One Meal at a time: Nourishment in the Cape Winelands

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COMPULSORY DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

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I dedicate this thesis to my aunt Milla who inspired me to conceptualise nourishment,

and to Abi

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Abstract

Emerging fields of inquiry in epigenetics and the 'Developmental Origins of Health and Disease' (DOHaD) propose the 'first thousand days' of life as a critical period for the formation of new life. During this time food is one crucial set of signals that edits life, and is particularly pertinent in the South African context where entrenched inequality is marked in statistics of hunger and food insecurity. A landscape of norms, both biomedical and social, comes to bear on the mother-child dyad, with a view to secure future health. This thesis tacks between this imaginary (noting registers of temporality and belonging), and everyday lived experience embedded with practices of care. Based on five months of ethnographic fieldwork in Kylemore in the Cape Winelands, I provide a detailed exploration of the space between prescription and practice. By tracking modalities of care, each chapter pauses at a meal or moment of ingestion. This attention reveals the complexity of food and sociality; the relationship of discourse to the everyday; and multiple, dextrous ways of providing care. Social precarity, shaped by the enduring political economy of the valley, made following the dictats of public health extremely difficult, as they pertain to the 'first thousand days'. I argue that a conceptual poverty exists around the complex forces shaping ingestion and social and biological practices, which presents a 'space between' social and medical disciplines that requires attention. Nourishment, as an approach and concept is offered to this space, in order to help make visible the complexities of belonging and temporality that are active in between bio-social prescriptions and actual practices.

One Meal at a time: Nourishment in the Cape Winelands

"Mistletoe was studying the light refracted through the clouds. Streams of colour. All is conversion, and conversion is all, she thought. Light into colour, air into life, thought into substance. Conversion is all we do. We convert our birth into living, our living into dying, our being into love."

Ben Okri, The Age of Magic (2014:278)

"In kinship and inheritance, death and life are interwoven in such a way that death or the possibility of death—and indeed the ultimate certainty of death—are what make possible moral community and its production over time. (Here I am implying that the very concept of "reproduction" is a mistake. There is only production. Every birth is a perilous passage for both mother and infant. Every face coming into the world has never before been seen)."

Christopher Davis (2012:507)

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One.

Icing Sugar

Jessica Arendse sits in a large armchair in Stellenbosch public hospital. A red and black chequered blanket is tucked around her waist. Her newborn son lies sleeping on his back in a mobile crib beside her, bundled up in blankets and a babygrow. His arms are crooked at the elbow, both palms facing upward. The three of us are alone in the small room.

Jessica gave birth to her baby in her and Elvis's room in her adopted home town of Kylemore at about 2 am. The only other person present in the room was her boyfriend, Elvis. Neighbours gathered outside. When the bleeding continued postpartum, the emergency services were called. They drove her the 11km that spans the distance between the small town tucked off Helshoogte road, and the public hospital in Stellenbosch – the elite student and tourist town nearby.

Jessica explains how the nurse admonished her for choosing to give birth at home, alone, explaining,

*"this morning the nurse came and said to me: do you know how dangerous it is to give birth at home? Then I said, 'I **know** what happened the first time', you see? She won't tell me what to do".*

I ask Jessica why she wanted to give birth at home.

"I wanted to have him at home, Carina. It's family-less [at the hospital], people–less. It's not for me. And I told them at home: "Don't interfere. Don't phone the ambulance. And [to Elvis] don't call your mother. Just leave it. It's better for me to give birth at home. It was really painful. But it was worth it."

She seems to be in mild shock, "I lost so much blood, Carina. I lost so much blood".

I am also in shock. I have never met such a new human. I am startled by his new-ness. He is about 12 hours old now. Half a day outside womb. After a while I say, "can you believe you made this person?" She says "yes. A real person. With a heart and a brain and blood and everything".

A real person.

She is exhausted. Heater on, light shines above her. Posters of "Kangaroo care" on the wall.[1]

Jessica wants to go home desperately. So desperately that she smeared icing from a cake her mother brought onto her newborn's lips. She hoped this would raise his blood sugar: the magic spell that would grant her exit rights.[2]

The nurse takes the baby away for the blood glucose test. We sit, we hear infant screams. Jessica reacts quickly, she sits up, hastens to the door. "Is that my child crying like that?" she asks a passing nurse. The nurse ignores her. Jessica hovers in the doorway until the nurse brings him back. He had been crying. "Sodra hulle ek en die kind ontslaan loop ek nie hier uit nie, hardloop ek hier uit," she tells me in Afrikaans; 'as soon as they release me and my child I won't walk out of here. I will run'.

