is huge waiting list because you specifically saying you want a white baby.”

Couples who are going to become parents usually go through the process of preparation. This nine-month period allows the prospective parents to prepare for their parenthood to begin going through the various trimesters of the pregnancy. The wife (C) of a participant affirmed: “I think he had thought that this was going to be a process of, we would have to wait for the baby and it would be another few months where you know when she said there’s a little boy available now he kind of thought, oh Lord, am I ready for this. I’m going to have to be a dad and you know for a man to become a father is, is quite a thing and normally they’ve got nine months pregnancy to be able to ready for it. I think the thought of him having a child to bring home and have to look after this baby was quite daunting.”

The thoughts of changing from a childless couple to having the responsibilities of being a parent may be overwhelming, especially when having your first child. A participant (D) reported “this was a big step it is, it is not anything to do with the colour, it was a big step that I was changing instantly from a single parent to a parent and suddenly there was a lot of responsibility.” The participant (D) acknowledged “the thoughts of actually having to change my lifestyle to fit into being a parent had become very real.”

A participant reported that (D) “we wanted a child mm and we wanted to be able to give a child everything that we could and mm so to us it didn’t matter if the child was black, Indian, coloured, white mm that had no bearing on the matter.” Participants realized that there is an influx of black and coloured babies available for adoption and a father (D) stated that “there’s so many children out there: black, coloured, not very many Indian mm that are needing homes and it seems stupid to sit around and wait for a prospective white baby or a coloured baby or whatever basically.” A mother (C) reported that “I always said it’s something that I would like to do because I know there is a need out there, there’s just so many children who just don’t have homes so it would probably happened after the biological children it just happened that ours happened the other way around.”

A mother (A) reported that they were involved in a local children's home and stated that "we were involved in the children's home mm and were taking out children but when we realised that we couldn't adopt any of those children we wanted to give a child an opportunity and we realized but it's too difficult." It became apparent to a couple who were in the process of adopting that they would have to be willing to adopt transracially who stated (C) that "...she had to turn away little black boy the day before because she couldn't find a home and it just hit me like a ton of bricks that here I was basically wanting a baby and it was so sad that she had to turn away a little boy who she couldn't find a family for him yah [sic] and that mainly opened my eyes and I never considered transracial adoption."

Parent's views and opinions about their motivation are various and complex. A participant (B) stated that "my motivation is from a biblical point of view, I believe that, that is what God wants me to do" and that "biologically we can't have children mm and its also about I believe that God wants me to adopt." A couple (E) agreed that adoption was always something that they had thought about and what motivated them in adopting transracially was their friend: "what motivated me was my friend Lindsay, when they adopted their baby we fell in love with him and you know it became more natural for us to adopt."

However the couple (E) were wanting to have a child for a long period, "it just wasn't because she adopted, we wanted to adopt for a long time we just didn't know how to go about it." She (E) stated that "I just wanted a baby, I just wanted to be a mom you know after being married for fifteen years." When considering adoption especially when the couple is older, it may count against them. A participant (E) reported that "we were getting old and we didn't want to miss the boat and I said now's our chance, lets go for it and see how it goes."

It is important that the couples that want to adopt are certain and positive of the decision they make. Being uncertain about the process and procedure could have major consequences, especially if the one parent is uncertain about taking the step to adopt. The

wife (C) stated that, “he said I’m really not sure about this and I said to my sweetie if that is what you feel then I must rather cancel the appointment because we either go together as a couple that know what we want or we don’t go and mm yah [sic] I think putting him into a situation where because my husband is very led by me. I’m quite a strong person and his led by me he doesn’t like to do things that disappoint me, he tries to keep me happy I didn’t want this to be about keeping me happy.” Once a couple decides to adopt, it is important that all the necessary factors are considered. A participant (C) declared, “I wanted him to make the decision out of his own heart and he thought about it then he was fine about it and he was fine at the interview.”

The bonding process between the adoptee and the adoptive parents is a crucial process, which may affect both the parents and the child. A participant (C) confirmed that her husband was a bit apprehensive at first but she assured him that he was under no obligation when they went to have a look at a baby that was available and reported (C) that “I said to him relax, you are under no obligation lets just go and see this little boy if you look at this little boy and if you know that this is your child then great, if it’s not that’s also great, but I just knew he was. She (C) was very sure that this was her son “I was on cloud nine because I just knew this was my child.”

The wife (C) of a couple affirmed, “when James held him and he opened his eyes and he looked into that man’s eyes; I’ve never seen James look like that at anybody not even me and he didn’t want to put this little boy down, it was the most incredible thing.” This couple had gone and seen their baby at the hospital and reported (C) that the circumstances under which they found their son was terrible saying (C) “he smelt terrible, he was dirty he was you know there was nothing beautiful about him because you know he hadn’t obviously been very well cared for.”

The one couple who had been involved with the children’s home had children staying with them on a weekend basis, however adopting is more permanent decision. They responded (B) that they “took the child out to see how it is going to be for us you know.”

4.2. Communication

This theme elicits the significance of communication within the family system and especially to the adopted child. The more open and honest the parents are with the child about how they plan on addressing issues that may arise and how the parents will overcome these issues.

Communication is the basis of all relationships, and in order for a relationship to survive difficulties and important decisions, couples should communicate clearly to each other to avoid conflicting thoughts and ideas. Therefore, it is important for couples to discuss clearly and honestly why, and how, they feel about adopting. A mother (C) stated that “we used to walk every morning and we used to talk about these things a lot and he, he had initially as I say he hadn’t thought about it and his mind wasn’t as open to it as mine was”. If one partner is uncertain and apprehensive about the decision, more thought and discussion should be put into resolving what the conflict of interest is.

A participant (E) reported that “it became more natural to adopt so and we talked about it a lot before but tried to get my husband used to the idea as well.” It is imperative that one partner’s decision to go ahead with the adoption procedure should not be enforced on the other partner. Therefore the decision should be made after consensus is reached.

As the child is growing up the adoptee may eventually ask questions about his/her biological parents. This, as with all aspects of the adoption process may be a sensitive topic especially for the adoptive parents who have avoided addressing these issues. Adoptees are allowed to contact their birth parents at the age of eighteen; however, the adopted parents permission is needed if this wants to be done at an earlier age. A participant (C) confirmed that “I’m the only mother that he has ever had, and I’m quite open if he wants to try and track his birth mother down at a later stage”. A mother acknowledged (C) that “I want him, to know as much as he can know about them because his going to want to know why they didn’t keep him why they couldn’t keep him”.

Adoptive parents may feel the need to provide either positive or negative information regarding the adoptees biological parents, which may impact negatively or positively on the child. A participant (A) reported “one just needs to never talk negative about his (biological mother) and explain to him as wisely as possible why she had to make those decisions and just from another point of view just tell him how difficult it was.” Parents do not want the adoption to impact negatively on the child and a participant (A) stated: “I think one needs to be open about it otherwise, if you are not open about it then you might impact negatively that perhaps he might think that you are keeping information from him”

Adoption is regarded as a sensitive topic to all parties involved in the process including the biological parents, adoptive parents, adoptee, extended family, friends and strangers who are in contact with the adoptee. These individuals may question various issues relating to the adoption and a participant (A) confirmed, “when people ask questions I think you need to be as gentle as possible mm and just tell them that he is as much as a person as the next one”

Being open and honest to the adoptee from an early age is imperative to avoid unforeseen circumstance, which may cause conflict and unnecessary confrontations regarding the aspects of adoption. A participant (D) declared that “if you going to be open with the child about the adoption, which we plan to be with our son and we have been from the beginning mm its one of those cases where you, you know you can’t pretend that Justin is not adopted.” A participant (D) said that they as parents will be able to answer questions that arise, reporting that “we not the kind of family who will say go ask our mother, go ask your father, or go ask your aunty or you know we don’t side step these things, we tell, tell him the answer to the question.”

A participant (D) also said that being open and honest would alleviate problems which may arise: “I’m truthful about it you know as long as there’s nothing to try and pretend about or lie as long as there’s, there’s the truth then I don’t think there’s any problem you

know as long as there's been communicated to him when his ready to communicate with us"

In the case of transracial adoption, there is a distinct difference in race and the child is bound to ask questions relating to the adoptees and the adoptive parents' race. Therefore providing information honestly and openly to the child is essential. A father (D) reported, "tell him the truth I cant say that he is mine, he is obviously going to see there's something different, just tell him the truth."

Explaining to the adoptive child that he/she is not the child's biological parents may be a difficult task and a parent (C) noted: "he knows that he wasn't born of my body and his fine with that he knows that he was born of my soul and my heart he knows that so his fine with that and you know as he asks questions as he gets older I'll tell him but I don't think his ever going to have problems." A participant (B) is aware, that as their son gets older he will eventually ask certain questions relating to the differences in race and confirmed "if he is bigger he is going to ask questions that's for sure you know you know why is mummy and pappie black you know because he will ask those questions and I will tell him the truth".

Two of the couple's biological children were born after they had adopted transracially. There might be a conflict of interest from grandparents and extended family in this process as family members may provide the biological children with more love and attention than the adoptive child. A participant (A) stated "just make it clear to him that that he is just as much your own baby as your biological baby there is no difference and I think that and explain to him whatever age he starts asking questions you know appropriately explain to him that he is much ours as the child who grew inside of me there's no difference." As the child gets older he/she might also feel that he/she is being neglected in some way because of the parents own biological children.

4.3. Support

This theme elicited the amount of support that the couples received during the initial idea of the adoption process until the adoption process became finalized, as well as from the immediate family, friends and from the social worker.

The most important individuals that the prospective adoptive parents consulted before adopting transracially were their respective parents and siblings. A participant (A) reported: “my family was all very supportive, very excited about the whole process that we going to go through...from Steven’s family a bit more hesitant mm because perhaps they more conservative than my family.” A father (B) confirmed that he had made telephonic contact with his mother and stated “I didn’t see them I was speaking to my mother on the telephone. I said mummy we are going to adopt a child his black ma I just I told her his black ok so I couldn’t you know, know what’s their reaction I didn’t see what’s the reaction.”

A participant (E) reported “they were all over the moon when we told them we were going to adopt and mm my father in law died just before we got him so it was quite heart breaking because he is the one that motivated us in the first place so it was really sad.” She (E) further confirmed “they walked into the house and took him from my arms and loved him and they took photographs and it was a big celebration”

The families discussed their decision with their immediate families. A participant (C) Reported, “James phoned his parents and discussed it with them and they were totally fine about the idea and he discussed it with his brothers.” His wife (C) needed to discuss the idea with her brother and confirmed, “I needed to discuss it with my brother he had been quite racist in his youth and I didn’t want him to look upon this child as anything but his nephew.” The participant (C) further stated: “now one brother was he said if that’s what you want and if that makes you happy and the other one said straight out I want nothing to do with it.”

A couple (D) stated that race was definitely not an issue and confirmed: “Lindsay’s mom was ecstatic she was just so happy to have a grandchild here mm race was definitely not an issue.” The reactions of the one couple’s parents was extreme happiness as it was going to be their first grandchild and the participant reported (C) “my family was no problem, my family they were all happy especially my mother she hasn’t got grandchildren.” Another participant (B) stated: “...my family is a little bit conservative but they accepted it.”

All three families who had adopted transracially dealt with a specific social worker from Child Welfare who assisted them through the entire process. A participant (F) reported, “I think the legal side of everything she helped us with and it was quite nice cos [sic] we didn’t really have a clue. Without her help we would not of had a baby, and that is the bottom line.” Another couple (F) acknowledged “we got a lot of support from the social worker that did the actual adoption and the paper work and that we still in contact with her and we feel open and that if you want to ask questions they are available.”

Prospective parents who adopt transracially are encouraged to join a support group on a voluntary basis. None of the families belonged to a support group and a participant (F) stated “for younger people maybe, for younger people might find it a little more difficult to handle the remarks.”

The reactions and support that parents received from their immediate and extended family may impact negatively on the relationship with their children. A participant (D) confirmed that his one brother was opposed to transracial adoption, stating that “his one brother was very anti it to the point where he said I would rather because he was married at this stage I would rather go out and be unfaithful to my wife, get a girl pregnant and give you the baby up for adoption rather than you adopt a black child.”

They handled the situation in a manner in which the participant (C) reported, “I respected the fact that he had an opinion it was a mixture I was a little angry with him because he had blinkers on”. The couple (C) reported that after a while their brother’s mind set had

changed, stating: “cos [sic] he looked at this little boy and this little boy wasn’t a monkey which he in his head thought he, might be, here was this beautiful little boy that was just like any other baby.”

A couple acknowledged that their parent’s reaction to the adoption seemed to be positive however; there was an amount of hostility, which the parents had showed towards the adoptive parents. They (D) affirmed, “my parents as well you know they spoke about him as being there little black grandson and mm to Lindsay and myself that was unnecessary the little black grandson he was the little grandson you know.” They felt that certain comments made were unnecessary and also confirmed that they were possibly doing it to single their son out stating (D): “I think it was there way of mm singling him out and giving him mm a lot or giving us you know talking just about him you know and trying to make him special and in their way, concentrating more on the race than the fact that he was the grandson.”

It is very difficult situation if grandparents think more of the biological children than the adopted children because parents would want grandparents and others to treat their children in the same manner. The couple (D) confirmed: “I think that in a way they still think about him as the little black grandson and all that mm I, I don’t really know whether they feel more for the girls than him or what the case is I’m not too sure.” Parents who adopt, see their child as their own and a couple reported that once she fell pregnant, the family made a few comments relating to the difference between their son and the biological child that was on the way, stating (A): “I could only pick that after once I fell pregnant this was now my biological baby it was now sort of you going to have your own baby sort of thing they didn’t see Lyle as our own.”

The reactions of the immediate and extended family from the initial thought of a family adopting transracially was either received in a very positive or negative manner. Their families’ views tended to change slightly once the child was in their prospective homes, and once they had met the children. A wife (A) stated: “once Steven’s mom and sister came down, once they saw Lyle I think it changed their view points once they saw his

like any other child it definitely changed their sort of their view point on the whole thing.” The husband (B) was of the opinion that “they didn’t speak their mind like when they came to visit they said not it was like an eye opener for them.”

A couple confirmed that when they had contacted their father about their decision to adopt and the participant (D) responded that “my father is an accountant his a very slow, methodical person mm his reaction was are you sure you want to do this have you thought this threw don’t you want to take a bit of time.” The wife (C) reported that her husband’s brother was against the adoption and stated “when we first got Justin home and Shaun didn’t want to come in I was a bit angry at him I thought you know here he should be in support of his brother.” The husband (D) further reported “the one that was totally anti it as I say he didn’t show face here for a long time.”

A participant (D) reported, “I respected more the one who had the very negative attitude about it because he was blatantly, he was blatant about how he felt, and he was very truthful about how he felt.” It was important for this participant for family members to be honest and open with them about the decision that they had made to adopt transracially. A participant (E) confirmed: “my sister in law once said I wouldn’t adopt interracial, and then, but she’s got children of her own.”

4.4. Concerns and experiences

This theme elicits parents concerns with regards to the future of their adopted children.

Parents may foresee that their children may experience problems as a result of the transracial adoption, but it is not always possible to predict specific issues and questions which may be raised. A parent (E) stated: “I often wonder what’s it’s going to be like later at a later stage when he realizes that he is different, but I think we’ll cross that path when we get there.”

There was some concern about what black people might say because white parents were raising black children. A participant (C) commented: “I thought initially when we got him I thought you know with black people will perhaps give us hassles they were actually very positive and saying you know this is great.” The participant (C) reported, “I didn’t give a toss about what white people thought but I didn’t want him to be ostracized and kind of looked upon badly by the Xhosa nation.” They were concerned about how black people will respond and that they will be treated shoddily by the black population.

A mother (C) is of the opinion that “I think there’s going to be a bit of confusion I think you know with fellow Xhosa children and they talk about things that they are expecting him to understand.” A participant (C) responded, “there might be issues with Xhosa’s wondering why he wasn’t raised with there traditions.” A father (D) stated, “I think if anything his future will be easier in a lot of ways for him because I’m hoping that he will learn Xhosa at school.” This participant agreed that learning Xhosa in school would be to his son’s advantage in the future.

The children of the adoptive parents are still very young, therefore at this stage the children are not experiencing any prejudice and stereotypes from other racial groups. The parents are of the opinion that they might encounter problems when they start attending school. One of the participants (A) acknowledged: “I have thought about it, maybe he might have problems at school but I don’t know but you know we’ll just have to wait and see.” A parent (A) believes “once he goes to school, might he get teased, or will other children ask questions because he is a different colour to me.” A participant was of the opinion that their child would not experience problems while at school stating (F) “I don’t think he is going to have a lot of questions at school as to why his parents are white and he isn’t you know things like that and by that stage his going to know why because I’m going to be honest with him.”

All parents are concerned about their children’s future. A father (F) stated, “we do not know where South Africa is going in the future so I’m like any other parent concerned

about their sons future in South Africa ... his colour would help him there will be a lot of positions open for him because his black.”

Parents want the best for their children and do not want them to be ostracized and discriminated against and to be treated badly by society. Neither should their children experience stereotypical and prejudicial behaviour from others. However, this may not be prevented. A mother (A) reported, “what will I tell him if people tease him.” Being able to cope with situations, which may arise, may be a difficult process for parents. A father (F) confirmed, “he’s going to have a few racist things like white kaffir he is just a white kaffir.” This participant (F) believes that his son should be able to defend himself should the need arise and reported: “I want him to know how to hit back I’m not saying go out there and hit people but if somebody out there hits him and he will know how to hit back.” Therefore, the need will arise for parents to explain why people behave in this particular manner and a mother (A) stated, “I think we need to explain to him it’s not because of him it’s just that it’s the other person that’s at fault it’s not because of you being black.”

Issues may arise. However there can never be any certainty that their children will experience anything specific. It is important for parents to constantly be aware of problems which may arise. A participant (A) reported, “one needs to be aware of it you know if something does come up.” A parent (A) is of the opinion that the situation in South Africa is changing, stating, “things are changing so quickly he might grow up without anything in the end and you sit and worry about something that’s not going to happen.” A parent (E) reported, “any problems by the time he is bigger, I think everyone will be used to it by then you know mm I can not think of anything that will cause problems.”

Issues pertaining to the adoptee’s biological parents may be raised by the adoptee at a later stage. A mother (A) reported, “how to explain to him why his biological mother had to give him up we just hope that he will understand and wouldn’t impact negatively on him.”

4.5. **Identity and experiences**

Race has become a very serious issue of discussion as a result of the historically segregated past, and people are often defined by the race that they are. For the parents who have adopted transracially, a father (B) reported, “from a biblical point of view there’s no colour that I have a problem with if God doesn’t have a problem with anybody why would I.” The father (B) further mentioned, “I call him my son, he is my son. He is so part of me I see the black, but his my son.”

Individuals in society should realize that despite being a different race to another individual, you should not be treated differently in any way. A mother (A) stated, “we are all the same we can go to the same shopping centers, same church it doesn’t matter, your colour.” A mother (A) was of the view that their parents mind set changed once they met their son reporting “once they met him, once they met Justin it was more they could see he was like their children, there’s no difference, there’s a colour difference but no other difference.” A participant (A) acknowledged, “you sometimes forget he is black you know what I mean. Then you look and you say why is that person looking at me and then oh it must be because of Justin you know you forget that he is different colour to you.”

A parent (E) is blinded by the different skin colour of her son stating “when I look at him I don’t see colour, I just see love, I just see my son.” Whilst a participant (E) confirmed, “I’ll raise him to be himself regardless of colour and race.” The manner in which they intend to raise their son is not a concern for them at all. A participant (C) acknowledged: “I don’t see him as being of a different race to me his my son and that’s that.” Parents should be aware of the racial differences and father (D) confirmed, people said was “yah [sic] well one day he is going to realize that he - you know, he is a different colour to you and I said yah [sic] but its not like we’ve been trying to hide the fact that he is adopted.”

Being a different race you are often perceived and judged due to inherent differences. A father (D) reported, “I do not see him as a different race to me, to me he is exactly the

same as I am; his skin is just slightly darker and his hair is more curlier.” A mother commented that “I do not think about it anymore cos [sic] when I see Justin I see my son I don’t see, I don’t see that there is a colour difference, so when people stare at me I it doesn’t even enter my mind.” A father (D) was further of the opinion that “I mean there’s people see differences mm say at some stage my girls are going to grow up knowing that his her brother, and at some stage some child will probably say, but your brother is black just as people have said to me your son is black my reaction to that is I know...I think at some stage they are going to experience the same kind of thing he is going to experience as they say to him your parents are white, then at some stage, he will feel that there’s a difference.”

Parents may experience positive and negative behaviours and reactions from society, a mother (A) reported: “in the shopping centers you walk with Lyle and people will just have that, you know look, what’s going on here?” The manner in which the parents react might result in a confrontation with the other individuals, a participant (A) confirmed, “he is more softer where I will perhaps give them a cheeky answer I will perhaps say something like ag [sic] at least my child will get a job because his black you know that kind of answer, or yes, they said because he is a garden boy and then I said yes, we are going to adopt a girl and then she’s going to work inside the house.”

These negative behaviours and attitudes may be experienced from close friends and family. A mother (A) stated: “I think his mum accepts what we’ve done, but I think still in a ways and certain names that they say to blacks they still speak like that they still use the old ugly words and think in that way. They will use the ‘k’ word.” Another participant (E) mentioned, “people just, they just look, you know, is it yours or is it the maids.” The participant (E) confirmed this “we were sitting in the waiting room and this lady came and said isn’t he cute is it the maid’s child and of course my mother-in-law was with me and she’s got such a big mouth and she said that’s my grandchild how dare you?” Grandparents may also react to individuals who criticize their grandchildren.

A father (F) commented: “I play rugby for an Afrikaans rugby club...you get to hear all the comments...you get used to it or if you do not, you just ignore it because its no use making an issue out of it because the people are ignorant anyway.” Comments made to this father (F) included, “you have the comments made like you bringing up a garden boy and I used to say well luckily he is going to be my garden boy not yours luckily, his not having you as a parent” and “a lot of people saying there’s the English man with the kaffir child, yah [sic] I get a lot of that I just ignore it now you see they ignorant.”

A participant (F) stated, “I feel really strongly about someone criticizing my son, obviously, but nowadays I think I’ve got used to it you never really get used to it, but a bit more laid back.” He (F) further added, “we still get the dirty looks in the supermarkets...you get people saying “sies” look at that...we learned how to handle it.”

The comments and reactions that one receives may be of a positive nature, a participant (F) reported, “I hear it more now because of my son, because the comments are directly to us, whereas before we didn’t have those comments to us directly, it was just in general conversation.” He (F) also mentioned: “people say as before theirs that Englishman bringing up a kaffir child, and what you want to bring up a murderer, and a mugger, and a rapist for?” Reactions may be received from close family members as well, and a participant (D) reported: “he didn’t show his face here for a long time mm and when he did he eventually, you know when ever you spoke to Justin or about Justin it was always with eeheh you know (black accent) that irritated me.”

A participant (C) stated, “we used to get disapproving looks ... and approving looks and funnily enough we’ve had just as much in the way of disapproval and approval from the Xhosa tradition as well as the white tradition.” A participant (C) received the following comment by the private adoption agency which she first made contact with stating, “I phoned the private adoption lady and I said Eugene there’s this little boy that I am going to be seeing and if he is available I’m going to take him and then she said don’t, don’t do that I can get you a little white baby in a couple of months ... I said thanks I respect that but I’ve decided.”

How the parents react and cope with the situations in which they find themselves may impact negatively or positively when they find themselves in similar situations. A father (B) reported: “I will get angry with it at times. I will work through it, you know it is part of the package.” A participant (B) affirmed, “I don’t show them that I’m getting angry cos [sic] if you show people you getting angry they will mock you more and more.” She (A) further stated, “That’s the only way they can mock Steven because they must feel jealous towards you because you’ve done something and they cant overcome that colour thing.”

A participant (A) said “I think it will take many years I think for the older people to really get used to the mixed idea.” A mother (A) reported that she does not feel angry when people make these comments however she stated, “I must say I don’t feel angry actually I think its funny you know when you see people stare at you because perhaps you share the same juice bottle or something you just laugh it off.” She (A) added that “I sometimes think that deep down inside don’t they feel guilty in a way that they haven’t treated other people better or something.”

A participant (F) agreed that when he does experience negative feedback from others that it does cause a confrontation, reporting: “it would just cause a confrontation doesn’t it mm I’ll end up in a corner scoffling with somebody over stupid things.” He (F) further stated that he has been in violent situations before, “I was a bit more aggravated about it more violent I used to confront people...I’ll go so far and I’ll hit you its typically me and its not right its not nice it’s the wrong thing to do I do realize that but push me so far and then I can become violent.”

Prejudice behaviour is not necessarily experienced by all individuals within society as a participant (B) expressed: “it’s not like a whole big group you only get like ten people you get about two you know ... it is more the older people.” He (B) commented further that racism has a lot to do with prejudiced behaviour, stating: “they basically still have

that thing in their minds you know I mean the old things in their minds. If I say the old things like the old racist thing in their minds.”

Prejudice that the families have experienced, is experienced from all races. A participant (B) reported: “its not just from the white community ... I mean the black guy working there was like no you shouldn't do this no, no, no this child should be with black people you know black parents.” A mother (A) commented that she experienced an incident in a shopping center stating, “this one lady she is very Afrikaans and she was saying and asking you know what is this? Like not even referring to him as a baby as a person but just what is this. They got germs you know just because he is from a different skin colour he has got germs.” This mother (A) further said that: “the older people definitely more the older Afrikaans people they definitely they were raised in a more conservative way still in the old apartheid” and that people automatically assume that black people have AIDS stating, “people think just because you black you got AIDS that is probably a wide generalization.”

There was a tremendous amount of concern about why the black population do not adopt the available babies and a participant (B) expressed: “but the blacks don't adopt them they don't adopt them that's my argument.” Another participant declared, “There is still a small percentage of people out there who are very anti and its not just white people its black people too.” A mother (C) commented: “ ... I didn't want him to be looked upon as unacceptable and I think there are I mean I have had a couple of funny looks from a couple of black guys that have walked past me and they miffed about it.”

A participant (C) was unaware that people had been giving her and her son looks and expressed: “I would never notice people looking at Justin and looking at me and looking back at Justin and then looking at James so looking ok sort of where did this child ... my friends used to point it out to me they would say ooh you should of seen that woman she was really giving you this look.”

A participant (A) expressed her reactions when she had experienced prejudicial behaviour and reported that: “I felt sorry for her just because they are so narrow minded that they cant see that it doesn’t matter your colour or what your background we are still all the same, we still all human beings.” She (A) was further of the view that, “it makes you realize that we are modern in our thinking and that you just realize that there are still people out there that’s not as open minded as us” and feels that people are making it difficult for themselves.

There is a considerable amount of inquiry about how parents would be raising their child. A participant (E) reported: “if he wants to speak Xhosa that’s fine by me I mean I would encourage Xhosa rather than any other language he will probably be expected to speak it when he is in school.” A mother (A) expressed: “we will definitely raise him Afrikaans/English mm in a multiracial, we live in a multiracial society and, and definitely, as the same as Christians we will raise him that way mm, and I think that from that he will understand that you don’t always do what your fore fathers do, because its not all correct we all make mistakes but there are certain things that you just do not do as a Christian, I think in that way he will understand why we do not do certain things.”

A parent (B) reported, “I’m a Christian for all my life, I take the Bible as that’s the principle, that the principles I will lay down for him I will not force it to him but that’s the way I’m going to teach”. The father (B) added further of the opinion that “from a biblical point of view I don’t think believe there is you get cultures and everything I believe the bible in Christ we are all one it does not matter black or brown.”

A participant (B) reported that “we believe as Christians that definitely some of the culture things are definitely not correct”, and commented on how she (A) would raise him and stated: “more a human being it doesn’t matter what your colour is yah [sic] and just that you know just generally that you need to respect each other” and is further of the view that, “we will tell him about stuff but I wont encourage him to, to do those rituals mm like the same with us I mean we don’t do the Afrikaans rituals.” A father (D) said,

“we’ll raise him as our identity...I was raised, I sort of grew up without I would say, I do not know, an eclectic cultural heritage.”

A mother (E) reported: “I don’t think that you learn your culture through life you are what you learn” and the father (F) commented that, “he is going to grow up with our way we would like him to grow up as much as he is going to have his own identity he’ll still have our roots ... he’ll be a lot like myself in that way and also if all else fails hit him.” This parent (F) believes that the child should use violence if provoked. They believe that, “he is going to grow up just normal he’ll be English speaking and he’ll learn Xhosa if they teach it at school.” The participant (F) further stated, “his going to grow up in our culture that’s the bottom line like the English people he’s going to grow up like an English person he is going to have a British passport.”

Parents of a Xhosa adoptee said they would expose their child to the Xhosa culture. The father stated (D), “he is going to be himself and mm I said you know if he wanted to be exposed to the Xhosa tradition you know then I would learn up about it and educate him on that if he wanted to find out more about the Xhosa culture then that is something we would do.” He added, “about circumcision ...I didn’t see us doing that because we are not Xhosa.” The mother (C) reported, “I think that one of the reasons that they think its ok because they expect me to raise him as a Xhosa child and they often say why cant he speak Xhosa and I’ll say because I cant speak Xhosa I can only teach him what I know.”

Another participant (D) affirmed: “he is my son he will grow up with my traditions in the same way I grew up, obviously changed as my ideas have changed ... he will speak like I do he’ll act like I do ... he will be his own person.” A father (F) commented: “ ... his colour doesn’t really come in to it his going to grow up as a lot of people say white with a black skin mm and I don’t think that is going to bother him it might bother black people saying its not the cultural way” and is further of the opinion that, “he is going to grow up white with a black face and I don’t think it’s a bad thing it’s not going to hurt him in any way as long as he grows up with the right values in life.”

The manner in which the children are raised was addressed with a participant (F) stating “he is going to grow up in a fairly decent household with fairly decent parents, he is going to have you know, mine and Sandy’s values you know, he’ll know right from wrong” and that, “he’ll grow up basically as English grow up in the UK we are English, our lifestyle is English with a little bit of South African thrown in.”

A participant (A) was of the opinion that as a result of adopting across racial lines, they have been in contact with people of all races and reported: “it is definitely helping us because you get to know people from, from different colour, backgrounds and its definitely helping him as well, to identify with other people.”

Another participant’s (C) view was that people’s reactions were based on ignorance and reported, “I understood where he was coming from although I did not agree with it ... they were all based on ignorance so it was more that I was feeling sorry for him.”

A participant (A) stated that, “he will get the same treatment the one is not going to be treated differently from the other one they will be treated the same” when the new baby is born and that the one child will not receive special treatment at all.

Chapter Five

Discussion

First and foremost, these interviews reflect the personal motivation for and experiences of white couples that have adopted a child transracially in South Africa. It highlights the initial process they went through the process of deciding to adopt across racial lines as well as their past, current and future concerns about rearing their children. The material collected is rich in detail, as well as complex and unique as they proceed, through the various stages of their children's lives, as well as prejudicial and stereotypical behaviour and their concerns about their child's identity, culture and various issues of race.

The data obtained allowed for various themes to be extracted. Due to the nature of the data, most areas concerning race, culture, socialization and identity are interrelated and overlap. Themes examined, include parents motivation for adopting, their concerns about the future of their children, and future problems they may encounter, communication, support, culture and identity.

5.1. The importance of Communication

The following section will highlight the importance of communication in the adoption process with specific emphasis on the following: initial thoughts, apprehensiveness, honesty and openness, and the biological parents.

Communication is an important facet of any relationship. The manner in which parents address issues pertaining to their individual children's adoption is imperative to ensure that unforeseen events and problems do not arise. Therefore, it is essential that parents address these sensitive issues in an appropriate and cautious manner. It is important for couples to discuss these issues beforehand so as to ensure that when they are confronted with a situation that their answers and action have been reached consensually, while avoiding conflicting thoughts and ideas.

5.1.1. Initial thoughts of adoption

The decision to adopt, or the initial thoughts of adoption were not all initially consensual for all the participants. Getting their partners used to the idea of adoption, and the possibility of transracial adoption was not always an easy task. A participant was open to the thought of adoption, but felt that her husband who was a bit apprehensive, had to make the decision on his own. It is important that when a partner is willing to make the decision to adopt, that the partner does not enforce on the other partner their wishes and desires to proceed with the adoption. Adoption is a huge responsibility, as with having a child. It is a permanent decision, which may not be reversed; therefore both parties must be in total agreement with the decision being made.

Participants have preconceived ideas and perceptions about various issues of transracial adoption. A participant confirmed that his brother was against them adopting a transracial child, when they had mentioned their initial thoughts of adopting a child. Their initial thoughts and reactions may be very negative towards the suggestion of transracial adoption, but their mind set may be changed if they are educated about all their uncertainties and their preconceived ideas. This will allow people and family members to become more accepting and tolerant to the idea of transracial adoption.

5.1.2. Apprehensiveness

A participant in the study confirmed that her husband was not as open to the idea of adoption as she was, his perception of adoption, as he was under the impression that you adopt an older child with problems and not an infant. Apprehensiveness about the decision is entirely natural. It is therefore imperative that adoptive parents should obtain enough relevant information to become more aware of the issues pertaining to adoption and the procedures required to follow, in the process. The apprehensiveness may cause conflicting interest, which should be carefully discussed and resolved in an appropriate manner.

5.1.3. Honesty and openness

Being honest and open with the adoptive child is important especially when it comes to issues of race and the biological parents of the adopted child. A participant confirmed that they have, and intend to be open and honest with their son, and as a result of the race difference, it is quite obvious that they cannot hide things from the child. It is quite obvious too, that when adopting transracially, issues of race cannot be avoided as there is a distinct racial difference between the adoptive parents and the adopted child, and perhaps other siblings and family members. Adoption is regarded as a sensitive topic to all parties involved in the adoption triangle, as well as members of the extended family.

Providing an honest and open relationship with the adoptee from as early an age as possible is important. The aim is to avoid unforeseen circumstances, which may cause conflict, and prevent unnecessary confrontations regarding various aspects of adoption. A participant is of the opinion that they will be able to answer their child's questions honestly as they arise, and they would not avoid questions and refer them to the other parent or family members. Explaining to the child from an early age that he/she is adopted is important, however, it is also important to remember that the child is bound to ask questions about contentious issues. A participant further confirmed that as long as they as parents are truthful regarding issues, which may arise, and that there is consistent communication between the parents and the adoptee, they would be able to overcome problems. There is no correct manner in which these issues may be addressed, but it should be done in an understandable and uncomplicated manner. There is no guarantee as to when the child may start asking questions pertaining to his/her adoption, but parents should be prepared to answer these questions when asked.

It is clear from the literature, as well as from the participants that having an honest and open relationship with your adopted child is fundamental. The participants in this study were unanimous in their agreement and enthusiasm that they would always endeavour to be completely honest with their children, since this would only strengthen their relationship, and their bond as a family. Two of the families who participated in the study

have had biological children after the transracial child, and are of the opinion that they will be treated the same and that it is not only important to have an open relationship with the adopted child, but also with their biological children.

It is imperative that parents are aware of the many issues that could arise, and should discuss the manner in which they are going to deal with these issues before they arise, to ensure that when they are approached with a question by their children, they will be able to answer, and tackle the questions tactfully.

5.1.4. Biological parents

It is the decision of the adoptive parents to provide information about the adopted child's biological parents. Participants were aware of issues being raised of the biological parents in the future. Participants agreed that they would assist in providing as much information about the adoptee's biological parents as possible. Parents should realize the importance of providing positive information about the biological parents in the interests of the child, this matter should, therefore, always be approached in a positive manner. A participant in the study was concerned about how she would explain why the adoptee's biological parents gave him up for adoption, and that it would not impact negatively on his life. Adoptee's may not grasp the idea why their biological parents gave them up for adoption, and it is important that this issue be addressed in an appropriate manner to ensure that it does not have any negative impact on the child, and that they do not feel hatred and regret towards their biological parents.

Explaining to the adoptee that they are not the biological parents is difficult. A participant agreed that it is important that they never provide any negative information to the child with regards to the biological parents. It is however necessary for the adoptive parents to be sensitive to the issue since it could be important to the child. Participants were of the opinion that it is important that parents do not allow for the child to become sceptical about certain issues, by being secretive and not providing information about various issues pertaining to the adoption, as well as the biological parents.

With the above in mind, communication is the basis of any relationship and family dynamics. Therefore, adoptive parents who maintain an honest and open relationship with their partners from the initial thoughts of adoption, and while raising their children will assist them in having to deal with issues pertaining to apprehensiveness, and that of the adopted child's biological parents.

5.2. Significance of support

In this section the researcher will concentrate on the following themes relating to the significance of support. These are the roles of the social worker, support groups and support from family members and friends.

Support, not only from your immediate partner, but also from the extended family and friends are an important factor for families who are thinking of adopting. This is especially so when they consider adopting across racial lines. Support is especially important from those individuals who will play an important role in the lives of the family, and that of their children. Gaining the support from family and friends is just as important as gaining the support of the social worker and the agency, or child welfare when initiating the ideas of wanting to adopt transracially.

5.2.1. Role of the Social Worker

The social worker plays a significant role in the parent's consideration as they are gradually eased into the decision to want to adopt. There is a lot to consider when the initial thoughts of wanting to adopt comes to mind for the prospective parents. A participant confirmed that without the help of the social worker they would not have had the baby. Participants agreed that the social worker played an important role in the process of adoption and assisted in the actual adoption, in the processing of all the paper work. The social worker should provide adequate information to the prospective parents as well as discuss all the relevant negative and positive aspects of transracial adoption. It

would be possible for the social worker to introduce families who have adopted a child transracially, and to provide feedback to the parents of experiences of adopting a child across racial lines.

It is necessary for the social worker involved with the family to raise as many issues and concerns regarding adoption. Participants were informed of issues, which may arise, and the social workers had given them the option to think about the realities of what may arise. A participant further noted that when the social worker had given them the option to go home and discuss and think about the decision, they reassured the social worker that they were certain about their decision. This will invariably serve as highlight for the prospective adoptive parents, that transracial adoption may have specific problems. Participants have not really experienced many problems due to the fact that their children are still young. However the child may experience, and ask various questions as he/she becomes older. It is also imperative that the social workers provide as much information as possible to the couple. Social workers should clearly provide sufficient information to enable the couple to make an informed decision. Under no circumstances should the social worker coerce, in any way, the final decision of the couple that intends adopting. It is however, important that their decision be an informed one.

5.2.2 Support groups

Support should be provided to parents on a continuous basis. Parents should also be encouraged to belong to a support group. This will encourage parents to gain insight and experiences from other parents who have adopted transracially. This could provide valuable information to couples that are considering transracial adoption. None of the participants belonged to a support group, as they did not regard it as important at this stage. A participant was of the opinion that it could be an advantage when their child is older. Belonging to a support group should be encouraged to assist parents in adjusting to the experiences and concerns, which they may have.

5.2.3. Support from family members and friends

It is not only fundamental to gain the support from the social worker and those involved in the adoption process, but also support should be expected from the immediate, and extended family, as well as close friends of the prospective adoptive parents. Participants, who had discussed their initial thoughts of adoption with their partners, also felt the need to discuss it with immediate family members to determine their opinion and attitudes to their decision to adopt across racial lines. Parents and siblings were consulted by their prospective adoptive parents to ascertain whether they would have any objections to them adopting across racial lines.

The adoptive parents consulted their family members, but, at the same time, they had already made their decision to adopt transracially, and they would still have gone ahead, irrespective of the opinions of family members. Some participants initially experienced negative responses from family members. With time, most family members came to accept and respect their decision.

Participants whose family members initially showed hesitancy and apprehensiveness experienced problems between family members. Should the extended family be supportive and encouraging to family members who want to adopt, this will allow for the relationship between the adopted child and adoptive parents, as well as the immediate family to flourish. A participant reported that her brother-in-law was against the idea of them adopting a child but she respected his decision and he did not come to their house for ages before he became used to the idea. Apprehensiveness may cause friction, as well as unnecessary confrontations with the adoptive parents as the child grows older. The support from family members is very important for the adoptive parents, as the decision to adopt is a difficult one.

Parents and family members may be in support of the adoption initially, but hostility may be experienced and portrayed in different ways, which may cause future problems with family members. A participant reported that his parents would always refer to the black

grandson, when he was spoken about. It is in the best interests for participants to handle the situation with family members tactfully to ensure good relationships, as they would probably not want there to be any ill feelings between family members in the future. The participants in the study clearly indicated they did not want their children to be shunned by society and family members, but to be accepted as their own family, and as individuals.

It is a very difficult situation when grandparents and family members treat the couple's biological children differently to the adopted child. A participant reported that when his brother had spoken about their son he always spoke about him with a "black accent." It is, therefore, also essential, and imperative that the adopted child as well as the biological children be treated in the same manner. Parents who adopt children, whether transracially or not, treat and love their children as if they were their own, despite not being their biological parents.

Negative comments about the race of the child may be experienced from family members, and it is the decision of the adoptive parents to either confront those who are making these comments or to ignore them. A participant confirmed that the emphasis placed on their son being black was definitely unnecessary. Alternatively, they may choose not to address these issues. Ultimately, addressing the interests to their immediate family is essential to resolve situations, which may cause conflict.

In view of the above, having a well-established support system to assist the adoptive parents during the process of transracial adoption is crucial. Therefore, gaining support from family members, friends, the social worker, and support groups will assist parents if difficulties do arise.

5.3. Motivation for adopting transracially

The following section will focus on the theme pertaining to parent's motivation for adopting transracially, with specific emphasis on the following: Reasons and motivation, race and the availability of babies.

As mentioned previously in the literature pertaining to transracial adoption, parents who adopt a child transracially may do so for various reasons. It is the right and privileged of the adoptive parents to choose to adopt across racial lines. Motivations may vary and parents have to live with the reasons for their decisions. It is important for parents to give serious consideration as to why they are adopting transracially. They should receive guidance in what to expect once the adoption process has been completed. This would enable them to prepare the adoptee. It is important to consider too what extent do parents change their perceptions due to South Africa's political and racially divided past.

5.3.1. Reasons and motivation

It is important to explain, that parents who adopt a child across racial lines may, whether for humanitarian reasons, or the fact they are infertile, must be aware of what their motivations are. A participant confirmed that they realized that there were not any white babies available and that they were quite prepared to adopt a different colour baby. Are these parents deciding to adopt transracially because of the limited number of white babies, or are they settling for second best when adopting transracially? These are all important decisions to consider, not only for the adoptive parents, but also members of our society. A participant reported that his motivation for adopting was from a biblical point of view. Parents should however, to alleviate unforeseen difficulties and misunderstandings in the future, reach the decision and motivation to adopt transracially consensually.

Society may question parent's sincerity in them adopting a child of a different colour, as their intention may be to only be making a politically correct statement. To what extent is

there sincerity on the adoptive parents? Parents who adopt should carefully consider their sincerity when wanting to adopt a child across racial lines. Therefore, parents who adopt a negative attitude could allow for harmful challenges and stressors for the adopted child.

A participant reported that they had overlooked the thought of adoption and that transracial adoption was never an option for her. It was only a consideration when they made contact with the private adoption agency and they had informed them that they could not find a home for a black baby. The question arises as to what extent is it possible to question why parents suddenly realize that they have overlooked, that they could adopt across racial lines. A participant noted, that once they had gotten to know of friends who had adopted transracially, they also realized that they had overlooked the decision to adopt transracially. If they did not have a problem with adopting across racial lines why then were their initial thoughts not to consider transracial adoption? Could this possibly be that they have settled for second best, or have they truly been sincere in their decisions? Parents may be so obsessed, and driven to desperately wanting a baby that they settle for adopting across racial lines. The possibility exists that parents, when they make their decision to adopt, make their decision in haste not realizing and recognizing that there could be possible consequences. They normally are only confronted with these problems at a later stage in the adoptee's life. This could be that their parental instincts are self-assured, and that they do not care what the colour of the baby is.

It is probable that parents may feel that they would be able to give a child an opportunity in life because they do not have a biological child. If they raise the child instilling good values and norms they would possibly be performing their duty to society by adopting and rearing a child.

5.3.2. Race

No individual is born racist; racism is learned through a process of socialization as one develops through the various life stages. However, it is important to consider, and realize, that due to South Africa's political, and racially divided past, many individuals endure grudges towards other people in society who are of a different race to theirs. Some of the participants referred to colour not being an issue, or that they are not racist, as if they were trying to convince the researcher that racism has no bearing on the decision to adopt a child across racial lines. In South African society, colour is an issue for many individuals. Are parents trying to justify that colour is not an issue by repeatedly saying that race was never an issue for them when they decided to adopt transracially?

5.3.3. Availability of babies

The majority of families who adopt, approach private adoption agencies, but they realize that the waiting list and the availability of white babies are very limited. Parents who are desperately wanting a baby of the same race would have to be prepared to wait for periods of one to two years or longer. A participant confirmed that there was a huge waiting list when they approached an adoption agency, because parents specifically want a white baby. However due to the influx of black and coloured babies in certain areas, parents who are really wanting to adopt will go through the process of transracial adoption. A participant reported that when they initially spoke to someone at the private adoption agency, transracial adoption was not discussed at all. Therefore, parents are not always given the option of adopting transracially when they approach private adoption agencies. They only realize that it is an option when they approach the Child Welfare, in their respective province or other provinces.

In light of the above, on the subject of parent's motivation for adopting transracially, it is important for parents to know and realize why they want to adopt transracially. Parents may want to adopt transracially for humanitarian reasons, or wanting to give the best opportunity to a child. The adoptive parents may also be aware of the fact that there are

limited amount of white babies available when they approach private adoption agencies. Issues pertaining to race of the child may raise awareness and concern to the parents and the adoptee at a later stage.

5.4. Concerns about the future of transracial adoptees

In this section the researcher will examine on the concerns that parents have relating to adopting a child transracially, highlighting the following themes: Prejudicial and stereotypical behaviour, age of placement, impact from society, school environment, and biological parents.