[1] "Kangaroo mother care denotes early skin-to-skin contact between mother and baby at birth or soon thereafter, plus early and continued breastfeeding, parental support, and early discharge from hospital" (Bhutta et al., 2013:457). Research has shown that skin-to-skin contact enhances mother-to-child bonding and encourages breastfeeding as well as other benefits (see Kostandy et al., 2008 and Crenshaw, 2007).

[2] Parts of this introduction were reproduced in Truyts (2016)

The nurse tells Jessica she will have to stay another day. Applying icing to the baby's lips did not work. They measured the baby's blood sugar when it had already crashed – revealing lower levels than on the previous test. So, we sit. I cannot take her home.

Jessica breastfeeds and her whole body contracts with pain as the baby latches. She keeps saying: "Dis nou klaar". It's over now. I ask her what she means. "Birth," she says "and having children". She has a two year old daughter, Shanique, with the same father.

She is relieved that it is a boy, this time. We ponder names for him. I read from an internet baby naming website - names that start with E, at Jessica's request (like Elvis, the father, who is Jessica's partner). I suggest Eli, short for Elijah? And she says "yes, yes", she had been thinking about Elijah Kelley, "like the moviestar, Carina you know (I didn't know) from Hairspray.[3]*He's also mixed race." She motions towards her son: "He's mixed race. But he is going to be very dark".*

"I can see that he is going to be very dark", she says as she proffers his tiny hands. She shows me the comparatively darker pads just underneath his nailbeds, then those on top of his ears. I say "Oh. Does that bother you?" "No", she says, "because it's a boy, and for a girl it is much worse. It suits a boy much better than a girl".

The baby's wrinkly fingers are impossibly cute, like five tiny wax crayons attached to each fist. I don't ask any more questions. She keeps going over the pain, the blood.

After she breastfeeds Jessica holds her baby out to me: "here, hold him". I gather him against my chest, against my skin. Jessica says that he is comfortable on my chest

[3] Released in 2007, the musical Hairspray is set in Baltmore in the sixties. A young 'white' woman gets involved in resistance with a group of dancers, and the film tracks their resistance against racial segregation. Eijah Kelley starred as the romantic interest of the main characters' best friend (Buchtal et al.,2014)

because he was around me so much when she was pregnant – he was used to me already.

Introduction: between prescription and practice

Jessica applied icing to her baby's lips in direct contravention of the state recommendation to breastfeed exclusively for six months.[4] The reasons for this direct contravention indicate a disjuncture between policy that prescribes 'solid food' as appropriate within a specified time frame, and actual practices of care. This dissonance signifies more than a simple lack of education, 'defaulting', or non-compliance – Jessica had cited the guidelines for nutrition to me prior to this event.[5]This thesis engages a biomedical preoccupation with a specific bracket of time – the 'first thousand days' of life. The 'first thousand days,' from conception to two years of age, is understood to be a period of vulnerability to 'environmental exposure' in which a range of signals (from food to exposure to violence) interact with genes, and leave enduring marks (Morgan, 2013:3). This window of opportunity is imagined to be determinate and has shaped South African infant health policy (Pentecost, 2016). Research in the 'first thousand days' under DOHaD (Developmental Origins of Health and Disease) thus presents both a hope for intervention in this cycle, (Ramirez-Goicoechea, 2013) and concern that inequality will be reproduced in epigenetic memory (just as it is structurally).

Scaling down from the generalised brackets of time proposed by the DOHaD, this research project considers another window, framed by nourishment: the subjective everyday experiences of a small sample of mostly women and their children and grandchildren who live in Kylemore, a small town in the Western Cape's Dwars River Valley. I conducted fieldwork in this small town from July to November in 2014, commencing at a soup kitchen that was run by local women.

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[4] The 2005 National Food Consumption Survey shows that more than 70% of South African newborns receive solid food before the age of six months (Du Plessis and Perriera, 2013:122).