Parents may assume that their children may experience problems as a result of transracial adoption, but it not possible to envisage specific issues, which may arise in the future. There is a possibility that a transracial adoptee may not experience any problems as he/she grows up, but there is also the reality that issues may arise and should be overcome if possible.

5.4.1. Prejudicial and stereotypical behaviour

It is important that when parents make the decision to adopt transracially, that they are aware of all the possible issues which may arise due to the transracial adoption. This could be achieved by keeping up to date with relevant literature and being in contact with parents who have also successfully adopted transracially. There is a possibility that their children might not necessarily go through all the issues raised by other parents, and the literature, but it would be advisable to constantly be aware of concerns as they arise.

All parents want their children not to be ostracized by society. However, as a consequence of the political climate still existent in South Africa, it is inevitable that black children being raised by white parents may experience prejudicial and stereotypical behaviour by other members of society. A participant reported that she didn't want her son to be shunned and ostracized by members of the black community and wanted to gain

opinions from them but felt that she didn't care what members of the white community thought. A participant further commented that they have experienced both positive and negative attitudes from all members of society irrespective of their race. The possibility that they will be discriminated against and ostracized by members of society is possible. This may only be overcome if individuals in society are educated about issues pertaining to transracial adoption, which will hopefully lead to individuals changing their mindset and ways of thinking. Participants were of the opinion that individuals would have portrayed negative attitudes towards their families if they were considered as being narrow minded, and that they were making it difficult for themselves, not accepting that there are mixed families in our society. However, we as society and as the parents who have adopted transracially, should be aware that the process to change societies frame of mind might not happen over night. This will only be attainable through a process of constant education and awareness.

5.4.2. Age of placement

The children of the families who participated in this study were placed at an early age and they are presently still too young to be aware of any problems and issues, which may affect their future. Children who are adopted from an early age may not possibly experience as many difficulties as those children who are placed at an older age in adoptive homes. Therefore, the age at placement of the child is important as the younger the child is when placed with a family, the better the child may adjust in the new families lifestyle. If the child is older, the child may experience difficulties, which may cause unnecessary problems.

5.4.3. Impact from society

Participants in the study reported that they have received both positive and negative responses from individuals of all races. There is a certain amount of concern, not only from members of the black community, but also the white community about why parents want to raise a child of a different race to their own. Gaining negative responses from

individuals is inevitable, however, it is important to consider why these persons from society would be against white families adopting a child transracially. To what extent are these individuals against transracial adoption or do they have the concerns of the child's interest at heart. There is a possibility that persons who are against transracial adoption are unaware of the realities regarding transracial adoption. Although these individuals may not have overcome the harsh reality that things in South Africa are gradually changing and that it is quite normal for white parents and families to adopt a child of another colour and live as normally and comfortably as any other family in society.

However, to what degree individuals in society have accepted that we are all individuals no matter what the colour of our skin is. This relates to the fact that society is driven by prejudicial and stereotypical behaviour as a result of others who project their negative attitude towards others. Parents who want to adopt would never want their children to be discriminated against or experience behaviour that may affect them as they grow up however, this may not be overcome.

5.4.4. School environment

As previously mentioned, the children in this particular study are very young therefore the parents are experiencing some of the negative attitudes and behaviours from people in society. A participant was of the opinion that once her son starts attending school, he might experience various problems and will be teased. The situation may become more prevalent as they start attending school, and when they become more aware of issues pertaining to race, and realizing that they are a different colour to their adoptive parents. The adoptees individual perceptions and ideas would change once they have the ability to reason for themselves as they become aware of various issues pertaining to their own identity. This may constantly change as they progress through the various developmental stages in their lives.

5.4.5. Biological parents

As discussed earlier, a concern of some of the participants was related to the adoptees biological parents. The manner in which these parents assess and address the situation is imperative, and will in turn benefit the child. The participants in the study agreed that they would handle situations pertaining to their children's biological parents in a very cautious manner.

In view of the above, there is a possibility that the adoptee may experience a certain amount of negativity towards them in the future however; there is absolutely no guarantee when these instances would, and will occur. Parents should at all times be aware of how they will handle these situations. The adoptive parents should attempt to prepare children for what experiences may occur outside the home environment.

5.5. The experience and identity of transracial adoption

The following section concentrates on themes relating to the experience and identity of transracial adoption with specific emphasis being placed on: Discrimination, race and racism, coping skills, adopting black babies into black communities, culture and identity and that of personal identity.

5.5.1. Discrimination

Due to South Africa's segregated past; individuals in society are often judged by their skin colour, which has become a very sensitive topic of discussion. We as individuals of this ethnically diverse society in which we live are defined by the colour of our skin. As a result of this, many individuals are discriminated against and are regarded as inferior to other racial groups.

Many of the participants in the study assured the researcher that do not have concerns regarding people of different race, but at the same time they emphasize that they are not

racist in any way. They further said that because people belong to different race groups, this does not mean that they should be treated differently to that of your own. This should carefully be reevaluated, and people should be aware that all individuals should be treated equally. To what extent can we as individuals who have grown up in a racially segregated society determine whether we are racists or not?

5.5.2. Race and racism

We as individuals in society are not born with racist behaviour but it is a learned process, which can either be overlooked, or it can become part of our daily lives. It is often believed that racial behaviour is experienced more from the older generation in our society because they have experienced living under the apartheid regime. Participants confirmed that they have experienced negative behaviour from both the older and younger generation. However, a participant further confirmed that she believes it is merely the older generations who have grown up during apartheid. But, it is not only the older generation who project their negative attitude and behaviours onto others, in fact it is experienced from all generations old or young. There however, tends to be a percentage of individuals who are not racist and do not discriminate against other individuals, but to what degree, is this just a façade that they put on for other individuals?

We are all aware of the colour issues that surrounds South Africa's past and is it possible for parents who adopt a child across racial lines to overlook this concept, which is so prevalent in our society. Participants agree, that they see their adopted child as their own and that they don't see colour, or race, when they look at their children, they just naturally see love and their son. However, the participants are aware that there are racial differences between themselves and their children and that this should be addressed. It is therefore clear that the racial differences between adoptive parents and the adopted and biological children will be raised.

The participants do not see their children as a different race but the reality is that they are a different race, and they should not be blinded by the idea that their will not be any

concerns and issues raised. The adopted child will eventually see and realize that they are different and many questions regarding this issue will be raised. When the extended family members extend their apprehensiveness and hesitancy to their children, wanting to adopt a child across racial lines, to what extent are they able to change their mindsets? Do the participants' family members change by putting on a façade, for their family members to show that they are accepting this child into their family, or have they come to the realization that no matter what the race the baby is, he/she is a baby and an individual who needs to be treated with the same love and respect as any other individual in society?

5.5.3. Coping skills

Prejudicial and stereotypical behaviour may be experienced not only from individuals in society, but as well as from the immediate and extended family members. A participant experienced prejudicial and stereotypical behaviour from a brother who was against them adopting transracially, but he respected the fact that his brother had an opinion. However, grandparents and other family members may feel very strongly if their grandchildren are being criticized by members of society. In many instances when individuals are mocked, and experience negative behaviour, they would often want to confront individuals. A participant was of the opinion that he would want his son to use violence if the need arises. The participant has also been in situations where he had used violence in retaliation to what other individuals have said. Violence should be avoided at all costs because this could impact negatively on the child at a later stage. The child should not feel that because he is being teased because of his race, that fighting is the best solution. Parents and children should either address individuals in an appropriate manner, or they should walk away from the situation.

Individuals who express their concerns and views about parents adopting a child across racial lines, may be unaware of the reasons and circumstances why the adoptive parents adopted the child. Participants regarded individuals who had expressed negative comments as being ignorant and narrow minded to the idea that they have adopted transracially. Many participants would provide snide remarks to those who have voiced

their disapproval, and this is probably the manner in which they cope with the negativity, that they receive about the transracial adoption. This is probably not the best coping mechanism that they use, because they may not come to terms with the comments that people have shared with them. The manner in which parents cope with the situation that they are faced with is important, as they do not want to isolate themselves from society to avoid future comments and remarks made by other individuals. Parents should speak openly and honestly to each other about incidents that have happened. Participants have become annoyed and irritated being amongst people who are constantly mocking their children, and they would in probability want to avoid individuals and family members who do this.

5.5.4. Adopting black babies into black communities

There is a considerable amount of questioning especially from the adoptive parents about why individuals from the black communities do not adopt the available children. Participants feel that they receive approving and disapproving comments from members of the black community. They question if they have such a problem with white families adopting the children why don't they do something about the situation. More research concerning this is needed to determine why members of the black community do not adopt many of the available black children.

5.5.5. Culture and identity

An important concern regarding transracial adoption is that of the adoptee's culture and identity. As mentioned in the literature, there are many individuals who are against the idea of transracial adoption because the identity and cultural heritage of the child is lost in the process of growing up in a white family. This may especially be questioned due to the strong cultural heritage that the Xhosa culture believe and practice.

The Xhosa culture is prevalent amongst community members and they strongly believe that their traditions and customs should be followed. But parents who are raising black

children in their homes are often deprived of the privilege to gain insight about their culture, if the family is not willing to allow the child to follow his/her Xhosa traditions and customs. The participants in the study agreed that they would allow their children to explore their culture, but would not encourage it. It is important to consider and realize, that the adopted child may be shunned and looked upon differently if the child is unaware of his traditions and culture.

Participants in the study believed that their children would not necessarily speak Xhosa, but that will naturally learn it as an additional language when they are attending school. They are also open to the fact that if they want to learn more about their culture they will try their utmost to allow their children to explore the Xhosa culture if they wish to. It is possible that as these children are growing up without any stimulation besides possibly having contact with their nannies they may never want to be associated with the Xhosa culture at all. When these children eventually come in contact with other children from the same race, they may feel that they want to explore and experience what other black children know and understand.

It is in the interests of the parents to allow for their adopted children to be in contact and reach out to other individuals in order to foster the children's black culture. A participant reported that they do not believe that all the customs and traditions that the Xhosa tradition follows, is necessarily correct, as they have their own traditions and customs that they follow, but their traditions and customs have changed over the years because they do not agree with everything. If parents do not believe that the Xhosa customs are correct, they should encourage and explain everything to their children. Participants agreed that they would give their children the freedom to decide whether they would want to explore their traditions and customs or not.

Growing up in a white family is definitely different to what the children would have experienced been raised by a black family. A participant reported that his son would grow up as white with a black skin and he was of the opinion that his son would not have a problem with it. The reality is that each individual has his/her own personal identity,

whether it is in society, or any other group. Children who have been adopted into a transracial family may experience difficulty regarding his/her identity as he/she becomes older.

5.5.6. Personal identity

An individual's identity is important not only for society and the groups that we belong to, it is important to have one's personal identity. Transracial adoptee's will be faced with a dilemma in their lives, as they will at some stage not know whether they are white or black. They are raised as white individuals in society who follow the traditional western customs and traditions, but at the same time, they realize that they are of a different race to the rest of their family members.

The adoptees in the study might feel that they belong to a racial group because of their skin colour, but they do not follow or know anything about their specific culture, racial and ethnic group. They will only be aware of the modern western traditions, which they have been raised with. This may be a problem for them and deciding to which group or what their identity is may impact negatively on the individual. As much as parents would encourage the child to grow up as himself/herself, there may be factors, which hinder the process of development. The participants believe that if children do grow up in their homes even though they are black, it would not bother them at all but the reality is that this may cause problems in the future. Parents should therefore foster not only a white identity in their children, but also their personal black identity, to alleviate problems, which may arise in the future. Being among members of different cultures and identities will assist the adoptee in dealing with his/her personal issues of identity as they grow up.

In view of the above being able to overcome concerns relating to the family and the adopted child experiencing discrimination, racism, stereotypical and prejudicial behaviour, may be a difficult task due to South Africa's political past. The adoptive families should therefore be aware of issues, which may arise, and they should be conscious of how they are going to cope with these situations. The identity of the adoptee

is important and parents should at all costs foster the child's black identity, however, this is the decision of the parents.

Chapter Six

Conclusions and Recommendations

The study enabled the researcher to explore transracial adoption by collecting data from three families on their experiences of transracial adoption in South Africa. The aim of the study was therefore to explore what the motivation for and experiences of white parents adopting a child transracially in South Africa? This was supported by the following overarching sub-questions related to the issue of “racial” identity: (i) What determines parents’ decision to foster in the child a “racial” identity that is either similar or separate from their own? (ii) How do parents foresee dealing with threats to the identity, including direct instances of racial discrimination and the child’s own questioning of his/her identity? (iii) How are parents’ own social and “racial” identities affected by transracial adoption? The aims were successfully achieved and a final aim was to make appropriate recommendations to possibly assist parents who would be adopting transracially in the future.

According to Ledderboge (1996) transracial adoption has been viewed in a very positive light, the results of this study conclude that transracial adoption has a positive impact on the children that have been adopted as well as the families that they have been adopted into. Both Joubert (1993) and Zaal (1994) viewed transracial adoption as an acceptable practice and a necessity in South Africa. The participants in the study are of the opinion that they have become examples in South Africa, which may encourage other families to adopt transracially. This present study concludes that although transracial adoption is increasing it will however take a long time for many South Africans to become used to the idea.

The outcome of the present study is similar to the results of the study conducted by Gishen (1996). As mentioned in the literature the ages of the children in the present study are very young, therefore there is very limited South African literature with regards to issues pertaining to the child’s identity. A comparison could therefore not be made about the long-term effects of the adoptees development and the social identity as stated

by Feigelman and Silverman (1984), as well as Mc Roy et al. (1984). However, with follow up research future comparisons may be possible.

Kallgren & Caudill (1993) are of the opinion that the children may experience problems of rejection by the white society if they are isolated from their own race group. This present study concluded that although the adoptees lived in multiracial neighbourhoods the parents were adamant that this would not be experienced. The adoptees were all placed in their respective homes, at a very early age, which was deemed as positive.

In view of the above conclusions and recommendations are as follows:

Due to South Africa's political past it is obvious that issues pertaining to race and especially issues like transracial adoption may be and is regarded as a sensitive subject for many South Africans. For many years South Africa has been overwhelmed with issues surrounding apartheid, which involved the segregation and separation of races. Therefore, transracial adoption is a fairly new phenomenon in South Africa and has received a tremendous amount of criticism and enthusiasm from all members of society.

It is inevitable that parents who adopt a child across racial lines will experience some form of prejudicial and stereotypical behaviour from members of society. This may only be alleviated if individuals are interested in the concept and are educated to overcome their misconceptions that have about the phenomenon.

A tremendous amount of literature, empirical studies and experiences are based on studies conducted in the United States of America, as well as the United Kingdom. It is therefore imperative that much more in-depth longitudinal studies should be conducted in South Africa.

The participants in the study shared their personal experiences and views regarding their experiences of transracial adoption South Africa. They are of the opinion that it has been a very positive experience for them as individuals, and if they can, they would definitely

do it again. The participants raised concerns which they feel would be a problem in the future, but feel that nothing major would be of concern, it is important to note that their children are very young at this stage and they would possibly only experiencing problems as their children become older.

6.1. Recommendations

The following are recommendations, which apply largely to the agencies that in turn should educate parents and provide support groups and possible workshops for parents who are or have adopted a child transracially.

The Child Welfare and adoption agencies should provide prospective family members with extensive research and literature regarding the process of transracial adoption and all the necessary areas and issues related to the phenomenon. This will provide families with information to consider before they make the decision to adopt transracially. They may provide their extended families and friends with this information to alleviate possible misperceptions, which may and do occur.

Parents who have adopted transracially should be encouraged to belong to a support group, while the agency and Child Welfare should emphasize the importance and the value of belonging to these groups, which will only be beneficial to the families in the future.

It is recommended that a follow up study be conducted with the children of these families to explore their experiences of being adopted transracially, as the children in the present study are still very young. Exploring their individual experiences on a regular interval basis to determine how they have experienced the various developmental stages would be valuable for ongoing research.

It is important for agencies to provide educational workshops for prospective and present families who have adopted a child transracially. This will allow for families to keep up to date with available and new studies pertaining to issues of transracial adoption.

According to Jones (1972), the following information is important for the adoptive parents who have already adopted a child across racial lines. It concerns how do you help foster the ability in your child to come to grips with himself/herself as a black person? Jones (1972) suggests the following:

- 1) He is of the opinion that you can only help your child if you are first able to deal with your own feelings and sense of identity. This suggests brutal honesty with yourself regarding your motives for adopting – your acceptance of yourself as being an alternate or second choice for this child – and also your ability to examine yourself as a member of a white racist society – that is, the degree to which you have internalized from the larger society the individual and institutional manifestations that have kept black people in an inferior status.
- 2) Jones (1972), further suggests that parents must take the first steps – and aggressive steps – to seek out those persons and institutions within the black community that can give to you a reality-based sense of black experience, black identity. In short he suggests that you extend your social and professional circles.
- 3) You must recognize that your decision to parent a black child will cause severe reaction in today's emotionally charged situations. Racial polarization and separation are facts of life in this period. They can neither be wished away nor ignored. Both whites and blacks will take serious issue with your decision-question your intent and your honesty, if not your sanity.

These suggestions are not only recommended for families who have already adopted transracially but for prospective parents who are wanting to adopt across racial lines.

6.2. Limitations of the study

Due to the fact that transracial adoption has only been legal within South Africa since 1991, the adopted children of the sample of parents who agreed to participate in the study are aged between two and three years of age, therefore it has not been plausible to include the adoptees in the research endeavour. As a result, the focus of the research was to gain adoptive parents motivation for and experience of adopting a child across racial lines within South Africa.

Due to the small sample size that was utilized for this particular study the generalizing potential of the study is limited.

For an effective study of transracial adoption it is essential to conduct the research over a long period of time to explore any changes the parents have experienced, as their children are still young and subsequently, may include interviews with the adoptees to evaluate their developmental stages through their various life stages.

The participants have provided valuable insight into their motivations and experiences of adopting a child transracially in South Africa. It is significant that these parents all adopted a child due to the fact that they could not have biological children. They all regard their adopted children as their own and have future aspirations for their children as like any other parent.

The participants have all experienced both negative and positive behaviour from individuals in society as well as their own family and friends. This has caused an amount of stress for some of the participants but they have overcome the negativity that they have received. This has however, not hindered the bonding process with their children. The parents do not foresee that their children will experience any severe problems, as they grow older.

The participants further viewed transracial adoption as a positive impact on their lives and would encourage other families to adopt transracially even though they have experienced some negativity.

Chapter Seven

References

- Bargh, J.A. (1999). Automotives: Preconscious determinants of Social Interaction. In D.R. Forsyth. *Group Dynamics (3rd ed)*. Washington: Thompson Publishing.
- Becker, C.S. (1992). *Living and Relating: An Introduction to Phenomenology*. California: Sage.
- Boult, B.E. (1998). Adoption. In F.J. Bezuidenhout, (Ed)., *A reader on selective social issues*. Pretoria: van Schaik Publishers.
- Brodzinsky, D. M. & Reeves, L (1990). The relationship between parental coping strategies and children's adjustment to adoption. In D.M. Brodzinsky & M.D. Schechter, (Eds.). *The Psychology of Adoption*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Brodzinsky, D.M. (1990). A Stress and Coping Model of Adoption Adjustment. In D.M. Brodzinsky & M.D. Schechter, (Eds.). *The Psychology of Adoption*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Brodzinsky, D.M. and Schechter, M.D. (Eds.) (1990). *The Psychology of Adoption*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Child Care Act 40(b) of 1991 *Section 15 (1)(b) or 34*
- Child Care Act 74 of 1983 *Section 20*
- Day, D. (1979). *The adoption of black children: Counteracting constitutional discrimination*. Toronto: Lexington Books.
- De Vos, A.S. (Ed.). (1998). *Research at grass roots: A primer for the caring professions*. Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.
- Denzin, N.K. & Lincoln, Y.S. (Eds.). (1994). *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Sage: London
- Feigelman, W. & Silverman, A. (1984). The long-term effects of transracial adoption. *Social Service Review*, 58, 588 – 602.
- Forsyth, D.R. (1999). *Group Dynamics (3rd Ed)*. Washington: Thomson publishing
- Forum on adoption issues, (1998, April, 14)*. Available: <http://www.Forum on Adoption Issues.html>.

- Gishen, D. (1996). *Transracial adoption in South Africa*. Unpublished Masters thesis, Rand Afrikaans University, Johannesburg.
- Harvey, D. (1979). *Explanation in Geography*. Great Britain: Arnold publishers Ltd
- Hogg, M. & Abrams, D. (1988). *Social Identifications*. London: Routledge
- Hoopes, Q. (1990). Identity and the adopted child, *Psychological reports*, 68, 140 – 166.
- Johansson, M. (2000). *Social Psychology and Modernity*. London: Sage.
- Johnson, P.R. Shireman, J.F. & Watson, K.W. (1987). Transracial adoption and the development of black identity at age eight. *Child Welfare*, 66, 45 – 55.
- Jones, E.D. (1972). On transracial adoption of black children. *Child welfare*, 51, 156 – 164.
- Joubert, D.J. (1993). Interracial adoptions: can we learn from the Americans? *South African Law Journal*, 110, 726 – 738.
- Kallgren, C.A.& Caudill, P.J. (1993). Current transracial adoption practices: Racial dissonance or racial awareness? *Psychological Reports*, 72, 551 – 558.
- Kirk, H.D. (1990). Shared fate. In D.M. Brodzinsky & M.D. Schechter, (Eds.) (1990). *The Psychology of Adoption*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kruger, D. (1988). *An Introduction to Phenomenological Psychology*. Cape Town: Juta
- Ledderboge, U. (1996). *Transracial Placements of Children in the Durban Metropolitan Area*. Unpublished Masters Thesis, University of Natal, Durban.
- Lemon, N. & Taylor, H. (1997). Caring in casuality: The phenomenology of nursing care. In N. Hayes, (Ed.). *Doing qualitative analysis in psychology* (pp. 227 – 344). Hove, Easy Sussex: Psychology Press.
- Mabry, M. (1997, April 14). *Whose Kids?* Available: <http://www.tlc.org.za>.
- McRoy, R., Zurcher, L. Lauderdale, M. & Anderson, R. (1984). The identity of transracial adoptees. *Social casework: The Journal of Contemporary Social Work*, 65, 34 – 39.
- McRoy,R. (1989). An Organizational Dilemma: The case of transracial adoptions. *Journal of Applied Behavioural Science*, 25, 145-160.