[5] Public health interventions often cite a lack of knowledge and education as the core areas for interventions, bypassing the pressing structural issues from which 'deviance' arise. The implications of disciplinary language are explored by Abney (2014)

It cracks open time in relation to body, space, seasonality and inheritance, exploring practices and forms of nourishment in the everyday. These practices often fell outside of biomedical prescriptions of 'the right time' and 'best' practice, of which a lick of icing sugar on day one of the first six months is but one example.

If there is a single question that this thesis seeks to answer, it is this: How does nourishment figure in the space between prescription and practice? This question arises from the simple fact that ingestion edits life. To *edit* is to shape; to shift or prepare by changing, rearranging and modifying something that already exists. The notion of ingestion indexes that which is swallowed, and does not exclude drinking, or the assimilation of food via umbilical cord. But physical ingestion does not edit in isolation; the distribution of food, water, milk is often accompanied by, (for example), love, anger, guilt, excess, lack, and desire which are in turn shaped by context – political, personal and social.

In the next section I give a brief outline of the literature that gave rise to the research project and approach. The following theoretical section gives the larger discursive and national context to the question at hand and outlines my framework of nourishment as one which foregrounds food and ordinary practices of care. In order to demonstrate the imbrication of nature, nurture, and socio-political history I engage Rushdie's (1995) notion of "swallowing the world,". I then describe what constitutes the world where I met Jessica and conducted my fieldwork before reflecting on the ethics of conducting research between 'worlds' marked by skewed inheritances and vastly different epistemologies and ontologies. The dense weave of temporality, precarity and food gave rise to the title "One meal at a time". In closing I briefly describe how the two themes of temporality and belonging arose. I introduce the chapters, each of which centres on a meal or moment that can be read as "swallowing the world".

"What happens in the womb lasts a lifetime": Epigenetics, food security, and nourishment

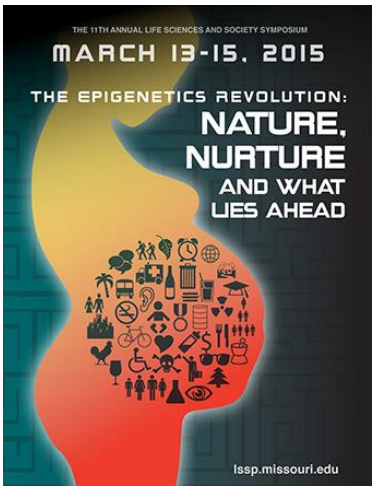

Figure 1: **The Epigenetics Revolution: Nature, Nurture and what lies ahead. Poster for symposium 13 - 15 March, Missouri University (University of Missouri, 2015).**

"What happens in the womb lasts a lifetime" (DOHaD for Doctors, 2015). This is the slogan on the DOHaAD website, a research approach of which *Figure 1* is exemplary. Epigenetic research has redrawn understandings of genetic inheritance and environmental influence on which 'nature'/ 'nurture' distinctions have rested. Whilst genes are generally predictable in form and formation, epigenetic work has shifted the focus of genotype and phenotype configurations to shorter temporal horizons by considering the mechanisms that 'switch' the epigenome, and so influence reproduction (Goldberg, Allis and Bernstein, 2007:635; Thayer and Non, 2015; Donald, 2013, Landecker; 2010). *Figure one* is exemplary of the epigenetic imaginary of the 'first thousand days'. A conglomeration of figures are seen to accumulate in the womb – drawing the material world and its political vectors into the body of mother, and thus, child (and possibly, that child's child, as Thayer and Non (2015:730-731) explain). During this crucial time of 'plasticity' these signals can 'switch' markers on (epi-) the genome. The image is striking as it signals outside 'matter' inside, in the womb, usefully blurring the nature/ nurture dichotomy – epigenetics shows that nature/nurture are inseparable (Morgan, 2013:2). Whilst the diversity of 'environmental signals' marked by the symbols in the image are not clearly all

controllable by the mother, the mother is pictured as the bearer. In spite of the finding in epigenetics – that in fact the state of the paternal genome at conception, as well as possibly previous generations – are as significant as the mother's, it is the mother who remains the focus (Landecker, 2011:25). Further, many of the 'signals' to which the epigenome responds are not contingent on individual care. For example, Roseboom et al. (2001) showed the impacts of the Dutch famine on adults later in life. Those in utero during the famine had different methylation processes in relation to the gene locus of diabetes, compared to those born after (Heijmans et al., 2008 in Landecker, 2010:21).

Whilst it has long been known that practices (such as smoking and ingesting alcohol) impact reproduction, it is now known that factors as diverse as high stress due to violence or neglect, skin-to-skin contact (exemplified in the "Kangaroo care" poster on the hospital wall), seasonality, and exposure to certain foods and substances, can 'switch' markers, thus acting as regulators that edit the genetic landscape and influence growth. Food is a crucial set of signals and is linked to disease susceptibility and physiological growth over the lifespan (Landecker, 2010:20). As Landecker explains, food was previously understood to be fuel for growth (2010:22). Now, "food shapes the conditions of its own reception in the future" (Landecker, 2010:23). Exposure to food is one of the crucial sets of signals that impacts gene expression.The 2008 Lancet series on Mother and Infant nutrition explicitly links food security and food systems to epigenetics and DOHaD, urging public health intervention during this "critical period" in order to "prevent irreversible damage" and "increase GDP" (Victora et al. 2008: 340). According to Morgan, 3 million children in South Africa are susceptible to "direct biological risk factors for loss of development potential" (2013:1).

A lack of healthy, nutritious food is a serious threat to livelihoods in South Africa. In 2007, malnutrition was listed as one of the five leading causes of infant mortality (Nannan et al. 2007). The 2005 National Food Consumption Survey (NFCS) reported that one in five South African children (between 1 – 9 years) was

stunted, and 1 in 10, underweight (ibid).[6] Malnutrition is no longer measured solely in terms of lack, but also in terms of over-nutrition of certain energy-dense foods as marked by the 'nutrition transition'. According to the study 1 in 10 children was *over*weight, and 4% of the sample obese (Shisana et al., 2014:210). Epigenetic research and DOHaD flag these statistics as likely to convert into high risks of non-communicable diseases in adults (Black et al., 2008, Donald, 2013). Whilst epigenetic research is being plied in anticipatory modes of health management in private practice, the significance of this research is crucial to economically marginalised groups in South Africa.[7] As both the NFCS Survey and SANHANES (2014) show, statistics of hunger, food insecurity, and malnutrition reveal that 'whites' are at drastically lower levels of risk and vulnerability than those designated 'black' and 'coloured'. Thus, patterns of proportionate income and wealth still largely follow the demographic order of privilege that was legally administered through the oppressive regimes of Apartheid, colonialism and slavery. Jessica was caught up in this demographic category of economic marginalisation and vulnerability, similar to the majority of my interlocutors.

Whilst it is commonly understoodthat 'environmental factors' shape the production of life, epigenetic research reiterates the blurring of the nature/ culture dichotomy. By pausing at moments of ingestion, chapter by chapter, I show that nurture itself shapes what we take to be 'nature' – and is historically, socially, and politically constituted. The 'history' that is embodied is always already historical and social. It is marked, for example, by the geopolitical spacing between the elite tourist town and Kylemore. It resides in the choice of icing, in the discipline of nurse, in the naming of a child. The socio-political history of the present is marked by a 'white' researcher in Kylemore, who holds a child to skin, a child said to know her already. Epigenetic research suggests that the ways in which that infant could 'know' includes an embodied history of precariousness, and exposure to an environment politically fomented and enfleshed. The

[6] 'underweight' refers to low-weight-for-age' and stunting is a 'chronic restriction of growth in height indicated by a low height-for-age" (Black et al. 2008:244)

[7] genotype-based personalised nutrition is an emerging field (see Senekal, 2012)

newborn's sensitivity to this environmental exposure was high as he lay in the mobile crib – by the epigenetic logic he was 270 days in to his 'first thousand' – whatever touched him now could "last a lifetime".

This suggests that careful attention be paid to the ways in which time is plied as a form of governance or an anticipatory logic that shapes moral norms. The suggestion that the child could 'be used to' someone (or *know* them, as it was stated in pre-birth conversations) suggests a claim to personhood prior to the dramatic moment of birth: time, substance, and care are melded in modes at odds with biomedical notions of time. Yet time is imbued with urgency, and thus makes care in the immediate present a priority for the mother-child dyad in the 'first thousand days' discourse. In their work on temporal politics Adams, Murphy and Clarke (2009) write that anticipation is the "palpable sense that things will be (all) right if we leverage new spaces of opportunity, reconfiguring 'the possible'' (2009:246).