- Mosikatsana, T.L. (1995). Transracial adoptions; Are we learning the right lessons from the Americans and Canadians? – A reply to Professors Joubert and Zaal. *South African Law Journal*, 112, 605 – 628.
- Popenoe, D., Cunningham, P. & Boulton, B. (1998). *Sociology: First South African Edition*. South Africa: Prentice Hall.
- Rhodes, P.J. (1992). *Racial matching in Fostering*. Newcastle: Athenaeum Press Ltd.
- Smith, J.A. & Osborn, M. (2003). Interpretive phenomenological analysis. In J.A. Smith (Ed.), *Qualitative Psychology: A practical guide to research methods*. London: Sage.
- Stones, C.R. (1988). Research Toward a Phenomenological Praxis. In D. Kruger. *An introduction to Phenomenological Psychology* (pp.141-152).Cape Town: Juta.
- Tajfel, H. & Turner, J.C. (1999). The Social Identity of intergroup behaviour. In D.R. Forsyth. *Group Dynamics (3rd Ed)*. Washington: Thomson publishing.
- Tajfel, H. (1981). *Human groups and social categories: Studies in social psychology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Taylor, S.E., Peplau, L.A. & Sears, D.O. (1997). *Social Psychology (9th Ed)*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall.
- Terre Blanche, M & Durrheim, K. (1999a). *Research in practice: Applied methods for the social sciences*. Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press (Pty) Ltd.
- Terre Blanche, M. Kelly, K. (1999b). Interpretive Methods. In M. Terre Blanche & K. Durrheim. *Research in practice: Applied methods for the social sciences*. (Pp.379 – 397). Cape Town: University of Cape Town (Pty) Ltd.
- Tizard, B. & Phoenix, A. (1994). Black Identity and Transracial Adoption. In Gaber, I. & Aldridge, J. (Eds), *Culture, identity and transracial adoption: in the best interests of the child*. London: Free Association Books.
- Zaal, N. (1994). Avoiding the best interests of the child. Race matching and the Child Care Act of 1983. *South African Journal of Human Rights*, 10, 372 – 384.

Appendix A

The Director
Port Elizabeth Childline and Family Centre
Port Elizabeth

Dear Madam

I am at present registered for a Masters degree in Research Psychology at Rhodes University. As partial fulfillment for this degree I intend conducting research on the motivation for and experiences of transracial adoption in South Africa.

To enable me to undertake this research it would be appreciated if you could give consideration for all relevant information on record to be made available to me. You can be assured of the confidentiality of the information and anonymity of the participants and their children in the final research report.

Copies of the final report will be made available to the participants as well as the Port Elizabeth Childline and Family Centre.

Yours faithfully

.....

T.V. Attwell (Miss)
Intern Research Psychologist

.....

D. Painter
Research Supervisor

Appendix B

I (participant's name)agree to participate in the research project of Terry – Anne Attwell on the motivation for and experiences of adopting a transracial child in South Africa.

I understand that:

1. The researcher is a student conducting research as part of the fulfillment of the requirements for a Masters degree in Research psychology at Rhodes University.
2. The researcher is interested in my motivation for and experience of transracial adoption.
3. My participation will involve me participating in a series of interviews.
4. I will be asked to answer questions of a personal nature but can choose not to answer any questions about aspects of my life, which I am not willing to disclose.
5. I am invited to voice to the researcher any concerns I have about my participation in the study and to have these addressed to my satisfaction.
6. I am free to withdraw from the study at any time – however I commit myself to full participation unless some unusual circumstances occur or have concerns about my participation, which I did not originally anticipate.
7. The report on the project may contain information about my personal experiences, attitudes and behaviours, but the report will be designed in such a way that I will not be able to be identified by the general reader.

Signed on (Date):

Participant:

Researcher:

Appendix C

Participant A: Colleen

Why did you consider adopting transracially?

When we found out that we couldn't have children we applied for adoption and but we realized from the start that there wasn't any white babies available mm so it wasn't a issue with us so we were quite prepared to adopt a different colour baby.

At what stage did transracial adoption become an option for you?

At the time when we first saw the social worker she explained to us how adoption works. She told us mm about the cross racial adoption

Your motivation for adopting was it because you couldn't have any children at that stage?

Yah.

So your motivation for adopting was because you couldn't have any children and was there any other specific reason besides the fact that you couldn't have any children?

We were also involved with the children's home mm and we were taking out children but then we realized that we couldn't adopt any of those children. We wanted to give a child an opportunity and we realized but its too difficult because we took out one for eight months he went back, back to his mother and they also said to us that its very difficult if you don't have children of your own. It's always going to be difficult because those children want to keep going back to their parents so I. We used to get used to mm a different colour child with us so it was never an issue with us.

How long did the adoption procedure take to be finalized?

It took about four months to be finalized and we lost our first baby after the adoption procedure.

Did you discuss the adoption with your husband only or did you consult with other individuals?

Yah we spoke to my brother who is a social worker and so he could give us a few pointers and we spoke to our parents or both our mothers mm and brothers and sisters just to see and just to tell them we were gonna do it and it's going to be something permanent and its not like the little ones that we had from the children's home which was only for weekends.

What were their reactions once you decided that you were going to adopt transracially?

My family was all very supportive very excited about the whole process that we were going to go through and that mm I think from Steven's family a bit more hesitant mm because perhaps they are more conservative than my family but mm they didn't say don't do it but I think they were just I think I could only pick it up that after once I fell pregnant this was now my biological baby it was now sort of you're going to have your own baby sort of thing they didn't see Lyle as our own.

Once your son arrived and the adoption was finalized did their reactions change?

Mm like from my family they were all like all very positive and mmm excited once he was here and I think once Steven's mom and one sister came down once they saw Lyle I think it changed their view points once. They saw he is like any other child it definitely changed their sort of their view point on the whole thing.

Were there any specific guidelines that you had to comply with while you were dealing with the agency?

Yah they just did the normal interviews and came to check the house and they did background checks and they just wanted to make sure that we understand there might be questions and that and negativity from people being a different colour child.

So the requirements that you had to comply with were the basic adoption requirements besides the fact that they also mentioned the negativity that you might experience?

Yah

Did they provide you with any guidance before during and after the adoption?

No so much before they just kinda outlined the process and but afterwards also we got lots of support from the social worker that did the actual adoption and the paper work and that we still in contact with her and we feel open that if you want to ask questions they available. They advised us to belong to a support group.

Was there no specific training and guidance that they provide relating to the transracial adoption?

No they didn't give like any specific guidelines or anything.

Do you belong to a support group?

No. I think specifically time was against us and now to belong to a support group.

Do you see a need to belong to a support group?

Mm I think I was thinking of it I think once the child goes to school and there's questions you know that then there might be a need for joining a group just to see how other people cope with questions that the child may ask and that. You know each child is unique so you don't know now you might now get different questions from another couple.

Has adopting transracially had any negative impact on your life thus far?

Not negative because people have been actually very positive about it and they do ask questions mm but no negative impact I think more positive cos you get to meet people and they ask questions.

Have you experienced any difficulties due to the transracial adoption thus far?

No

And did you have to change your life in any way to accommodate the transracial adoption?

No not at all we carried on as normal (laughing).

Do you have concerns about raising your son because he is of a different race to you?

I think the only concern little bit of concern is that once he goes to school might he get teased or will other children ask questions because he is a different colour from me I think once they only go to school and then we might experience problems.

How would you deal with this?

Mm I think one just needs to explain to him even from now before he goes to school that you know each person is different and we all the same even though we got different hair colours, skin colours and mm but we are all still the same and we need to respect each other. You know there might even get children with disabilities or something and that we still all the same.

Have you had any negative experiences since the adoption?

There was only that one incident in a shopping center where this one lady she is very Afrikaans andall she was saying and asking you know what is this? Like not even referring to him as a baby as a person but just what is this? mm and then she realized that they got germs you know just because he is from a different skin colour his got germs but that was really only the only real negative besides from my husbands work situation that I've been in.

You say it was an older person. Can you say why you think the older person reacted this way?

I think it's more the older the older people definitely more the older Afrikaans people they definitely they were raised in a more conservative way still in the old apartheid years.

So you think that it's why their mind set?

Their mind set yes its still on the old ways.

Do you have any other concerns about rearing your child because of him being of a different race to you?

Not necessarily yah no I don't really see because nowadays it's so not unusual for, for mixed marriages and for different colour type of children in the one family so, so its becoming more like a norm.

Do you have any concerns about your son future because of his race that's different from you?

It's difficult to say you never know what issues might come up I mean things are moving so fast at the moment and people didn't question it anymore but one needs to be aware of it you know if something does come up.

The neighbourhood that you live in, is it a fairly multi racial neighbourhood?

Yes definitely.

Have you thought of any prejudices, stereotypes that may arise or that you have experienced with your son and your family? Anything that has raised concerns?

Any experiences that come to mind?

I think it's probably like I said just the AIDS and that people think just because you black you got AIDS that is probably that is really a wide generalization. So mm so many people with doesn't matter your skin colour.

How are you going to foster or going to encourage your son's cultural heritage? Are you going to foster a black identity or are you going to foster a more white identity?

More a human being (laughing) it doesn't matter what your colour is yah and just that you know just generally that you need to respect each other mm yah respect is quite wide

an you need to yah (laughing) doesn't matter your colour you still need to like sort of like space for other you know you cant think only of yourself.

And when it comes to his own individual identity are you going to foster and encourage his own cultural heritage?

Mm I'd say no mm we, we believe as Christians that definitely some of the culture things are definitely not correct and not obviously we will tell him about stuff but I wont encourage him to, to do those rituals mm like the same with us I mean we don't do the Afrikaans rituals that the boere (laughing) did so I mean I'll explain to him in that way that we don't do those things anymore we a modern western world (laughing).

And then raising your child obviously within a multiracial community the people that you mix with does this assist you in raising your son?

It's definitely helping us because you get to know people from, from the different colour background and it's definitely helping him as well to identify with other people just see that we all the same we can go to the same shopping centers, same church it does'nt matter your colour and that.

How do you envisage your son's future with him being a different race to you?

(laughing) Mm it's more open like the schools and everywhere you go it's open for everybody it's becoming more and more natural for us to mix with everybody I think it would be easier once he grows up and you wont even notice the different colours.

You mentioned the incident with the lady in the shopping center. How did that make you feel?

I felt sorry for her (Laughing) I wasn't for myself just sorry for her just they so narrow minded that they cant see that it doesn't matter your colour or what your background we still all the same we still all human beings.

You mentioned that there hasn't been much negativity...

No it was actually I thought initially when we got him I thought you know with black people will perhaps give us hassles they were actually so positive and saying you know this is great and (laughing)

How has that made you cope with future incidents, which may occur?

Mm it just makes you realize that we are modern in our thinking and that you just realize that there is still people out there that's not as open minded as us mm like I said you do feel sorry because they just making it difficult (laughing) for themselves.

Do you think you will be able to deal with similar incidents in the future?

When people ask questions I think you just need to be as gentle (laughing) as possible mm and just you know tell them that he is as much as a person as the next one and, and, and the basic needs of the of a child is like love and being cared for mm and that is what he is getting from us. Not that we perfect (laughing).

Are there any other experiences coming from your side? Relating to your experiences obviously your son is still young are there any other concerns that you may have?

I just that how to explain to him why his biological mother had to give him up we just hope that he will understand and not wouldn't impact negatively on him.

Do you think that it will impact negatively on him?

I don't think so I think one just needs to never talk negative about her and explain to him as wisely/nicely as possible why she had to make those that decision and just from another point of view just tell him how difficult it was. I think one needs to be open about it otherwise if you not open about it then you might impact negative that perhaps he might think that you keeping information from him. (laughing).

You are pregnant at the moment. How do you think that this will impact on your son being the older brother?

I think one just needs to from the start even when people visit like when they say things like I know you going to have your own baby just make it clear to him ... just as much your own baby as your biological baby there is no difference and I think that and explain to him whatever age he starts asking questions you know appropriately explain to him that he is as much ours as the child who grew inside of me there's no difference.

Are there any other stereotypes and prejudices that you can think of that you have experienced. And his own personal identity?

Mm it's difficult (laughing) cos you bring up as your own so you don't really. Yah I think we will definitely raise him Afrikaans/English mm in a multiracial we live in a multiracial society and, and definitely as the same as Christians we will raise him that way mm and I think that from that he will understand that you don't always do what your fore fathers do because it's not all correct we all make mistakes but there are certain things that you just don't do as a Christian (laughing) I thinking that way he will understand why we don't do certain things.

Any other concerns?

No I can't think of any

Thank you

Appendix D

Participant B: Steven

When did you consider or start thinking about adoption?

Biologically we cant have children and mm and its also about I believe that God wants me to adopt a child and we also know friends of us in PE that knows the welfare worker as well

Besides the fact that you couldn't have children biologically mm at what stage did it become clear that you wanted to adopt transracially?

Mm ok basically there you cant adopt white children there is in fact a waiting list I'm not a racist and I'm open to adopt children of another culture or races.

And what was your motivation for adopting transracially?

My motivation is from a biblical point of view I believe that, that is what God wants me to do.

For you the adoption is from a biblical perspective. How much time elapsed mm from your initial consideration to the actual decision to adopt?

I guess yah say know say I think its something that behind in your head it its in the back of your fore I would say if I guess roughly about six months.

Was this when you found out that you could not have your own biological children?

Yes that's right.

How much time elapsed after you and your wife realized that you could not have children to the final decision?

I must say also that we took a child from the children's home that was also of another race so it was only on a weekend basis. We took the child out to see how it is going to be for us you know I would say that was more also motivation for me. If I answered the question correct (laughing).

Ok so you took out a child every weekend?

That's right yes.

This was merely to see whether you would be able to cope as a family?

That's right yah.

How did you go about applying for the adoption?

We went to I can't remember an organization it's also so me Christian organization I can't recall the name now but later on we went to child welfare ne is it child welfare but it took long for the first one.

Is there a specific reason why it took so long?

From what I can understand it can take up to a year approved so that you can in line for the adoption it can take about a year.

And how long did it take for your son's adoption to be finalized?

It was very quick I don't remember the certain time but it was in about four months. It was very quick

Why was it that your process took so quickly?

A friend of ours phoned us from PE and says she knows a welfare worker there and they also know there was also a baby available as well. And then the welfare lady phoned us.

When you decided that you wanted to adopt a baby did you only discuss the issue with your wife or did you consult other individuals as well?

Yah we didn't speak to anyone. They also did a lot of forms that we filled in, they asked a lot of questions and mm I think to that was if they want to know what we doing

Ok, so you and your wife spoke to each other about the fact that you wanted to adopt. At that stage did you know that you were going to adopt transrcially?

No they did explain to us yah also they asked if we have a problem with to adopt over the line, border transracially.

They asked you if you had any problems and you said no. Have you and your wife thought of any problems that may arise?

No I won't say from ourselves no problem from ourselves but also the country also about that people will look they will look at you, you know they will look you skeef or what you call it so you about it it's all things you think about.

How does it make you feel knowing that people will look at you differently?

You feel like to the people you know wake up things are changing its, its not the same anymore I'm talking about from a biblical point of view there's no any colour that I have a problem with if God doesn't have a problem with any body why would I.

Have you thought about people's reaction when they see you? Have you thought about stereotypes that people might make or prejudice in any way?

I've been mocked so yah.

In which way have you been mocked?

Ag more mm the work environment you know, know mocked more from the work environment as I say.

Is it only towards your son or is it towards you and your wife as well?

Mm, more to the son yah, yah.

How do you react when you find yourself in a situation like this?

Of course I will get angry with it other times I will work it through you know it's part of the package mm.

Are you referring specifically to workers in the company or people that you deal with everyday?

Yes.

Have you experienced any other problems or other people mocking you?

Ag no you know sometimes in the shopping centers you walk with Lyle and people will just have that (laughing) you know they look what going on here you know but I found out that many people don't have a problem with it.

When you say people at work have mocked you, has it been necessary that you have had to explain your decisions to them?

No, no some of them are quite amazed some of them did see him and also the one guy came to come visit him and they told me afterwards has quite cute you know his cute like they think differently but there will always be those who will mock and tease about it.

You have said that you have got specific reactions from work and people in shopping centers. What was the reaction from your immediate family and friends once you had told them about your decision to adopt transracially?

My friends take it ok most of our friends are in the church environment mm my family is a little bit conservative but they accepted it and we sent photos through and my sister came to visit me from Transvaal and my mother.

Was their initial reaction negative in any way?

I won't say negative mm they didn't speak there mind mm like that they didn't speak there mind later on they said they like him so.

Was it only your immediate family that was hesitant to express an opinion?

I won't say concerned they didn't speak their mind like when they came to visit they said no it was like an eye opener for them.

Has there been a change in their mindset since the transracial adoption?

They never speak out what they feel about it you know they didn't like I cant pin point and say there was really they didn't like it or like it you know but later on I know ok its fine it's ok.

Did Child Welfare have any specific criteria or requirements, which you and your wife had to meet for the adoption to proceed?

I can't remember if it was them or the first organization we went through we went for aids tests and all that stuff yah but basically they want to know your income and sort of stuff.

So, there were no special requirements you had to comply with because you were adopting transracially?

What I can say if you adopt a child you go through a lot more than the person giving the child up you going through more like a hassle a little bit of a hassle I think I can understand because its like they want to see if you are really serious about it, it's not a thing that you decide you gonna do now and then later on you regret it you know that's how I see it.

So the process was as for a normal adoption?

Yah. That's it.

Was there guidance provided from Child Welfare before during and after the adoption process?

No all they said if it was them that said it that you can like a another group also a other group that adopted cross racial like a home group and other parents that you can join and you can share with one another.

Did you join a support group?

No

Is there any specific reason why you didn't join a support group?

I would say I wouldn't find the time right now because during the week church activities and you don't want to do too much.

Are you still in contact with the social worker that assisted you with the adoption?

Not from month to month but she did phone yah.

Coming back to the support group, do you think there is a need to belong to a support group?

I would think if you go through a hard time if you cant handle the mocking and stuff like that then I think it will be good you know yah. Also not just for that you can just hear what they experience yah.

Has adopting transracially had any negative or positive impact on your life thus far?

Definitely, positive impact thus far. I think I really do something to society (laughing) I believe God will reward me for what I do not for the good work but I believe that's right for him to do. There are so much people that can't have children why not adopt.

Any negative impact?

Negative I won't say negative I just say you must have patience.

Do you see the mocking as something negative that you have experienced?

I see it as negative but I knew it would come. And its not like a whole big group you only get the like ten people you get about two you know its not a group of people its only those around who are very and its more the older people old people you know.

So it's more the older people why do think its more the older people?

Yes its more the older people. They basically still have that thing in their minds you know I mean you know the old things in their minds. If I say the old things like the old racist thing in their minds yah.

You said the mocking was the only negative experience you experienced. Are there any other difficulties that you have encountered?

I won't say ok if you take any it doesn't matter if there is a child in the house doesn't matter like a baby or your own ... you still have to focus your life and prioritize your life you know you mustn't just focus on the one thing you have to work at everything you have to work at your marriage everything you have to work at it you know you can't just keep it just focus on the one thing yah.

Have you had to change your life in any way to accommodate the transracial adoption?

I think with any baby your life is being changed (laughing) yah.

You are saying that you would have to change your lifestyle to accommodate for any new arrival?

He is my son. I call him my son, he is my son. His so part of me I see the black but his my son his that's not strange to me (laughing). We bath together and play together.

Do you have any concerns about raising your son with him being a different race to you?

No.

How are you going to raise him? What values are you going to instill in him?

I will teach him my own.

Your own personal beliefs?

Yes. Yah

Do you think that teaching him your own personal beliefs and values will hinder his upbringing?

No

Why do you think it will not?

Well firstly I believe ok in my life I'm a Christian for my life I take the bible as that's the principle that's the principles I will lay down for him I won't force it to him but that's the way I'm going to teach him. I think also with his case he will also be his mother he will also learn Afrikaans.

Do you have any concerns about your son's future because of his race?

Mm no.

Any specific reason why you think it won't be a problem?

Personally I trust God so that's why I don't think it would be a problem I will teach him like Afrikaans and English but I'm not going to teach him like Xhosa cos his not going to use the Xhosa he can additionally learn Xhosa if he wants to.

So he is going to be brought up in an English/Afrikaans environment. He however can learn Xhosa as a language if he wants to?

Of course he can.

You will be teaching him English and Afrikaans. Is that because it is your home languages and will you encourage him to learn Xhosa?

I will encourage him if he wants to learn Xhosa yes, I think today the most language you need actually today is English many blacks do speak English even our neighbours next door.

You just mentioned that your neighbours Xhosa speaking. The neighbourhood that you stay in is it a multi racial neighbourhood?

Yes, yah.

Would you encourage and do you encourage you as a family to mix amongst other individuals from different racial groups?

Yes.

Do you believe it will be to the benefit of your son?

Yes. I wont like teach him English and Afrikaans and not try to put him in an English school or send him to a Xhosa school you know I'll put him in a school with a language that he can learn that he can talk.

So the school that you will be sending your son to will be a multiracial school?

Yah I believe in I believe in that time it that it wont be an issue you know. Unless we stay in Potchestroom or Welkom in those places you will get a problem. (laughing).

With you living in a multi racial neighbourhood, which you believe will benefit him, how have other people reacted to him i.e. people from the church people and in your neighbourhood?

They accept it the neighbourhood and the church.

Are there any other concerns that you have thought about when it comes to his own identity, prejudice and stereotypes, which may occur? Any concerns for when he gets a bit older?

I think he would ok if his bigger his going to ask questions that's for sure you know why is mummy and pappie white and am I black you know because he will ask those questions and I will tell him the truth that I adopted him but I believe you need to have the sermon to raise a child it doesn't matter in our society they doesn't matter which colour child you raising you need, you need the sermon and need to raise your children in the best of your abilities you can. Ok every parent has that concern will your work one day will he have work I don't think he will have a problem.

Are you fostering his own personal black identity or not? Are you going to foster his cultural heritage, a black cultural heritage?

No. From a biblical point of view I don't think believe there is you get cultures and everything I believe the Bible said in Christ we all one doesn't matter black or brown or

Chinese or whatever. I won't encourage that you know praying to fore fathers and that sort of thing.

Do you envisage that your son's friendships in social groups will it be to his advantage?

Yes. We also take him in our church environment there is also a lot of races together there's whites and there's blacks and brown people and Chinese people so we a multi racial church and he mixes with those children as well and he will yah.

It has helped you personally having adopted a son but will it also help your son?

Yes that's it yah.

How have you coped with adopting transracially?

I will do it again definitely I will do it again. And a miracle has happened to my wife she is pregnant again. I will definitely do it again if I'm in that position to do it again I will do it (laughing).

How do you think being the older brother will impact on your son?

Yes but he will get the same treatment the one is not going to be treated different from the other one they will be treated the same.

You say they are going to be treated. At the same at time David is going to be older, and he is obviously going to ask questions. How are you going to cope and deal with that?

I will teach him it will also affect the younger one now but our own one Lyle is like our own the biological child it will affect him because he is also going to be teased by other children that might it might be you know later on at a stage but you can just teach him that this is my brother and he will be taught the right way.

Are there any other concerns that you have experienced that you would like to share relating to your sons future?

Ag I believe they will accept one another its how you bring a child up that makes a difference I don't believe I believe that racism is a sin you know if you take any two children together of different colours they wont have a racial issue they will play together they grab one another's bottle and drink it you know they don't have a problem racist or anything its how the parents raise their child racism is simply taught its not a thing you are born with. My concern is basically influence from outside basically then.

By influence you mean influence of society, family, friends or can you be more specific?

Ag there you can say no not friends and family if I can explain the children playing together outside then a child would say hey maar waar kry jy jou boetie en wat you know that type of thing.

Have you been in a situation where you experienced this?

You get like small children in the ages of four or five around there ...and they would ask is this your son? I said yes he is my son. Why is he black? I adopted him and that is that.

Are there any other experiences that you would like to share?

Ag yah I will say its not just from a white community you can say if I can say in that line sometimes we went to where you do your ID's and birth certificates and all that stuff I mean the black guy working there was like the look on his face that was like a (laughing) no you shouldn't do this no, no, no this child should be with black people you know black parents that type of you get that too.

And what are your thoughts when someone says that to you, that this child should be with black parents?

But the blacks don't adopt them they don't adopt them that's my argument.

So that's the first thought that goes through your mind?

He didn't say it but his whole body language. I mean if this child could if nobody can adopt him ok the people outside the children's homes everybody I don't condemn them

or anything but they do there best you know with the money they get they do there best but that child shouldn't not get that specific attention there you know they raise a lot of children there I mean the best place for a child is in a home that's my point of view.

Any other concerns or experiences that you would like to share?

Ag no it's a challenge. It's a challenge its nice you must it's something that you have to work with you know. I do it because I love doing it.

You would encourage people to belong to a support group if they can't handle the mocking as you said. How have you coped?

Fine yes I'm coping something it just depends on if I stress a lot or not (laughing).

And how do cope with it?

I just put it at the back of my mind that's it.

Anything else that you would like to share?

No (laughing).

Thank you

Appendix E

Participant A & B: Colleen and Steven

What was your mother in law's reaction once they met Lyle for the first time?

Once they met him once they met Lyle it was more they could see his like their children there's no difference there's a colour difference but no other **difference**.

Is there any specific reason why you do not belong to a support group?

It's so far for us and traveling wise is way out of our area.

Is there any specific reason why you think people mock your husband at work?

I think there its also a case of one or two people once they saw him once they saw Lyle its like haai hy's cute (laughing) jy weet like (laughing).

Your husband has been mocked at work. What happens in a situation when you experienced it and when you come home do you discuss it with your husband. Also what goes through your mind and how do you deal with it?

She will immediately know when I come home she will know I'm like a person when I'm upset I will walk up and down sometimes I will sit down and stare.... His more softer where I will perhaps not give them a cheeky answer I will perhaps say something like ag at least my child will get a job because his black (laughing) you know that kind of answer or yes they said because his the garden boy and then I said yes we are going to adopt a girl and then she's going to work inside the house (laughing).

Is it mechanisms that you use to avoid what has been said by saying those things or is it cases of we don't care what people say? Or are you just saying it to make them realize that it doesn't matter that he is black or if his going to be a garden boy.

Yah, yah still again you feel sorry that they so closed I don't know what to say (laughing). If they like mocking me about it I don't show them that I'm getting angry cos if you show people you getting angry they will mock you more and more and more and that's why people like it when you get angry its like a ... for me. You think they get

something from it you know. But there is that kind of people that will mock you about anything because your ears are skew or your nose is skew (laughing) they look for something they just that bullying kind of people. I sometimes think that deep down inside them don't they feel guilty in a way that they haven't treated other people better or something. That's the only way they can mock Steven because they must feel jealous towards you because you've done something and they cant overcome that colour thing. Yah that's it but they've been taught that way. I mean we all grew up in apartheid years so. It's not an everyday thing it will happen frequently its not like everyday.

Is the idea more acceptable to people because he is a part of your life?

Yah

When you see that your husband is upset, do you speak and does he tell you what has happened?

Yes he will tell me yah.

Your concerns about the adoption being legal as quickly as possible, can you elaborate?

Yah I was just concerned about the fact that that sixty day period I didn't want to take a baby and then the biological mother or father do change their minds and then you have to give the child back again I just wanted to make sure that its legal and then nobody can come back and then take the baby because I mean you get attached to him.

You mentioned that your husband's family was a bit hesitant at first because they are conservative. How did they react when they realized that this was going to be a permanent arrangement? What was their reaction?

They I didn't see them you know I told them that because they far they are very far my mother is in Durban and my other family is all out in Gauteng that area they live there I didn't see them I was speaking with my mother on the telephone. I said mummy we are going to adopt a child his black ma (laughing) I just I told her his black ok (laughing) so I couldn't you know, know what's there reaction I didn't see what's the reaction.

You mentioned that once they came and visited it was an eye opener. Did they sit down and say anything to you about the adoption or your son?

I think his mum accept what we've done but I think still in a ways and certain names that they say to blacks they still speak like that they still use the old ugly words and think in that way. They will use the k-word (laughing) yah. Like I will talk about my neighbours but that's also from Durban completely forgetting that they also black and suddenly they say as he walks past she is that the neighbour I said yes she said oh but his black (laughing) to me it doesn't matter whether his black, purple or green (laughing) his my neighbour I forgot it wasn't I forgot that his black his my neighbour and that's all you know it's like look I think it will take many years I think for the older people to really get used to the mixed idea.

Time constraints are one of the reasons why you do not belong to a support group. If it wasn't for time and commitments and if it was in the neighbourhood would you have belonged to the support group?

Yah I think you should if it's accessible.

You mentioned you first went through a Christian organization

ACVV

And then you moved over to?

Child Welfare

Could you just tell me why you changed from ACVV to Child Welfare?

Because we were advised by another couple that adopted cross racially to, to do it through Child Welfare I think also the lady who we started off with initially she, she went overseas or something and then we were like sort of left like hanging in the air (laughing). Yah.

And then you mentioned that they did not provide you with any guidance. Do you think that the agency should play a more pertinent role and give you more specific guidelines and guidance?

Mm perhaps more in the line of how to bond with the baby because we had this other couple who also adopted children they could give us more like advice you know how to bond with the baby perhaps bath together with the baby and stuff like that.

How did you feel about the negative stereotypes and prejudices that do exist within society and how does this impact on you and how does this make you feel about raising your son.

We feel sorry for them they just making it difficult for themselves because I mean the, the previous like only white living areas and theaters and everything is opening up and they just need to accept it a little bit because other wise they just going to make it difficult for themselves to live in a new south Africa. Yah, they making it more difficult for themselves.

You feel that people are narrow-minded. When you come across people who say nasty things to you, at the end of the day how does it make you feel besides the fact that you say you feel sorry for them, how does it make you feel?

I can't say that it hurts me in that I want to come home and want to cry about it (laughing) or something like that. You feel angry about it. No not angry. ..silly or something. Yah I must say I don't feel angry actually I think its funny you know (laughing) when you see people stare at you because perhaps you share the same juice bottle or something you just laugh it off because I mean. One day we walked with the pram and an old tannie passed us a white old tannie (laughing) passing us she just looked and mad a smile if she saw you can see it was a black baby her face got pale you know like a totally shocked expression on her face. And we just laughed about it you know once she was really passed out of our dingas we just laughed about it we think its funny. You sometimes forget that his black you know what I mean. Then you look and you say why is that person looking at me and then oh it must be because of Lyle (laughing) you know you forget that he is a different colour to you.

The fact that you couldn't have biological children was it only after you found out that you couldn't have children that you considered the adoption.

I myself always had always said I would like to adopt before I knew that I couldn't have we couldn't have biological children I always said its something that I would like to do because I know there is a need out there there's just so many children who just don't have homes so it of probably happened after the biological children it just happened that ours happened the other way around but most people adopt after they have their own children their biological children. I said in many incidents that do happen when you adopt then suddenly your wife gets pregnant many people told us that.

Was it six months after you found out that you could not have biological children that the whole adoption process started?

We saw her in March but we only gave in the forms at the beginning of April so you can say four to five months.

How do you, have you and are you preparing yourselves for issues that may arise in raising your son specifically his own cultural heritage identity stereotypes and prejudices? Are you preparing yourself for it?

Yah it difficult to prepare for something because things are changing so quickly you might go to school or grow up without anything in the end and you sit and worry about something that's not going to happen but I mean I've given it thought like what will I tell him if people tease him like I said earlier that you get that type of bullying type of person that will tease you about anything doesn't matter if you black, pink purple or whether you've got a skew nose they going find fault with you and I think that we need to explain to him its not because of him its just that it's the other person that at fault its because of you being black. If I take it from a biblical point of view I would say God gives you wisdom to raise children he will give you wisdom in when that that problem comes. The same thing with, with the culture thing you can show him other black people in the church and you can let him talk to them and they can explain to him because you a Christian you don't practice those things anymore its not biblically correct to do those

and you can see that they not doing that anymore I think being in a mixed environment that will help if he does ask questions.

Have you thought of anything else that you would like to share?

Say more people must do it ne Lyle. I will encourage more people to do it I also think it will be very good also from a the welfare organizations from the other side now for people to inform people but to that they can connect with people ...as adopted children transracial and start having experiences and they can talk to those people and ask questions and you can like test them you see yah as we met people we said to them look in our case it happened quick because we were involved with the children's home with different colour children but I always say to them like look it's a long process but its worth it in the end if you really set your mind to it and you want to do this its worth it in the end to go through the whole process of having the interviews and having people coming to your house and that its worth it in the end.

Is there anything else which you would like to add?

No.

Thank you

Appendix F

Participant C: Lindsay

How did it happen that you started considering adoption?

We tried to fall pregnant a couple of years into our marriage and it didn't work and then we went on to fertility treatment and I fell pregnant but it was mm an atrophic pregnancy and I had five atrophic pregnancies. We tried IBF twice and I didn't want to anymore it was too painful. I didn't want to anymore. I never had issues with adoption I always felt that I would end up adopting. James it was anti it because he didn't realize that you could adopt a new born. He when the word adoption came up he thought you adopt a child that came with baggage that threw trauma and yah and we spoke to my doctor and he gave us a referral to a lady that did adoptions. Well she did but she no longer does it and mm we went for an interview took all the necessary details that she wanted and she liked us very much. And said you know at that stage we weren't thinking about transracial adoption It never even entered our heads and she said she would have a baby for us in about six months time and yah basically that's what happened from there we went on holiday shortly after that and I phoned her to see how things were going and mm I was walking on the beach as I was speaking to her and I said any news anything going on? And she said nothing yet there's a lady that was pregnant but she had to turn away a little black boy the day before because she couldn't find a home and it just hit me like a ton of bricks that here I was, basically wanting a baby and it was so sad that she had to turn away this little boy who she couldn't find a family for him and yah. That mainly opened my eyes and into I never considered transracial adoption before and mm yah I discussed it with my husband he was initially anti the whole thing and I said him sorry my babe but you know this is I just had this feeling that this was meant to happen and that's where it went from there. When we got back I phoned Child Line to make an appointment with them and yah we went to go see them that same day and she said to me are you sure and we said yah. She then said in that case we got a little boy for you and three days later he was in our home. (Laughing).

So initially it was just adoption. It was going to be a white child. Transracial adoption was not even being considered at that stage?

No it wasn't a question that we had been asked by anybody and it wasn't even something that we considered at that stage

So it became an option once you had spoken to the social worker?

Mm it was the private adoption lady.

You then went through a private adoption agency. When she initially said that there was a little black boy you realized that transracial adoption was an option?

Yah, yah when she said that there was a little boy that she turned away my heart just said something wrong here (laughing) if there's babies who need homes and I want a baby you know what about why wasn't I not open to it

Do you think that your motivation was the fact that you felt you wanted a baby?

Yah I never had colour issues I wasn't raised with, with the normal racism that the South Africans were raised with I spent quite a few years overseas and you know mm it wasn't a issue there one of my boyfriends was Indian and I just it was never an issue my mother used to attend all these I don't even know what the organization was called we used to have all these gatherings where we tried to that was when apartheid was still in when we tried to open people's eyes to the fact that you know socializing together as people was acceptable and there shouldn't be a colour issue so I remember going to all these functions and singing sho sho loza and

You were going to wait six months for the baby. How much time elapsed from the time you felt that transracial adoption was an option?

Well what happened was when we from the time that we went to the private agency from the time that we came back and I made an appointment with Child Line I think two or three weeks and then from the time that I made the appointment to the appointment was a week, week and a half and James and myself used to do a lot of walking we used to walk

every morning and we used to talk about these things a lot and he, he had initially as I say was he hadn't thought about it and his mind, wasn't as open to it as mine was and it was he though that adoption meant an older child new wanted a new born he wanted to be able to bond straight away and I think it was a day it was the day before the interview we were on a walk and he said Lindsay actually I'm really not sure about this and I said to him my sweetie if that's what you feel then I must rather cancel the appointment because we either go together as a couple that know what we want or we don't go and mm yah I think putting him into that situation where because my husband is very led by me I'm quite a strong person and his very led by me he doesn't like to do things that disappoint me he tries to keep me happy and I didn't want this to be about keeping me happy because this was going to be our child and he was going to be this child's father not this child's stand in thing just to keep mommy happy and once he was actually faced with that he realized that it wasn't to keep me happy and I wanted him to make the decision out of his own heart and he thought about it through that through that way then he was fine about it and he was fine at the interview.

So then you went for the interview?

Yah the next day we went for the interview we sat there and she asked us all the questions she already had the file from the private agency which they had done the history and etc and mm yah it wasn't a very long interview we were there for about half an hour and she said I think what you need to do is, is you need to do is go home the two of you talk about this and once you are a hundred percent sure come back to me and I looked at James and I said do you need to think about this and he said no I'm sure and we said we don't need to think about it we sure and she said in that case I might have a little boy for you and I think he was ten days old at that stage he was in Dora Nginza and then James panicked (laughing) she phoned up and said ok we could go and see him at two o'clock this afternoon and I think the meeting with her was at about ten or eleven and of course I was on cloud nine because I just knew that this was my child and she said there was another couple that was interested in him a black couple but mm they had about till twelve o'clock to get to her with a decision and she thought they were kind of leaning towards the not getting him because when they went to go and see him a lot of the sisters

had come to see them they wanted it to be more private they wanted to kind of take him home and pretend that he was there's.

And then?

Well first of all what we did I think yah I cant remember what the time span was but I think eventually it was two or three the first thing we did once we saw who he was, I went straight to baby and company and I grabbed one of the sales ladies lets make a list of everything that I need and we walked around and we went I want that that, that, that that and my husband was panicking because this was money and his got money issues when I spend money?? Yah I took him to lunch and I gave him a glass of wine I and I said to him relax you are under no obligation lets just go and see this little boy if you look at this little boy and you know that this is your child that's great if his not that also great but I just knew that he was so he relaxed a bit at that point we got in the car and we went to go to the hospital I think we went to go pick up the social worker first and we drove in convoy to Dora Nginza and we they took us into a room and they wheeled in this little boy and James I held him first and I just knew he was my son but when James held him and he opened his eyes and he looked into that mans eyes I've never seen James look like that at anybody not even me and he didn't want to put this little boy down it was the most incredible thing and Justin was hungry at that stage and he was been spoon fed with a little plastic spoon and Nic fed him with a spoon and he smelt terrible he was dirty he was you know there was nothing beautiful about him because you know he hadn't obviously been very well cared for then the staff is quite low there and mmm but James didn't want to put him down and we said we looked at the social worker and he said I want to take my son home now and she phoned the court and she tried to get a that was the Thursday she phoned the court to try and get an appointment for Friday and she couldn't and said very sorry she could only get an appointment for Monday and that weekend we worked our little butts off and we painted the room and got the nursery ready (laughing) we went straight back to baby and company after the hospital and said load it all up (laughing) got my friend in to come help me paint my mother started frantically knitting this shawl (laughing) and yah that was it.

You say your husband panicked. What do you think the reason was?

I think he had thought that this was going to be a process of they would we would have to wait for the baby and it would be another few months where you know when she said there's a little boy available now he kind of thought oh Lord am I ready for this I'm going to have to be a dad and you know for a man to become a father is, is quite a thing and normally they've got nine months pregnancy to be able to get ready for it and even then they not ready for it and the baby arrives so I think the thought of, of him having a child to bring home and have to look after this baby was quite daunting but as I said when he laid eyes on Justin everything changed.

Did you only discuss the matter of transracial adoption with your husband?

When I decided that that I had been stupid and hadn't opened my eyes to, to all the babies who were available the first person I needed to discuss it was with my brother he had been quite racist in his youth and I didn't want him to look upon this child as anything but his nephew and I took to him to spur for lunch and to my surprise he looked at me and said Lindsay I love you and whatever makes you happy makes me happy so I don't have any issue with this at all. My mother as I mentioned she was just over the moon about it she had been saying you know from the time that I discussed well on the phone with Jenny about that little boy that she had to pass up my mother just said of course you know and all that this time she kept saying if you want a baby lets go get you a baby (laughing) stop torturing yourself trying to fall pregnant and going through all this whole mission so yah and then we discussed it James phoned his parents and discussed it with them and they were totally fine about the idea and he discussed it with his brothers. His one brother was very anti it to the point where he said I would rather because he was married at this stage I would rather go out and be unfaithful to my wife get a girl pregnant and give you that baby up for adoption rather than you adopt a black child.

What was your reaction?

Fine you know I, I actually respected the fact that he had an opinion and he wasn't scared of voicing his opinion it was it was a mixture. I was little bit angry with him because he had blinkers on and he wasn't in support of what his brother wanted but I respected the

fact that he had an opinion and that he was so open about it because when I discussed it with mm his wife she kinda of said oh well you know I'm not sure how I feel about it but if it makes you happy and I knew she had issues but Shaun had the guts and the courage to say I don't want this to happen. He had he had bad experiences he'd been in the army and mm he'd been on the border and he had bad experiences with colour and to him they weren't human. He even came up with all these theories about they had done research and the bones in the arms were different and (laughing) it was quite laughable but he really believed this and he was very anti it

And that was your reaction. What was your husband's reaction?

As I say my husband is very led by me so when I talk about something he thinks that was he was he had initially said to Shaun, look boet if that's the way you feel you know you entitled to your opinion but its not going to stop me from doing what I think is right but yah the general feeling about it the first person I phoned after I went for the interview is my doctor and I said Richard I'm going to adopt this little baby and I want to breast feed so can you please prescribe because I've heard that you can take Entlenol to produce milk and he said to me Lindsay are you sure you want to do this and I said yes and he said well there you go that's great and said get the pharmacy to phone me and I'll give him the script and then I phoned the private adoption lady and I said Jenny there's this little boy that I am going to be seeing and if his available I'm going to take him and then she said don't, don't do that I can get you a little white baby in a couple months. There's a lady about to have a baby and I said what on earth must I wait two months for when my there's a little boy right here yah and she said well that's my recommendation and I said thanks I respect that but I've decided.

Coming back to how the family reacted. Initially you told them that we were going to adopt this little boy and that he was black. Once he was here what was there reaction?

When he came home James's parents were in Jo'burg and the brothers stayed here so they weren't here mm when we brought him home. My mother and brother came straight over and yah we yah I walked around the whole day holding this child he slept the whole

day it was so frustrating I wanted to play with him and open his eyes and communicate with him but he just slept. Of course on day two or three he had colic so I mean I was wishing he slept but (laughing) but anyway it was the best day of my life. Shaun wouldn't come near the house. He wouldn't see the child when the parents came down a week later to come and welcome the new baby into the home and when he came and dropped them off look they don't stay with us they always stay in a hotel and he when he came to drop him off eventually he wouldn't even come into the house. He was very anti this whole thing.

How did your husband's parent respond to the reaction of their son?

They just said his got issues he'll get over it you know they totally understood where he was coming from you know because all Shaun had seen was some of his friends had been killed in this war and it was a black person killing his friends he just associated it with that.

How did your friends react to the idea of transracial adoption?

Friends were totally fine about it.

How did your family in general and friend's react once your son was at home?

Everybody was fine about it the only person that had issue was Shaun but the minute the minute he saw Justin he changed completely.

What do you think made him change his attitude and opinion?

Cos he looked at this little boy and this little boy wasn't a monkey which he in his head thought he might be. Here was this beautiful little boy that was just like any other baby Justin was incredibly bright at two weeks old he would be on the couch sitting eye contact he was very, very bright and I think because he was so bright that opened Shaun's eyes and Shaun thinks he is just fantastic to this day.

What do you think made your brother in law actually come into the house to see Justin?

You know at mm I when he was when we first got Justin home and Shaun and didn't want to come in I was a bit angry at him I thought you know here he should be in support of his brother this is a new baby that's come into the family and normally when a new baby is born everybody hurries around to come and see the baby because he had a son a few months prior to that and of course he had a bad experience with his son he didn't survive he was born prem and he died at three weeks of age so that could of also compounded him not wanting to be around a baby but I cant remember the details of how he eventually came into the house and saw Justin I think it was just no longer an issue you know he had made his stand point when he realized that his stand point wasn't going to change anything so he might as well just accept it and of course the family also you should see this little boy his so beautiful and his so bright and with the family loving Justin so much he just softened to the whole thing.

At the time when the transracial adoption took place did you and your husband or you yourself think or consider any problems that may arise from society and prejudice stereotypes? Are there any thoughts or problems that may arise?

No let me just back track a little bit. When I was a little girl mm I always wanted to, to help babies that babies that don't or didn't have homes I always imagined myself running this mansion with all these babies and staff that we could you know look after them you know the way I think a baby should be looked after. So my head was always that way inclined to, to having children that weren't of my own blood in my family I just never expected them, them to be mine I never expected to ever adopt one as my own child so.

No, no I you know I believe that any child is going to grow up with some sort of insecurity or problem and I think that if you raise that child to know who they are and to respect and love who they are that any outside criticism or racism wont actually hurt them

You said that you never expected to adopt a child of your own. Did the fact that you could in anyway change your mind set?

Yah that should actually be my child yah no it just it was just something that I hadn't thought about I, I kinda expected to run a home that would look after babies until I could

you know find proper places for them or just that they would just grow up with me but I never expected them to be mine and that would be my child.

Have you and your husband, you and your family, experienced any prejudice or stereotypes from society since the adoption?

Since we adopted Justin you know funnily enough when we when Justin was still in the pram and I'll be walking through the shopping centers and I would never notice people looking at Justin and looking at me and looking back at Justin and then looking at James so looking ok sort of where did this child I was just so proud to be a mom but my friends used to point it out to me they would say ooh you should of seen that women she was really giving you this look and I would say good for her you know but mm yah there was one incident. Where we were at we owned we part owned an Entertainment center and we were there one night and Justin was there with me and he was sitting on my lap and I was kissing him and cuddling him and this one guy was playing pool and he kinda looked over and he went ooof you know ooh that terrible speaking to his friends and I handed Justin over to somebody and I went up to him and I said hi do you have an issue and he was confronted him he kinda backed down and he said no I don't and I said if you do have an issue about what's going on in my center let me introduce myself I'm Lindsay and I'm the proprietor of the center. You very welcome to leave and he said no, no, no I don't have I don't have an issue everything is fine and he backed off and that was the only time that I was angry I was angry that somebody that didn't have a clue what was going on could make a judgment but besides that no I mean a lot of people stop me and say ah his beautiful they don't now because his a small child and every bodies gotten used to us been around but when he was a baby they'd say is that your son I would say yah he is and they'd say did you adopt him and then I would want to say no IBF went wrong you know Richard put the wrong egg back in and we just wanted to hold to him (laughing) it's very obvious.

So you only had one little bad experience. How did your husband react?

No he wasn't with me at the stage he was in the office but no he, he doesn't react very strongly to these thing you know he ag whatever what ever people want to think that they can think that.

And how does it make you feel the way people react that way when seeing your family together?

I don't think about it anymore cos when I see Justin I see my son I don't see that there is a colour difference so when people stare at me I it doesn't even into my head that they might be thinking ooh you know I wonder why she's, she's adopted a little boy and especially now that I've got twins Justin's no longer looked at anymore you know everybody stops to look at the twins (laughing).

Your family, I mean obviously your mother lives in PE and she spends time with your son. Has she ever ha any bad experiences with him in public?

No she is just so proud every time she used to come visit she used to put him in the pram to go show everybody (laughing).

At first you attempted adoption through a private agency. Did you experience any changes in the criteria from the private agency? Everything was the same. Well as I say she just basically passed the file over so the social worker didn't even come and see our home before they placed him with us because Sharon is the lad who handled the adoption and Jenny used to work in Child Line so they knew each other.

So jenny then had done all the investigation and Sharon finalized everything?

She came to see me we because you know at that stage we took photos of the family and because it was basically for the birth mother that all this was been done for because if the birth mother wanted to meet us because we were open to that we were open to an open adoption.

Is this then an open adoption?

No its closed she didn't want his birth mother didn't want to know I sent photographs to mm the Dora Nginza social worker Helen she passed them on to his birth mom and I always let Helen know if his birth mom wants to have photo's or even come and see him. I'm open to her seeing him yah.

Did the social worker place any conditions or give any guidelines that you had to comply with?

No.

Do you still have contact with the social worker?

Sharon no longer works in child line she did for the first couple of years shed phone every now and again and I think she even came around to, to have a visit mm and then the lady that took over from her I'm trying to think of her name she's also no longer there she also just recently transferred to jo burg she would phone every now and again to see how everything was.

Did the social worker mention that you could belong to a support group?

Not that I remember but I was never interested in that kind of thing.

So you don't see a need to belong to a support group?

No.

Any specific reasons why?

Well it would be saying to any other parent do you want to be in a support group (laughing) his just a little his a child he was a baby (laughing).

Has adopting transracially had any negative or positive impact on your life?

Well I don't think that the racial issues had any impact certainly having Justin my life it's the best thing that has ever happened to me.

So he has had a positive impact on your life?

Oh yes in every way his the most beautiful little child in the world (laughing) I was actually quite scared because at one stage I think Justin was about thirteen fourteen months they phoned me and they said that there was a little boy at the hospital the Dora Nginza and they were battling to place him and would I be interested in having a second child and I said Justin's a little bit young I'll go and have a look at him and mm I went to go and see him I picked him up and I knew he wasn't my child I knew I had that feeling instantly that it just wasn't my child but I couldn't leave him there he was in such a terrible state he had faecas caped all up his back his skin was so dry it was cracked everywhere I couldn't leave him there and I drove in the car home with James and I said babe I know he cos James also had the same feeling which that we weren't ready that Justin wasn't old enough to have a sibling that it wasn't right and I said sorry my babe but I cant I cant leave him there so then we brought him home and before the adoption process went through I just was battling to to bond with this child and it was because he was in such a bad state I was very protective over him so I kind of withdrew to my room and was with the baby all the time and it was it was affecting Justin badly and the whole thing was just not working out it just wasn't right but at that stage we had friends staying with us and mm she had been trying to have a baby for seventeen years but they weren't in a in a good financial place that why they were here and she just loved his name was Kevin and I'd say to James and I'd phoned the social worker listen I'm not bonding with this child but I'm not prepared to give this child into an environment where I don't know where his going to be because I love him but I do love him but I know his not mine as I say they were staying on our property in the cottage and John came back from work and I looked at him and I said John if you were to have a child would you make sure that you would provide for this child no matter what you have to do to provide for this child and she said yes and I said in that case here here's your son and I passed Kevin over well his now Dane they named him Dane and I passed him over and I said well here's your son and he just he could of falled on the floor he was so happy cos they had bonded so much with this child they so badly had wanted him but they hadn't said anything because he was mine at that point and I phoned the social worker the next day and I said look I found people that really want this little boy and mm she said Lindsay I cant remember what her name is and she said Lindsay we trust you we had dealings with you over the last few

years and if you say that these people would be able to look after this child then that's good enough for us lets just organize to come and see me, meet them and set everything up and that was it. The adoption went through and they know have their little boy named Dane who is my godson who I see regularly.

How was your bonding with Justin?

I breastfed him I partially breast fed him so that was an incredibly bonding thing but I must tell you that this little child had severe colic for three months and it wasn't like night time colic it was twenty four hour (laughing) colic so we didn't know what to do with this child and that was very difficult because you know your instincts are that you got to look after this child and you have to try and sort out this child that his not in pain and you no matter what you do you cant stop him from being in pain so that was quite severe and of course the lack of sleep but I tell we walked around like zombies and sometimes I didn't have a bath till five o' clock in the afternoon but I was on cloud nine constantly (laughing).. didn't leave my side this was my little boy and that was all that mattered .

Have you experienced any difficulties due to the adoption?

Not at all.

Have you had to change your life in any way to accommodate Justin?

Change my life to have a child but not (laughing) but certainly nothing to do with his colour. (silence) funny that night that I was at the spur with my brother that we were talking about the whole thing mm two guys two black guys came in and they sat in the booth behind us and mm they asked they ordered there food and they asked for two castles and the waiter came back and said sorry but the bar is closed and I said to the waiter excuse me you serving me alcohol you serving my brother a beer why not these two chaps behind me and the manager came over and said is there an issue and I said yes is a issue why does my brother get his beer and these two gentleman behind me are told that the bar is closed and he said I'm terribly sorry I'll organize them there beer because he could see I wasn't going to let this slide now not into that kind of thing you treat

everybody equally or not at all and I got chatting to the guys behind me and I said to him because I wanted a black opinion on this adoption thing and I said would you guys have an issue with me adopting a little Xhosa boy and they said not at all we think its fantastic because that was my one fear that he would be shunned from because I mean mm the white population in this country is quite small in comparison to the black population and I didn't want him to be I didn't give a toss about what the white people thought but I didn't want him to be ostracized and kind of looked upon badly by the Xhosa nation in this time and no I mean lots of people always stop us because if when we got Justin we used to walk all the time and everybody that walks past us used to stop us and say is he yours and we used to say we very well known now but and they'd say that's fantastic and I'll say I'm so glad you know I don't want him to be looked upon as unacceptable and I think there are I mean I've had a couple of funny looks from a couple of black guys that have walked past me And they miffed about it but I think that one of the reasons that they think its ok because they expect me to raise him as a Xhosa child and they often say why cant he speak Xhosa and I'll say because I cant speak Xhosa I can only teach him what I know hell learn Xhosa in school with the rest of his you know his class mates so I think that kind of I don't know what there opinion is but I think that they kind of expecting me to be raising him as a Xhosa child in my house.

Do you have any concerns about rearing your son since his race differs from yours?

No.

Do you have any concerns his future because his race is different from yours?

No I think look you know everything is changing so much that I don't think you know I think that there's issues that he might there might be issues with Xhosa's wondering why he wasn't raised with there traditions but I'm hoping that by that stage traditions won't be as important as what they are now because to me its all about who you are not tradition its about how you feel about yourself and how you treat your fellow man. So I think there's going to be a bit of confusion I think you know with fellow Xhosa children and they talk about things that they are expecting him to understand what they on about and

he doesn't but I'm also open to him you know when he when he gets bigger if he wants to learn about the traditions of the Xhosa's then that's his choice.

What process would you use to foster and encourage the identity of his Xhosa heritage?

I'm not I'm raising him as if I would raise any child in my care. Just like my girls I wouldn't raise them with any religion because I want that then to be there choice I'll give them all the information that that they need to make the decisions but I don't I don't believe in what works for me might not work for somebody else so I'm pretty open about that.

You will not be raising your son fostering a positive black identity?

No no he goes to Grey primary school I don't even ask what the ratio white to its not an issue at all in our house he goes to school there because his cousin goes there and funnily enough nobody has ever made an issue of it so and mm because I think we are so a family you know we don't walk in and say this is my adopted son Justin his my son full stop

How do you, or have you or do you envisage dealing with identification problems which may arise or that your son might experience. Do you think he will experience problems and do you think you will cope with the situation?

I don't think it is actually going to be an issue because I've been very open with Justin especially now with me being pregnant with the girls right from the beginning it was an IBF thing so all the books because I do a lot of studying on these kind of things so and he would look through the books with me and I would show him the little ovary and I'd show him the sperm and I explain to him how it all works and when they did the transfer of the embryo's I told him that they had put three embryo's back and as my stomach grew I don't ever tell him anything that he doesn't ask me about and he would like say to me mommy did I also grow in your tummy and I'd say to him my sweetie not in my because my tummy wasn't working properly then you grew in another ladies tummy for me I have a great deal of admiration and respect for her because she provided me with the

greatest gift anybody could provide anybody with and mm so he knows he wasn't born of my body and I often tell him the story and he loves hearing the story at night time about how we went to go and see him at the hospital and how his daddy didn't want to put him down and how it was the happiest days of our lives and he loves hearing it and how we had to wait and all we wanted to do was bring our little boy home.

So you don't think there will be any problems?

I don't think so we came across funnily enough about six months ago he was going through my drawer and he came across I've got a picture of his his got a birth brother and his birth parents and mm he opened it and his birth brother looks very much like him and he said that's me mom and I said no my darling that's not you that's your birth brother and he didn't ask any questions and he flipped the page and there was his birth father and he said who's that and I said that's your birth father and that's your birth mother and he said oh and he put the book back and that was it. You know he knows that he wasn't born of my body and his fine with that he knows that he was born of my soul and my heart he knows that so his fine with that and you know as he asks questions as he gets older I'll tell him but I don't think his ever going to have any problems with that because he is so loved and you know his from I'm the only mom that his ever known and I'm quite open to if he wants to try and track his birth mother down at a later stage I've got no problem with that and I want him to know as much as he can know about them because I'm his going to want to know why they didn't keep him why they couldn't keep him.

How do you think you are going to handle that?

I'll be fine with that I'm going to support no matter what life choices he makes.

So when it comes to neighbourhood obviously language, socialization, cultural heritage you don't think their will be any problems?

No, no his always been a very shy child because I've always been very close with him I've never let him go and I never had babysitters and things looking after him his either been with us or his been with his nanny so he was very shy amongst strangers and you will see now if a new face comes into a situation he will he will act very differently to

what he normally will do but that's every child and now that his going to a school where his getting more interaction with other people his changing a lot his getting more used to like being with mommy and daddy all the time.

So you think the interaction with other children obviously is it a good thing for him?

Oh yes just like it would be for any child.

So you don't think there would be any problems with his racial black identity and language?

He speaks English mm my mother used to teach him a bit of French and she still does now and again and mm I'm hoping that his going learn Xhosa in school just like I my daughters will because I want them to know as many languages as they can but its not necessary for me.

Are there any other experiences or motivations you would like to share?

No it was just a natural process ja and what I think is so precious of what came out of us adopting Justin was when we There was another couple they also tried for years to conceive and she had a hysterectomy so she couldn't and mm I said to her Susan you want a baby go get a baby and she never thought about it either and she also managed to adopt a little coloured girl out of the process so I think if anything its been such an amazing process to open other people's eyes to the possibility because people I don't know why like with myself I just never thought of it so out of Justin came Dane who now has parents and is as happy as anything and so are they obviously I think I think the parents are more happy (laughing) than the child is ultimately because it is such a gift and Susan has got Jessica and ja I think its an amazing thing. I watched Felicia a few months and they were doing a thing on transracial adoption and I got angry for watching there was a lady she was from Kwa-Zulu Natal and she was one of the chiefs in one of the she was I don't know who she was some political something or whatever and she was angry she was saying cos she believed that there was some kind of conspiracy about white people having to adopt black babies why couldn't the blacks adopt the black babies why were they trying to keep the babies away from them why didn't they send them off to

there townships and the community will raise them and I thought that's so narrow minded you know why if there are parents who want babies and babies that need homes it just makes such logical sense to to match them up and to have this narrow minded thing that white and black cant be raised in the same environment and it be ok its just its ignorance to me its ignorance because if anybody walks into this home and saw what a natural family environment this is because everybody expects me to be ok now this is the little black boy that lives there you know and its not like that his just a little boy.

Is there anything else that you wanted to say?

Ja I wanted to just talk about why I chose to go IBF again to try and have siblings because after that experience of bringing Kevin home and not bonding with him I was terrified that if I try to adopt a sibling that I wouldn't love that child as much as I loved Justin and I was I was scared that there was going to be that feeling because Justin was so much my child that I was scared that I don't know why it didn't make sense at the time but that's how I felt I was just scared that whatever sibling came into our house I wouldn't feel the same way about so that's why we chose I said to nick I wanted to try IBF again everybody said to me I shouldn't because it had failed previously and it was such an emotional roller coaster but I also wanted to experience that whole thing of I wanted to it was important to me that he had that process of pregnancy and preparation so that when sibling came along obviously I didn't expect to have twins (laughing) but he was ready for it because it affected him so badly when we brought Dane home you know it was just so sudden so ja that's basically why I did the IBF thing again I wanted him to be able to cos he was wonderful and got him to massage the tummy and kiss the babies and he brought them flowers everyday so he was really ready when they arrived.

Justin is the bigger brother. Has that changed anything?

No his, his not aware you like we don't discuss its never an issues so because he was prepped through the whole pregnancy that he was going to have these little girls I mean we named them already before they were born so he had a relationship with them and then mm he was always very funny if somebody had asked what a newborn is have you

seen a baby previously he didn't want to touch or see the baby he was very shy but with the girls because they were in ICU for the first ten days and we took him in to go and see them he walked in there and went those are my sisters (laughing) those are my girls and he still says because people tease him all the time and they say you got two don't you want to give me one and he says no they mine so his his actually an amazing little brother because normally there's this jealousy thing because the problem one of the problems with Kevin when we brought him home is Justin tried to hurt him all the time he was just jealous every opportunity he could he would pinch and pull and you know he was very angry about the fact that there was this other baby in the house and it was such a big thing he didn't have any preparation for it so yah that was why it was important for me that we went through the whole pregnancy thing and got ready and there's no jealousy between the two of them at all now he accepts them completely he was very well prepped for them so yah I'm very I'm also very we don't discipline with violence in this house I don't believe in hitting we never hit Justin wont ever hit the girls so in that respect its easier because I've seen a lot of my friends who have babies you know they raise them with smacking so that's what the child knows so when the child when the baby is doing something the child doesn't like then they smack and hit the child so Justin fortunately doesn't do that his very protective over his sisters if they crawl into an area that's dangerous he'd say Michelle don't do that you know its dangerous there yah so his very thrilled with his sisters and that's all.

Thank you very much

Appendix G

Participant D: James

How did it happen that you started considering adoption?

Why actually I hadn't considered it at all much as cos my wife had just been thinking about it and mm I hadn't actually thought about adoption at all mm and since we had been struggling to have kids my wife had suggested that we get ... to an adoption agency initially my idea of adoption is that when you adopted you adopted a child of a certain age and that you couldn't adopt from birth. So I was pretty mm clueless as far as that went my wife you know for us mm we were in touch with the adoption agency and we then we went the routes of putting our names down and asking all the questions about what we wanted a boy or a girl and what the case was and at that point it they didn't say anything that didn't ask us at all about transracial adoption mm but then anyway we went away on holiday and then in and my wife got a call and this is as far as I remember my wife got a call in Umhlanga, in Durban and the, the adoption said that it was a pity cos she had just mm she had a cant remember a coloured child that she needed a place for and then we discussed that a lot mm and my whole problem was mainly with adoption initially I didn't have a problem with the colour issue mm and then suddenly when the option came up then we went to child welfare and we had mm signed up with them for adoption mm then when the option came up for Justin I was a bit apprehensive at first you know cos this was a big step it's, it's not, not anything to do with the colour it was a big step that I was changing instantly from a single parent to a parent and suddenly there was a lot of responsibility and that ...my time was mine and thoughts of actually having to change my lifestyle to fit into being a parent had become very real. Anyway and then we went to Dora Nginza and we had a look we went to go see mm and Lindsay had said to me look we don't have to because I didn't want it to be a case of that we feel sorry for the child I felt that there had to be a bond with the child and myself and the child and Lindsay. So Lindsay had said look we would just go and look and we would see if there's the bond and mm anyway we went to Dora Nginza I saw my son and I looked into his eyes and he saw straight into my soul and I knew immediately. And I fed him with a

spoon and I didn't want to put him down again and that was it the connection was immediate and it was there.

So initially it was a case of you opting to adopt a white baby tra was not an option?

Well that's what the adoption agency they you know initially we had thought ok obviously you try adopt something a child as close to you as possible and then thought about it then you think of the logistics the logicity of it the child is obviously going to look different to you no matter how close you try and get colour whatever so you know whether the child has got dark hair so you know either the child has dark hair you've got light hair or, or even if there are no visual similar mm differences the child has still at some stage if you going to be open with the child about the adoption which we plan to be with our son and we have been from the beginning mm its one of those cases where you, you know you cant pretend that Justin is not adopted what we explained to Justin what Lindsay explained to Justin is that mm when his asked questions that another lady carried him in her tummy because Lindsay couldn't and mm she was doing us a very nice favour you know being able to actually carry and mm you know to me the adoption thing initially the thought of taking on of someone else's child mm I sort of mm saw it as mm that you would be taking on especially when, when I thought was when I thought that you would be taking on a older child you know I was thinking adoption happen from generally from a couple years old but mm when I realized that you could adopt from birth then it mm you know I had no problem with that or the thought of adopting.

What do you think your motivation was for adopting transracially?

Well we wanted a child mm and we wanted to be able to give a child everything that we could and mm so to us it didn't matter if the child was Black, Indian Coloured, white mm that has no bearing on the matter. There's so many children out there Black, Coloured not very many Indian mm that are needing homes and seems stupid to sit around and wait for a prospective white baby or a coloured baby or whatever basically I believe that the right thing will happen to you at the right time and I had no fear that we would know the right child when we met him I just think it was amazing we met him first time around.

How much time elapsed from the time you decided you were going to adopt transracially until the adoption was finalized?

A very short period of time I think it was within a couple of days two to three days my wife and I we were I seem to remember we were having a walk we were talking about it and it was a huge thing because mm the women from child welfare phoned up and said they've got a baby from Dora Nginza and mm in fact it was it was basically a day no it can't have been because we had put our names down I can't remember the time it wasn't a long period of time. Mm I don't think it was much about the adoption I think you know when you become a parent through natural ways you definitely got over nine months to prepare yourself for nine months, five months seven months later and so to prepare yourself and so you get yourself ready to be a parent whereas with adoption you sign up on the list and especially being able to adopt mm you cross racially it means that you there's so many children out there who immediately needing homes that the chances are that you the adoption goes very quickly I mean we rushed together his room over a weekend we couldn't take him home we didn't want to leave him there on the Friday but we had to and Monday morning we picked him up so we got everything done we got all the shopping got all the clothes over the weekend.

When you initially considered adoption it wasn't transracial adoption. When you and your wife considered transracial adoption did you only discuss it with each other or did you discuss it with other members of your family and friends?

We discussed it with each other when we I think Lindsay had discussed it with her mom I hadn't discussed it because it wasn't you know we were thinking about the idea and then it was a case of we they phoned up and said there's a child waiting for a home that needs a home and mm as far as I remember that was just before ya that was when went and saw him the following day and mm then that was the Friday and we wanted to take then and we couldn't because we had to process paper work whatever so then it ended up coming through on Monday mm but it was sorry I forget the question.

Did you consult any other individuals?

No only once we had decided that we were going to adopt Justin I spoke to my brother and my parents about it. Now one brother was he said if that what you want and if that makes you happy and the other one said straight out I want nothing to do with it not be involved I would rather go out and find you a women make her pregnant mm make her sign papers saying the child will be yours. That sort of stayed like that until mm I don't think he met him, Justin for the first four three or four months

And what was your reaction when your brother reacted in this way?

Mm a little bit hurt mm but you know I understood initially the kind of shock that it was for me that I was adopting and then suddenly the time was here mm and I know that he had racial issues that were sort of embedded in him from the army days he was and I understood where he was coming from although I didn't agree with it you know mm I understand what his hang ups were they were all based on ignorance so I it was more that I felt sorry for him feeling that way and not being accepting and just being happy you know for us. But there again with a lot of people whom we spoken to a lot of people they said you know you doing a fantastic thing and Lindsay and I don't think of it as doing a fantastic thing you know Justin is doing the fantastic thing because as double sided as anything is there is no we doing him a favour for having him here. He was a little miracle for us as much as we hope that we are a miracle for him.

So that was the initial reaction from your brother and your parents?

Mm well my father is an accountant he is a very slow methodical person mm his reaction was, are you sure you want to do this have you thought this threw don't you want to take a bit of time but that been his reaction to most of the things I done.

That was there initial reaction. A short period elapsed before everything was finalized and then once you brought your son home what was there reaction then?

Mm from family members Lindsay's mom was ecstatic she was just so happy to have her grandchild here mm race was definitely not an issue mm my other brother my two brothers the one that was totally anti it as I say he didn't show face here for a long time mm and when he did he eventually you know when ever you spoke to Justin or about

Justin it was always with eehh you know (black accent) ... that irritated me my other brother he was pretty blaze about he whole thing but the funny thing is though I respected more the one who had the very negative attitude about it because he was blatantly he was very blatant about how he felt he was very truthful about how he felt where as the other one was pretty indifferent about it and I felt I knew where I stood with Shuan that was the one that was anti you know and my parents as well you know they spoke about him as being there little black grandson and mm to Lindsay and myself that was unnecessary the little black grandson he was the little grandson you know hello race anything had nothing to do with it.

So how did that make you feel?

Oh the fact that they had to you know specify that he was a little black grandson

Did they emphasize it a lot?

Yah like I mean the fact that they live up in Jo'burg so you know when they speak on the phone that you know I thought it was mm I think it was there way of mm singling him out and giving him mm a lot of or giving us you know talking just about him you know and trying to make him special and in there they were concentrating more on the race than the fact that he was the grandson.

Has that changed?

Yah well look I think well the one brother Shaun that wouldn't come round he actually adores Justin he loves him too bits his son and Justin are great friends they go to the same school together mm he still got a little bit of you know I mean he also talks about when he was encouraging me to take my son to his sons school mm he was mm they talk he always used to bring up the idea that there also other black children at the school and that sort of thing ya I used to say to him Shaun it doesn't matter if there are or aren't you know mm at most schools now there most schools are integrated and it really makes no difference to me what the quota is of each race in the school mm the important thing is whether the school whether my son will enjoy the school and mm whether the school is...

Do you think that things have changed from your parent's side?

Mm yah mm I think that they got used to the fact that Justin is Justin I think that in a way they still think about him as the little black grandson and all of that mm I, I don't really know whether they feel more for the girls than him or what the case is I'm not too sure.

Did you or have you ever thought of problems, which your son might encounter?

Oh yah you know we once said initially to us is he going to grow up with a Xhosa tradition and I said look that's not actually a decision for me to make. His my son he will grow up with my mm traditions the same way I grew up obviously changed as my ideas have changed and that sort of thing mm but he will you know he will speak like I do he'll act like I do you know (laughing) in some of the ways mm but at the same time he will be his own person mm through all of that he is gonna become you know he is going to be himself and mm I said you know if he wanted to be exposed to the Xhosa tradition you know then I would learn up about it and educate him on that if he wanted to find out more about the Xhosa culture then that is something we would do and people spoke to us about circumcision and that you know the mm Xhosa traditions as far as they go I said no I didn't see us doing that because we are not Xhosa mm the other thing people said was ja well one day he is going to realize that he you know that he is a different colour to you and I said ya mm but it's not like we've been trying to hide the fact that he is adopted so mm he is aware of the fact that his different and I think at the moment his discovering that you know mm but it's it hasn't been a problem and I don't see that it will be, be as long his got enough love support and communication that should never really be a problem you know children at school and that sought of thing has confronted us before and they have said is he your son I would say yes, yes he is and they would say oh and then that would be it and you know going to shopping centers and all that we used to get disapproving looks and things and other you know approving looks and funnily enough we've had just as much in the way of disapproval and approval from the Xhosa tradition as well as the white tradition I mean the white people but those are the main things people thought would be a problem and mm you know it's like the same thing with you we debated a lot about circumcising him and we spoke to our pediatrician and he said the

reason for circumcising because a lot of fathers believe in circumcising their children to look the same the penis's look the same as their father and we, we asked our pediatrician about that is there any point in circumcision is there a reason for it you know in the in the third world countries and in places where people couldn't bath that often then there would be a point so I mean as far as that went my brothers are one of those you know he is circumcised so his children must be circumcised they, they must look the same he doesn't want them to come and say why is mine different to yours so you know that is one of the things as well that other people consider to be important and to me that you know like example I've got curly hair Lindsay's got straight hair you know our girls Michelle and Michaela. Michelle's got straight hair and Michaela's got curly hair but I mean is one of them adopted no but it makes no difference you know.

How do you feel when people stare at you?

I just take it as pure ignorance people that don't and people that aren't open to you know they so closed in there ignorance that they that they missing out on a hell of a lot.

You haven't experienced any prejudice against yourself and your family in any way?

No I wouldn't say so mm we've had comments and people give looks in certain ways but no prejudice.

Any stereotypes?

Not that I've had intentionally.

Was there any specific criteria or requirements that you had to comply with for you to be able to adopt transracially?

Mm well nothing more than the normal adoption it was basically the same.

So there were no conditions that the agency placed on you?

No not at all not as far I know.

Did you receive any guidance from the adoption agency before or after the adoption?

Mm no not that I can remember.

Do you think there is a need for parents to belong to a support group?

Look I think it would be helpful and I think that those parents who are open to it I think it should be offered you know just like I wouldn't really say that it is something that there is a hard and fast rule about it it's like parenting you know everyone seems to raise their children differently everyone you know like for example Justin adoption was a closed adoption but mm we obviously supplied pictures to mm to the social worker so that mm the parents the parents could see mm see where what his looking like and mm whether he is happy or but I cant remember the reasons but we supplied pictures and they supplied us even though it was closed adoption they supplied us with pictures mm his parents and one of his parents who was adopted by his fathers mother because obviously that could be important at some stage if Lindsay wanted to know about his birth parents.

Are you still in contact with the social worker?

She is in contact now and again yah she likes to pop around now and again and see how Justin is or asks us to take Justin to see her.

You mentioned that guidance would be an advantage; do you see a need for a support group?

Yah I see a need for a support group mm for parents (laughing) as far as adoption goes mm I think of you motives for adopting and your reasoning for adopting is mm is the right reason if you adopting for the right reason if you adopting for its difficult to say what is the right reason it's the same reason other people have children mm but for us we wanted to give our son a home and be able to love and look after and cherish a little child and mm I think if those are the reasons behind it mm then I think adoption is pretty much like having a child so mm I think there should be more support groups for parents(laughing).

Has adopting transracially had a negative or positive impact on your life thus far?

I would say plenty of positive mm look I mean being able to adopt Justin opened up I think it through the infertility process I think it mm took the need to have a child and he is that by giving someone who we could love and adore and parent so I think in that way he, he opened up a window for these girls to come along you know I think when the pressure of trying to fall pregnant is off then obviously it happens easier you know even though ..it carried on the medical route. But mm it's been positive as far as that goes I think also in that way it's opened up to other people that we know that now have children that would never have had children...that's a positive a huge positive and they love their children and had it not been for us not adopting Justin they wouldn't of ended up adopting the other children so I think that's a huge positive I think in a way its also a huge positive in the way that its just by people by seeing you know Justin with us or us with Justin that there is a lot of change happening in the country and its just reinforcing in it its also you know it's a close knitting really of the population in South Africa and I think you know it all boils down to when adoption does happen I think it is important that the parents who really want to adopt should be able to adopt and whether you know I think the colour shouldn't be issue as far as that goes.

Negative.

I cant really think of any negative because I mean the people that have passed comments and funny looks and that they I just take them as ignorant I don't take anything that they say as serious it's just nothing important .

Have you experienced any difficulties due to the adoption?

No due to parenting yah(laughing).

Have you had to change your life in any way to accommodate the adoption?

No.

Do you have any concerns about your son being a different race to you?

No you see the thing is I don't see him as a different race to me to me he is exactly the same as I am our skin is just slightly darker and his hair is more curlier.

You have said that race or colour does not matter. Despite this do you have any concerns for your sons future?

No mm I, I think if anything his future will be easier in a lot of ways for him because I'm hoping that he will learn Xhosa at school or from our nannies mm I'm hoping in that way I'll learn to speak as well I think if he can speak Xhosa and English and Afrikaans or mm Zulu you know if he can speak the few languages mm and the same with our girls if they can learn to speak the languages as well I think it will make life easier but mm I think everything that I see in his future is positive.... I don't see anything negative.

And then you mentioned earlier about raising him obviously you and your wife are going to raise him just like your girls. Are you encouraging or fostering his own black /Xhosa identity?

Mm I would say no to that I would like to encourage him but we not discouraging if he shows mm any desire to mm we will support him and help him to along or educate him along any route that he wants to follow mm yah.

So you are not going to foster a black identity? But you will encourage him if he wants to explore his own heritage?

No we'll raise him as our identity. You see, see the way I was raised I sort of grew up without I would say I don't know an eclectic cultural heritage mm I'm South African born in south Africa raised here my father is mm is English my mother is English south African and from think back in the line they come from Holland or France somewhere along there so what would you say my culture is? You know I tested that a while ago when I was at college we had to do mm a design an architectural design to incorporate our culture and mm I actually found that very difficult to incorporate because to me what was my culture South African mixed with English Americanism I mean we get exposed to everything.

You are raising your child amongst people of the same racial groups or different racial groups? The school that he goes to is there anything specific you would like to add to what he might encounter in school?

Mm well I look I mean there's people see differences mm say at some stage my girls are going to grow up knowing that his their brother and at some stage some child will probably say but your brother is black just as they have said to me your son is black my reaction to that is I know hey mm and mm I think at some stage they are going to experience the same kind of thing he is going to experience as they say to him but your parents are white then at some stage he will feel that there's a difference in all of that but I think as long as he knows that he is loved and supported through that and yah I just think that it boils down to the way that his treated.

Your girls came three years later. How has it changed your life?

Yah yes well look having twins his lost out on a lot of time mm you know obviously being parents of a single child that child gets a lot more attention than when you got twins or a single child mm so in that way just having siblings especially twins has definitely robbed him of mm attention and that mm but in the same way that that what would happen with any sibling that why we thought that the age difference the age difference between them was good because he was he started school and his into his routine and I think that's important the routine and stuff. He has become a lot more look we were we were not very mm we didn't go out a lot we liked to stay at home we like to either we didn't like going to peoples houses that weren't baby safe and then you end up running after them continuously mm so we tended to spend a lot time here and have people over here rather you know then we knew that he was fine mm and in that way his social skills were not as great because he wasn't just straight into day care or he was he had us with him twenty four hours a day really.

Do you foresee any problems?

I don't see a problem with that as long mm as I'm truthful about it you know as long as there's nothing to try and pretend about or lie as long as there's, there's he knows the truth then I don't think there's any problem you know as long as there's been

communicated to him when his ready to communicate with us you know Lindsay believes strongly that .. you don't offer too much information when you ask then you answer but don't offer him overwhelming or too many facts not too much information but his always been inquisitive and his happy to ask questions about whatever he wants to know so I don't see and when we not the kind of family who will say go ask your mother who go ask your father or go ask your aunty or you know we don't side step these things we tell, tell him the answer to the question that he asked and I think that would make a big difference I think if anything mm you know people who are mm you know who are adopting transracially I think if I had to give advice to anyone who was adopting I think that would be on the lines of being truthful to the child I think that as much as normal adoptions because at some stage in the child's life even if they look almost identical to you they will find out they were adopted and then like I've known a few people who find out they adopted at the age of twenty or thirty and then they start believing that are being lied to you know the and I think that where the problem of adoption comes in then.

Is there anything else that you would like to share about your experiences thus far?

No just mm its been an absolute pleasure know that I've got three children I'm ... my wife keeps thinking that maybe somewhere along the line well have another one but if we haven't managed to have mm our girls I would have had no problem adopting another child.

Thank you very much for your time.

Appendix H

Participant E: Sandy

What were your motivating reasons for adopting transracially from the outset?

What motivated me was mm my friend, Lindsay when they adopted their baby we fell in love with him and you know it became more natural for us to adopt so and we talked about it a lot before but tried to get my husband used to the idea as well you know he was a bit of a battle but you know when Justin came along I think it was more him who motivated us.

When and why did you consider adoption? Was it because your friend had adopted or was there another reason?

Mm no it wasn't just because she'd adopted we wanted to adopt for a long time we just didn't know how to go about it or whether it was possible or you know and mm and of course my baby just popped up out of the blue you know and it was really unexpected it was a wonderful you know a wonderful experience.

Was there a specific stage that you considered transracial adoption?

Mm no just adoption it didn't really make much of a difference transracial or you know.

So what was your specific motivation for adopting may it have been just normal or transracial?

I just wanted a baby, I just wanted to be a mom you know after being married for fifteen years.

Was there any specific reason why you could not have children?

We were unable to have children due to medical reasons.

So your motivation for adopting was because you wanted to be a mother and you wanted a child. Can you remember how much time elapsed from the time you started considering adoption till you took the final decision?

Must have been about a year about two years.

Was it the whole process or was it just thinking about it?

We thought about it for years and then you know you just didn't materialize nothing just you know and then my father in law mm once said to me why don't you adopt a baby you know why don't you adopt a coloured baby or anything just go in for it and this was two years before we adopted him and we've been thinking about it all the time you know.

You were just thinking about it. What triggered the decision to go ahead?

It was just thoughts at that stage and talking about it you know and then of course when Lindsay adopted her baby I thought well this is easy sort of thing so I phoned child welfare and asked them to get the ball rolling and that we'd also like to adopt and they screened us and then and then on nothing happened you know it just went dead after a couple of months it just went then all of a sudden Dane came along a year later just out of the blue.

So it was a three-year period from the initially thinking about it until everything was finalized?

Yes

Did you only discuss the adoption with your husband or did you consult other individuals?

I did consult other individuals.

Is there anyone specifically that you consulted with?

My sister in law, my landlady and my friends mm and Sarah and that's about it.

Have you thought about any problems, which may arise with regards to stereotypes and prejudices with regards to your son's identity?

No not really. There are...any problems by the time his bigger I think everyone will be used to it by then you know mm I can't think of anything that will cause any problems.

Have you experienced any stereotypes or prejudice since the adoption?

No well not outright no you know I had funny looks from quite a lot of people but I just ignored it it just doesn't I don't actually see it anymore mm I don't think it's because they prejudice I think its just because they not used to it you know.

And where do you experience these prejudice most?

Mostly shopping centers, restaurants, public places that mm it doesn't bother us at all we just ignore it so.

When you have seen people giving you funny looks how does that make you feel?

Mm I don't know really (laughing) mm does it make me feel anything I just ignore it I just don't think anything I just ignore it cos I know that they not used to it it's something new for them just.

Did you initially know that it was going to be transracial adoption?

Yes

What was the initial reaction of your extended family and friends once you and your husband had reached the decision to adopt transracially?

Mm oh know everybody was very much mm into it you know like it was a lovely idea you know.

And you said that initially your husband had doubts. Why do you think he had doubts?

Just his thoughts initially about adopting interracial children he just couldn't seem to get used to the idea you know I don't know why I think he was worried about what people might think or what people might say or.

Has that changed?

Oh yes definitely he adores his child yah.

So only your family alone accepted the whole adoption?

Yes

You said that your husband had doubts. Did anyone else have concerns?

No not at all they were over the moon when told them we were going to adopt and mm my father in law died just before we got him so it was quite heart breaking because his the one that motivated us in the first place so it really sad.

Any friends, what was their reactions?

Mm no it was only my sister in law that once said well I wouldn't of adopted interracially and then but she's got children of her own you know already and she's younger but she actually adores him more you know.

What do you think made her change?

Mm well I didn't see her for quite a while because she was living in Plett so and when she came through to see him when he was a few months old she sort of fell in love with him she didn't say anything else after that so.

Why do you think people say things like I would never adopt transracially?

Because they worried what other people might think that's what I think.

When a couple decides to adopt it is usually a big decision. Do you think that you should be concerned with what other people think?

No not at all.

Once the adoption was finalized you said that your family had no problems. What was their reactions once he arrived?

Oh no they walked into the house and took him from my arms and loved him and they took photographs and it was a big celebration and it was wonderful it was parties and all sorts of things.

Were there any requirements that you had to fulfill or comply with for you to adopt transracially?

No you just have to be married and you have to be you know self-sufficient and that's all you know.

You mentioned Child Welfare earlier. So you dealt with Child Welfare?

Yes we did.

You did not use an agency at any stage?

No

Did Child Welfare place any conditions on you in order for you to adopt transracially?

No not at all they were wonderful. Mm I think they were wonderful actually they didn't put any pressure on us what so ever you know and mm they were wonderful and as you know we took him he had been adopted already once and we took him over from them so when Child Welfare came they were wonderful you know they took one look at John and me and said you can have him you know just like that (laughing) you know not a problem we can see where he sleeps and all that come and fill in the forms and court and it was over it was wonderful.

How long did it take for the adoption to be finalized?

He was mm eleven weeks when we got him and he was seven months when it was finalized so I'd say seven months well lets say five months because he was three months when we got him. By the time we went to court he was five months.

So there was no conditions placed on you and your husband from child welfare was there any guidance that they provided before, during or after the adoption?

No Sarah did say if you have any questions you can just phone me.

The social worker was very open to help if there were problems? Are you still in contact with her?

Yes. Sort of my husband saw her a couple of days ago and she said its about time you had another baby (Laughing) but I heard that she's gone to Jo'burg and know she's back and she travels back and forth and you know yah.

Do feel a need for a support group for parents who have adopted trasracially?

No not really. No as far as I'm concerned it's just like having your own child you know so no not at all.

If there was a support group would you belong to one?

Mm not at this stage I don't know about later but not now.

Has adopting transracially had any negative or positive impact on your life thus far?

No not really.

Any positive impact?

Mm no (laughing) but when I look at him I don't see colour I just see love I just see my son you know.

When you received your son initially did you manage to bond easily?

Ag we bonded immediately straight away because he looked me straight in the eyes and I knew you know.

Have you experienced any problems as a result of the adoption?

No, none.

Have you had to change your lifestyle in any way to accommodate the adoption?

Well you do change your life when you get a baby I mean your sleepless nights and stuff like that ah no not in any other way no?

So it is as normal as having your own natural child?

Yes

Do you have any concerns about raising your son with him being a different race to you?

No I often wonder what it's going to be like at a later stage when he realizes that his different but I think we'll cross that path when we come to it I think I don't think there'll be a problem but I think just be honest with him and truthful with him you know, I think everything will be fine.

Do you have any concerns about your child's future being of a different race to yours?

No not really no.

At this stage his still young do you think that things might change. Do you think that there will be things that will affect him at a later stage?

Not within the household but maybe at school mm I'm not sure I have thought about it maybe he might have problems at school but I don't know but you know we'll just have to wait and see and handle them as they arise you know.

How will you encourage the development of your son's identity? Will you encourage a black identity?

Mm I'll just raise him to be himself regardless of colour and race you know.

His black identity, are you going to encourage it e.g. are you going to encourage him to speak Xhosa?

Mm if he wants to speak Xhosa that's fine by me I mean I would encourage Xhosa rather than any other language he will probably be expected to speak it when he is in school by then but mm it's up to him if he wants to.

The way you are going to raise your son was it a joint decision by you and your husband? Will you allow yourself to be influenced by other people?

Yes it's a joint decision and it's not influenced by other people.

Any stereotypes or racial prejudices you have experienced or encountered that you would like to share?

There haven't been any my husband has experienced but I'll leave that to him he has experienced quite a lot and has had a lot of comments put to him. But me personally no.

Mm it's when he's been alone with rugby players or in a bar where ever he is and people will make comments about race and kaffir child.

When you've been out as a family you said you have received looks in public places was there any specific incidents you would like to mention?

No just you know people just they just look you know is it yours or is it the maids. Because I once took him to have his inoculation at the clinic and we were sitting in the waiting room this lady came and said isn't he cute is it the maids child and of course my mother in law was with me and she's got such a big mouth and she said that's my grandchild how dare you? (Laughing) you know so that's the only experience I've had but it was a funny one in a way it wasn't you know I don't think she meant any harm by it.

When you say it's a funny, does it change according to the setting that are you in and does it depend on what the people say and who says it?

Oh no. No it's the way my mother in law answered you know because...you know my mother in law just jumped in you know she's so proud of him.

You stay in a multi racial neighbourhood. How has the interaction been?

Yes. Its pretty fine actually because he plays outside with the other children in the neighbourhood you know they all play together in the middle and they play well together you know and the neighbours are quite nice no one has said anything so you know.

As you say his a bit young and you never know what might come with regards to his identity. How do you think you will be able to deal with or cope with situations or issues, which may arise?

Mm you know mm I don't know I'll just see when it comes up be open and honest and upfront with him.

You said he will grow up in an English environment.

Yes English environment yah.

The school that you might send him to in the future mm and you are going to encourage him to speak Xhosa? and his cultural heritage how do you think that will affect him?

I don't think that you learn your culture through life mm you are what you learn.

And then his socialization with others people now and in the future how do you think that will affect him or wont it?

It should I don't think it will I don't think so

You mentioned earlier that you and your husband could not have any children due to medical reasons when you initially found out was there any though of adoption initially?

There was in the beginning but then mm my husband my husband was sent all over the place all over the country with his work so mm we never really got round to it Pretoria, Jo'burg, Bloemfontein and Durban we were everywhere and then we went to England and came back it was only when we came back and decided to settle in PE that's when we started thinking about it.

So it was more serious once you became settled in PE?

We were getting old and we didn't want to the boat and I said knows our chance lets go for it and see how it goes. I keep mentioning it to have another one but my husband is not sure and I can't pressurize him any further so he knows but if another one comes along he'll be just as welcome.

So you don't think there will be any problems?

I don't think so his going to have a lot of questions at school as to why his parents are white and he isn't you know things like that and by that stage his going to know why because I'm going to be honest with him and tell him.

Is there anything that you would like to share about the whole adoption process?

Its been a wonderful experience for me it's the best thing mm you know I love him too bits my little boy and I think more people should do it.

Any other experiences that you would like to share with me?

No it's been plain sailing all the way I haven't had any problems

And there's been no negative impact on your life?

No, not at all

Anything else that you would like to share?

No I don't think so not that I can't think of at the moment anyway.

Thank you very much

Appendix I

Participant F: John

How did it happen that you started considering adoption?

We were pretty sure we never had children ever so it was always something that we thought about. We knew something that weas such. We always generally thought about adopting children or a child or ten or a hundred

And at what stage do you think it became certain that you wanted to do this?

For me its always been like as far back as I remember but just that I think you think about these things and you do nothing about it. It just happens that you do nothing about it you don't know we didn't know who to talk to start with it only just through friends like James and Lindsay and other people we know who adopted and we got in touch with the right people.

When you considered adoption, were you considering a normal adoption?

At first we spoke to a women in mill park mm I cant remember her name now and mm we put our name down with her for adoption originally and it was only when James and Lindsay got Justin then we thought well you know if we going to adopt we might as well adopt. And that's about it.

You obviously said it's always been at the back of your mind that you would adopt because you couldn't have children. At what stage did transracial adoption specifically become an option. Was it only because of your friends?

For me yes for Sandy I didn't think it didn't make much of a difference but for me it was only relevant once we got to know Justin I was although I'm English and brought up in South Africa since the seventies so we were brought up through out that whole racial issue where mm the black thing was always there so because as a child I was brought up like that it was always at the back of my mind although I'm not racist in any way mm its always there and you think ah you want a white baby, you want a white baby, you want a white baby and its only when you got to know Justin we realized hey hang on a second

here's something that we overlooked here you know because white adoption you know when we started there is a huge waiting list because you specifically saying you want a white baby. Its only when we got to know Justin really that we said hold on a second this is another option we never even discussed it or thought about it.

Meeting other people who were adopting transracially.

And we got two friends who have adopted we got Lindsay and then Susan.

How much time elapsed from the idea that you could consider adopting transracially to the final decision, and from the initial idea until it was finalized?

I will probably say when Justin was six months old so that would be Justin's what now three and a half probably three years ago I would say this is just a guess now but probably three years ago.

So there was about those three years from the initial idea of transracial adoption. Did you only discuss the adoption with your wife or did you consult other individuals?

Only my wife.

Where did you go for assistance?

Oh yah we got that help from James and Lindsay you see because they got Justin with the help from the social worker.

So the connection with James and Lindsay helped?

Yes absolutely.

Have you thought about problems which may arise with regards to stereotypes, prejudice that you as a family might experience?

Thought about it a lot but you know in South Africa what can you do? South Africa is in history deep rooted in racism I mean whether it is black on white racism white on black black on coloured black on white it's deep rooted in racism and you not going change it

over night so Dane is going to the person he is the person we are going to bring him up to be like. Because he is going to grow with our the way we would like him to grow up as much as he is going to have his own identity he'll still have our roots and the only.....and he'll be a lot like myself in that way and also when all else fails hit him.

What other thoughts have you had about stereotypes and prejudice?

Well its not you know you hear the remarks all the time especially I play rugby play for an Afrikaans rugby club mostly mostly Afrikaans people play rugby so if you join a rugby club it's mostly Afrikaans so you get to hear all the comments you get to hear all what the people say but I think you get used to it or if you don't you just ignore it because its no use making an issue out of it because the people are ignorant anyway.

So you personally you feel that you just ignore the comments?

They will do it they don't know any better so what can you say to people like that because they don't know any better then you have the comments made like you bringing up a garden boy and I used to say well luckily his going to be my garden boy not yours luckily his not having you as a parent. But that just causes violence it causes problems so I just ignore it now because people just don't know any better they've brought up like that their whole lives ignorant mostly Afrikaans people.

So initially when people made these comments did you speak back?

Initially yes I don't bother anymore its not worth it.

Why do you feel it's not worth it anymore?

It's not really worth going into it because you find out ninety five percent of people who have a problem with anything its five percent who try and cause trouble and it's worth it for five percent of the people.

Any experiences with regards to stereotypes and prejudices?

Yes a lot of people saying there's the English man with the kaffir child yah I get a lot of that again I just ignore it now you see they ignorant they don't know any better.

Can you tell me, initially when they did say something like that, you said you reacted how did you react?

Well it would just cause a confrontation doesn't it mm I'll end up in a corner scoffling with somebody over stupid things and I'm not the smallest person in the world so mm it has ended up in a couple of fights here and there mm I feel really strongly about someone criticizing my son obviously but nowadays I think I've got used to it not used to it you never get really used to it but a bit more laid back about it because you realize that people are ignorant and being stupid they have actually no idea,

At the beginning, did you get a lot of remarks and comments?

Still get it oh yes.

Has it become less or has it inncreased?

Well it seems still the same we just handle it differently that's all we still get the dirty looks in the supermarkets if we walk from the supermarket you get people saying ah sies look at that and remarks like that but I think we, we not used to it but you never get used to something like that but we, we learned how to handle it.

So initially once you had him and when he went out with you how did you handle it?

Sandy was a bit different to me I was a bit more aggravated about it more violent I used to confront people and mm and as I say it just causes a bad thing in the road or middle of the street or the supermarket you learn how to handle it I don't think its changed its still the same there's still a small percentage of people out there who are very anti and its not just white people its black people too.

So you experienced from both white and black people?

From both yes I think a lot of people don't like this mm I've spoken to a few black people mm they don't like the fact that the black person is going away from their culture knows his going to have his own culture rather than his own guys but what's his culture now where would he have been if they didn't adopt him. He is going to grow up in our

culture that's the bottom linethe English people his going to grow up like an English person his going to have a British passport.

Obviously you thought about it initially, that you were going to adopt transracially what was the initial reaction of your extended family and your friends?

Ah my family was no problem my family they were all happy especially my mother she hasn't got grandchildren so she was over the moon my brothers don't have a problem in fact my younger brother is engaged to be married to coloured women so we don't have that problem in our family at all they were all supportive everyone of them.

Despite growing up in South Africa do you think that the fact that your parents come from England had anything to do with accepting it?

Not at all I think they just supportive because they family they have no problem my brother has never left south Africa they came in 1973 they more south African than ... so they I mean my younger brother when we came here he was ten or nine so he doesn't really know England his never been there since he was nine years old so his basically a South African but with English decent its just that I went back to live in England and then came back to south Africa so I've got a different perspective on things.

What was the reaction of your family, friends when the adoption was finalized and completed?

Not a problem at all they were fully supportive one hundred percent.

Do you think that adopting transracially has had any negative or positive impact on your life thus far?

I think just adopting has had a difference in my life forget the racism part the racism facts I really don't think that's been an issue personally I think just to adopt at my age I mean I was 39 that's already a change in my life at my age to have a child I'm, I left home at 16 so from 16 to 39 I did my own thing so when you have a child your life is not your own anymore so obviously things change yes.

The whole transition from being a couple with no children to becoming parents has resulted in changes?

We could go sort of go anywhere do anything or think about anything now its changed so just having a child changes your life its not just because Dane is a coloured child that doesn't make a difference to us mm you don't even see it you mentioned it now it's the only time I think about it normally I don't mm but just having a child obviously. You don't see the colour at all and now that's its mentioned we've got a lot of differences when you want to go buy Kentucky Fried Chicken for supper you have to get for three and not two the whole thing is different.

Have you experienced any difficulties due to the adoption?

No it makes we want to work harder because know I've got his future to look out for.

Do you have any concerns about raising your son and relating to him with him being a different race than you?

I don't see him as being of a different race to me his my son and that's that.

Do you have any concerns about raising your son being a different race to you?

Not myself personally I think his going to grow up perfectly ok myself his going to be like us his going to grow like in a rather fairly decent household by fairly decent parents his going to have you know mine and carols values you know he'll know right from wrong he'll know that he has to go to school but everything you think that's normal in society that's the way I would like to bring him up. You teach him not to steal cars in the middle of the night and things like that mm which is a lot of prejudices from the old South Africa now that you hear going back to your previous you know like is he going to grow up to be a robber or a mugger and a rapist because his black you know like that's the ignorance of other people coming up because he'll grow up like we teach him to grow up not because of his colour or his skin people say that its instinct in them I say instinct in who? They say in black people they grow up as muggers and murderers and rapists and I look at this and I think what do these people know children grow like their parents not like or they grow up if a black baby grows up in a squatter camp that's a lot different

from growing up in Kabega Park in a duplex complex mm which mm which usually those are different environments mm so obviously you will a lot of those children in those areas the squatter camp areas growing up to be muggers and rapists and murderers but I don't think in normal society it doesn't happen they grow up just as we grow up I think he will grow up perfectly fine and I used to box so I can teach him how to throw a right hooker if push comes to shove.

Do you have any concerns about your son's future because of his race being different to yours?

Not because of his race no I have concerns about his future in South Africa yes. We don't know where South Africa is going in the future so I mean I'm like any other parent concerned about their son's future in south Africa not because of his colour in fact his colour in South Africa will probably help him as bad as it is because I don't believe in thatpolicy I believe if you good enough you get the job regardless of who you are or what you are or what colour you are but yah probably in south Africa his colour would help him there will be a lot of positions open for him because his black.

You will never know because his still young. You don't know how South Africa will be in twenty years time.

Well I've you got people in the rugby club Afrikaans families and there children six or seven years old are still saying hey kaffir so what you know these are six or seven year old kids where in twenty years time these are people working in South Africa and they already have that mind set so really what chance in the future of South Africa if the people are still like this now and I know its not a big percentage of South Africans but its still there mm I know it's just like I think ignorance from their part because they don't realize what they doing especially the South Aaficans I think we more adjusted than some of the Afrikaans kids and better behaved but because we English and we know how to behave and we'll teach him how to behave.

Did you have to change your life in any way to accommodate the transracial adoption?

Not really mm when you say changed my life obviously it changed my life because there's now a baby mm so everything changes when you have a baby you know you don't move like go like to a night club anymore because we can get a baby sitter but we don't like it so yah you do change because you know everything revolves around your child you do things that keep him busy so yah things change just because his a baby whether we had a white baby black baby pink baby green baby it would of changed that way we waited a long time to be parents so I'm not going to miss him growing up

Once you decided that you wanted to adopt was it a big adjustment for you and your wife, was the adjustment difficult?

No it wasn't that difficult I think we were ready to have children so it was alright I think maybe ten years ago it would have been a bit difficult because we were younger but I think we were ready anyway to have a child so we not used to waking up at two o'clock and three o'clock in the morning but that wasn't I don't think it was difficult because we wanted to have a child.

With the regards to the adoption criteria, was there any specific criteria or requirements that you had to fulfill or comply with for you to adopt transracially?

I don't really know because I don't know what requirements you had to need if you adopt white children I think I think knowing the welfare people we dealt with I think they treat everybody the same that's what I think I mean we obviously had to have our medical check ups and make sure they came and visited our home and that sort of things so I think I don't think it may be different if you adopt a coloured black or white I think the people at Child Welfare treats everybody the same.

So you weren't with an agency you were Child welfare? Were any conditions placed on you at the time? Were you provided with any guidance with regards to the adoption before during or after the adoption process?

She came around often Sarah she sort of helped us out with quite a lot yah she quite a nice lady.

So she provided you with guidance in which way how did she assist you and your wife?

Well you know with obviously with where to go and what to do we had a huge amount of paper work that you had to fill in so she helped with all that sort of side of it I think the legal side of everything she helped us with and it was quite nice because we didn't really have a clue. With out her help we wouldn't have had a baby that the bottom line she was very helpful in that way.

So will it be beneficial for of families who are wanting to adopt to have a social worker who works by there side?

Absolutely stay away from those agencies we tried that right at the very beginning and they were pretty useless we were on the list for a year and half and nothing happened so and that just cost you money the guys are just there for the money Child Welfare are there for the children's sake not for the money they not really worried about the money there are obviously fees that you have to pay they not worried about it they there just for purely for the child that's what they there for so they help you there. They have a huge amount of children that they cant place with anyone they just worried about the children they not worried about anything else.

Do you still have contact with the social worker?

Oh in fact I saw her the other day.

Do you think there is a need for a support group for families who adopt transracially?

I think maybe for some people yes I think some people might find it more difficult especially for myself I personally don't need it. Mm not for myself I don't think carol does either I think its how strongly you are mentally your selves mm and I also think because I'm a lot older as well so if I was twenty eight years old I would treated everything different to now at forty one.

So age makes a difference and younger families might feel the need for a support group?

For younger people maybe for younger people might find it a little more difficult to handle the remarks you know sometimes and the comments made mm as I said ten years ago I would of punched the people everyday in the street mm when you grow older you become a bit more mature and there are other ways to handle these problems.

So do you think you would be prepared to belong to a support group?

As I say I might belong to a support group now just to give people benefit of my knowledge to assist others you know there's especially the younger people you get people that's twenty five who cant have children they want to adopt there are people like that out there young people twenty five, twenty four who are not going to have there own children for medical reasons and mm yeah to join a group to help them maybe because as I say it makes it sort out problems other than going out in the street and hitting somebody.

What process would you and your wife foster or encourage the identity of your son?

His just going to grow up like us he'll grow up basically like as English grow up in the UK we are English we, our lifestyle is English with a little bit of South African thrown in with braai's and things like that we obviously have the South African influence especially the Port Elizabeth influence the beach, the sun summer twelve months of summer mm so there's obviously a bit of South African in him like braai's but his going to grow up like we grow up like we grew up as children. The world cup rugby was on now and Dane is running around shouting England so mm so there is that part of it so when he gets to sixteen he can have a British passport his legally allowed to it so.

Do you tell him about being English?

I do yes he knows that I'm from England and England is a place, a country across the sea so yeah obviously the British influence its going to be there myself and Sandy being British obviously its going to be there his going to grow up like that he'll make his own mind up when he gets older because he can be South African he can be English its up to

him I'm not going to force either one on him he can make his own mind up but he'll be entitled to a British passport if he wants one and that I found out already.

Do you think there are racial prejudice and stereotypes that your son might experience?

Certainly one hundred percent you don't get away from it in South Africa unfortunately it's going to happen.

Will you foster a positive black identity or not, with regards to his culture and heritage?

You know its not really an issue when you grow up like us mm his colour doesn't really come in to it his going to grow up as a lot of people say white with a black skin (laughing) mm and I don't think that is going to bother him it might bother black people saying its not the cultural way it might bother Afrikaans people saying how can you bring up a black kid as a white child we not trying to do that. What we are doing is bring up our child mm and in that way he is going to grow up in our society in our way of life with our friends his going to grow up like us and I don't think we making a specific mm thing to do or say you black you going to grow up you white we don't do that his going grow up his our child and yah his going to have those comments made in the street and its just how big its going to be on him but it's going to happen we not forcing him in anyway to do anything at all he'll grow up like he grows up how we teach him how we grow up so if you want to put it yah his going to grow up white with a black face and I don't think it's bad thing it's not really going to hurt him in any way as long as he grows up with the right values in life and when he gets bigger adult he'll go through in his own.

You stay in a multi racial neighbourhood am I right?

Yes two houses down there's black people and of course there's coloured people and Indian people across there. Absolutely very multi racial.

Regarding schooling, have you thought about his schooling with regards to language? Are you going to encourage him to learn and speak Xhosa?

It will be English. No not at all they teach it in school don't they? He will grow up just like any other school child he will be English speaking school child which ever school he goes to which ever other language they teach he will learn it whether it will be Afrikaans or Xhosa or whatever I mean we not going to encourage it to specifically go out and speak Xhosa because then that will be in a way saying to him you black you must speak Xhosa mm he is going to grow up just normal he'll be English speaking and he'll learn Xhosa if they teach it at school

And then his socialization mixing obviously schools are multi racial as well the school that you are going to send him to do you think that the socialization within your neighbourhood?

Especially the school that Dane would go to we will send Nathan to mmthat usually will and so everybody who's there whether they black blue coloured they do everything in English so mm my idea is to send him to Grey and Grey is the top school well the second top school in the country after Grey in Bloem and that's my ideas it's a lot of money but so what I want the best for him and Grey is Grey whether you pink green white Grey is Grey they all learn the same thing in the same language they teach whatever they teach at Grey you know I'm not a school teacher I coach schools rugby so know enough to know about schools.

With regards to your sons identity obviously you are going to raise him according to you and your wife's personal values, the way you've been brought up. How do you envisage dealing with your child's identity with regards to social groups? Do you think there will be a problem?

I don't think so as you say he'll grow up mm how we treat him and he'll learn what I see and mm so he'll I think I'm fairly good at speaking to people and I think he is going to grow up like that as well because its something that just washes off you know it will wash off on him so he'll I think he'll sort of mix in with anybody really I don't think he will want to socialize with I think he will want to socialize with people who are decent people regardless of what their colour is.

Don't you think that comes from the way you are raised?

I mean his not going to hang out with the street children begging in the roads because that's not the way his growing up the same way his not wanting to go to Algoa park and mix with those Afrikaans children because they won't be his type either his growing up in this sort of the Grey High I'm going to Grey Primary school maybe Westering primary you know these sort of schools those sort of children and they all sort of got the same sort of good values and I think that's more important than worrying about what, what colour children his mixing with as long as his mixing with decent children. We want to grow as normal what society calls normal mm there is a stereotype in South Africa. Decent children go to decent schools that's the bottom line you don't go I'm not saying that all areas that don't have decent children but if you got the money you wouldn't send your child to Kwnabuhle Primary school if you can send your child to Grey because in Kwnabuhle you got seventy children in a class and Grey they only got twenty two so your personal teacher to child relationship is lower so you taught not better but the way they do because they have more time for the teachers to spend with children where at kwanabuhle primary has as I say seventy children in a classroom and the teacher doesn't have time for them individually where with twenty children in a class room the teacher has got a lot of time for the children so quality of teaching is probably better not the standard but the quality and that is what I would like.

Do you think you hear certain comments more now because of your son?

I hear it more now because of my son because the comments are directly too us whereas before are we didn't have those comments too us directly it was just in general conversation now its mm like I said before you know people say as before their's that Englishmen bringing up a kaffir child and what you want to bring up a murderest and a mugger and a rapist for and its just ...at the end of the day...but its South Africa its prepared to happen.

How do you think you and your wife are going to cope with questions that Dane might ask once his a bit older?

Tell him the truth I can't say that his mine his obviously going to see there's something different just tell him the truth.

As Dane becomes older, he is going to start asking questions. Especially when he starts going to play or primary school. Do you think that you and your wife will be able to handle al the questions?

Absolutely I generally have an answer for everything that anybody throws at me so let it be Dane, yourself or Nelson Mandela I can mostly answer anything that anybody asks me so I think that I'll manage most things.

And you believe will be able to cope with all questions whatever he asks you?

Yes absolutely if push comes to shove I'll show him how to fight (laughing) but that's how some people out there only understand unfortunately there are unfortunately people just like they only understand something when you..Hands with the face but its not nice but mm you want the truth out of me I mean I'm typically an English person mm so I'll go so far and I'll hit you its typically me and its not right it's not nice it's the wrong thing to do I realize that but push me so far and then I can become violent and its wrong and I wouldn't like Dane to be like that but sometimes mm I can ... if can put it this way as much as people say its wrong and as much as this and that sometimes ...it happens and whether you like it at some stage especially when you are younger when Dane gets thirteen, fourteen and fifteen if he gets hit I want him to know how to hit back I'm not saying go out there and hit people but if somebody out there hits him he must know how to hit back and that's what I'll show him and he will know how to hit back his I'm not going to regardless if he was my only natural son or Dane or anybody mm if someone is going to beat up my son his going to know how to hit back and that's going to be racially motivated attack and then he must know how to hit back because you cant just allow your son to be beaten up in the street its not right I mean that is why people take self defense where because of you can get attacked tomorrow and being a women walking down the street or someone can attack you mm do you know how to fight back. I've done a lot of boxing fights and I know how to defend myself and that's what I'll teach him you know its got nothing to do with colour but I think in South Africa his going to have a few racist

things that are going to be said mm maybe a couple of things like white kaffir his just a white kaffir mm and as I say it used to bother it doesn't bother me now ignorance of other people it doesn't bother me.

Do you think it's just how they were brought up?

Its how they were brought up. South Africa will not I don't want to say all Afrikaans people there a lot of good Afrikaans people out there there are a lot of people who I know who are so supportive having Dane mm but then you do get that and unfortunately as hard as it may sound its mostly your Afrikaans people from Algoa park, Kensington the poorer areas and its mostly the poorer Afrikaans its almost you find well educated Afrikaans people are not like that you find mostly the poorer I don't think maybe somehow the other way it's the more educated black people and coloured people are also not like that its the poorer black and coloured people who are so I think its how you really brought up I mean I don't know if its poor people who are brought up differently to rich people I'm not sure I've never been rich so. I'm talking about the normal middle like we are we not poor we not rich but we not poor we live a normal comfortable life but you get people who are very much poorer than we are. I coach rugby in Kensington at the primary school and there are people there who earn nine hundred rand a month. And these are white people that earn nine hundred rand a month how do you live on nine hundred rand a month in a house in Kensington how do you live on nine hundred rand a month with children going to school how do you live on nine hundred rand a month and the father drinks his brandy and coke on a Friday night that is something that I think you've got to be brought up differently in that sort of environment mm where as I earn twelve thousand a month so there's a huge big difference. If I want to buy a bottle beer I buy a bottle of beer if I want to buy a table I buy a table if I want to buy a microwave I buy a microwave we might have to save up a few weeks but I can buy it ...I've got no chance in life to earn nine hundred rand a month and they work at Cadbury's and they work shifts whatever colour they are and they bring their children up on nine hundred rand a month mm does that make a difference I'm not sure I personally think it does I see it and I see children that eat once a day and the school feeds them. I've taken kids to the rugby stadium and they've never been there before in there lives and they stay in Port

Elizabeth and they've never been to the rugby stadium to watch rugby so does it make a difference the way children are brought up I think it maybe it does. I've been I gave coke one afternoon at the end of the rugby game I bought three or four two liter bottles of coke and I shared it with the kids at the end of the rugby game and there was one of the children who never had coke in his life before eleven years never had a glass of coke before its daddy's coke for his brandy. Now how good is that for a child any child so we have that sort of problem in South Africa you don't have that much of it in the UK because of the strong social security services over there but here you have people that are very poor I think that makes a difference whether they black, white, coloured and this whole racism thing comes more from the poorer people why I don't know maybe you can find it out.(laughing). Because there is that financial thing you take James and Lindsay for instance Justin's got single thing that he ever wants he doesn't want for anything great friends of mine wonderful people but he never wants for anything and you take a black child in Kwazakhele or Kwanabuhle in Uitenhage living in a squatter camp cant have anything surely that makes a difference in a way that you grow up. The problem with children is that they cant understand why they have something they children. They cant understand why cant have it now that's got to have some sort of psychological impact within their own minds for the future I'm talking about now you cant have it now and there's a shouting match but in the future now if you earn nine hundred rand a month and you have a household to feed on nine hundred rand a month you can hardly eat you cant buy anything surely the children the children's got to be affected in some sort of way. Not just appreciate money more but its got to affect them in other ways. Maybe that's where where criminals come from. So whether you are now an adopted child whose coloured, black, white, pink, green I don't think social welfare will allow people who earn nine hundred to adopt a baby really I don't they say money doesn't matter but I don't think they'll allow a person who earns nine hundred rand a month to adopt a baby because they also realize it's going to have an impact not on colour your whole thing is on transracial adoption and mm it does it really has a big impact on South Africa I think a lot of people do it because just because it's the thing to do especially like in Johannesburg and those areas it's like the yuppie thing now oh I've got a black baby and then you get like us we just want a baby mm and some people do it to make a statement in society

unfortunately. Like us we couldn't have children it did we growing up in South Africa I had to think about it me and Sandy mm because I had all those not prejudice I've never been racist ever but my main concern was what other people would say once I got away with that around in my mind.

What do you think changed your mind set?

From being around Justin being around him that environment knowing that hold on a second it doesn't matter what other people think its what we think. Its us who are going to be happy not other people its Dane who's going to be happy not other people in the street I don't about what they think mm I've never been one of those people that's sort of sit back and what ever other people think until this came up and that was just seventeen years in South Africa before I moved backand then once I thought well I'm changing my whole life my whole way of thinking I mean for me to think about what other people are thinking is not like me but then I don't give a shit what other people think mm I'm not one of those people if you like me you like me if you don't like me you don't like me to me it doesn't matter I mean you can walk out of here now and say that guys aand that actually doesn't bother me. What you think about me is what you think about me you can go out of here and think what you like it doesn't mean anything to me it wont change my life in any way what so ever and for me to think what other people think adopting a black or a coloured baby was out of character for me so then just hey that's out of character why you thinking like this just because of this and I changed but not changed you know it was not me I must get back to what I'm like.

Is there anything else that you would like to share?

No

Thank you

Appendix J

Participant E & F: Sandy and John

Can you please explain the nature of the adoption?

Ok Lindsay and James didn't adopt him the way that child welfare works is that they give you a baby you have a baby given to you and places the child in your home as a house of safety for the first three months because a women who gives up her baby for adoption is allowed sixty days to change her mind so you have the baby in your house as a home of safety for that period of sixty days and mm that's why Lindsay had him she was going to adopt him but then she didn't she only had him in the house of safety and then he was transferred to us basically when they got him initially they weren't ready for another baby they were ready for at least another year and then they saw him at the hospital they just couldn't leave him there they just couldn't leave him there and I wanted him because Justin just would not accept this baby and he kept hurting him and every time Justin entered the room this child would scream they just couldn't have them both in the same room it was actually quite terrible it was traumatizing for them and mm she said one day that she was going to phone child welfare and find another home for the baby and I said to her excuse me you know your best friend is standing right here I've been trying for fifteen years and I said if you give that child back to Child Welfare I'm going to go to child welfare and get him back so a few weeks went by and slowly but surely you know we ended up with him and she handed him over to me then she phoned Sarah, and Sarah said I can see you a mother and she came through on the Monday and she looked at me with this baby in my arms and she said sure you can have him and I said what makes you so think that I'm going to be a good parent and she said I've been in the business for a very long time and I only have to look to see and that was it. She came back three days later with the paper work and just to have a look at where we were staying where he was sleeping and sorts of things just to have a look around and she was happy and you know that was it and then we just had to wait for a court date.