In the demarcation of the first thousand days of life as an anticipated terrain of potential, both hope and dread are at play: a dread that lack, hunger, violence, pain, can be inherited – looped through the body and propelled into a future time and a future public, but also a hope that embodied lack can be guarded against, and new life furnished with an optimal start (Ramirez-Goicoechea, 2013). [8] Action is demanded *now*, (for example, by measuring blood sugar at certain intervals, or inciting mothers to adjust caring practices, in order to secure particular health outcomes). Adams et al. (2009:251) refer to this tacking between future-possible, a present where action must take place, and the past as *abduction.* This temporal politics renders the (ever-shifting) future as that which determines the present (2009:251). What work does such abduction do in a context where a seasonal soup kitchen exposes precarity? *As Figure 1* suggests, exposure to 'environment' is embodied, extended into the present and possible futures. The future of the baby is foregrounded, for which the mother is deemed most responsible. How is

[8] See Thayer and Non (2015).

accountability allocated, then, when structural inequality shapes 'environment' and violence, lack, or privilege is enfleshed? Further, as we know, scientific knowledge itself is unstable, and the horizons of 'good science' and 'good practice' are continuously in flux (see Cousins, 2016).

I have dealt briefly with some theory that informs prescription, and indicated that I sought to learn about the space between practice and prescription. My research culminated in a workshop titled 'Nourishment: towards care provision in the first thousand days' (see Truyts 2016b) attended by dieticians, NGOs, people who worked in Kylemore, food security specialists, anthropologists, a philosopher, poet, food writer, medical doctor, government employees and other social scientists. I asked what an interdisciplinary conversation with nourishment as axis might have to offer in terms of possible interventions and a strengthened knowledge base. Conflicting practices and understandings of language, experience, epistemology and the everyday were raised. The tension at these nodes of intersection gestured towards a 'space between' the multiple disciplines. A space inhabited by an inarticulate language, a slippage of cause and affect, and an uneven orientation marked by a diversity of experience and perception.

Yates-Doerr and Carney (2015) call for an anthropological vocabulary of health that extends beyond the body to include the political, social, and environmental. We clearly need to traverse and explore the 'space between' disciplines, between prescription and practice, and 'us' and 'them'. I offer 'nourishment' as a means through which to put otherwise disparate literatures in conversation in ways that are attentive to the actual processes through which life is made, sustained and enabled or curtailed in relation to diverse modalities of time and history. As Milla Mclachlan argues, problem-centred approaches (to 'fight hunger', 'combat malnutrition' and so on) do not respond to the complexity of concerns we are faced with. She writes: "we have reduced a multi-faceted human cultural activity – that of cultivating, processing, preparing and enjoying food – to an intangible problem to be fixed. It no longer satisfies" (2011:1).

I was inspired by Mclachlan'sintegrative approach that calls for food systems that nourish (2011). I bring this thinking to the particular, the everyday and begin at individual, household, and community levels. I employ a working definition of nourishment that is grounded in everyday lived experience and registers care that is not exclusively evidenced in material forms. Such a definition is useful because it can help to make sense of forms of nourishment that are overlooked by a simple biological understanding of reproduction. For instance, it offers an alternative way of understanding Jessica's response when she heard her baby cry from another room in the opening vignette: nutritional nourishment was but one component of the care Jessica wanted for her baby. Nourishment is also contingent on social networks of care, embodying systemic configurations of power and circulating societal norms – such as those that designate appropriate birthing procedures. Nourishment may not be consistent or stable (as marked by repetition in chronological, ordered time) but something that seeks to produce and reproduce local ideas of good. Thus, to ask about nourishment tracks context-specific formulations of good. While nourishment is not fixed solely on food, attention to ingestion (ubiquitous and centred on taste and body) highlights its forms. From a systemic perspective nourishment enables wellbeing that is not divorced from environment, and the geo-political terrain that is marked by past movements of people and power. Nourishment is both practice and an expression of knowing the world. I hope it will operate productively in the 'space between' epistemology and ontology, policy and practice, researchers and interlocutors, and Jessica and her son.

Swallowing the world

"To understand just one life, you have to swallow the world"

(Rushdie 1995:109,382).

The analytical mode through which I attend to nourishment in the ordinary moments of ingestion (each chapter is a meal), was inspired by Salman Rushdie's seminal novel *Midnight's Children* (1995). In the novel, Rushdie's narrative project

inscribes a particular history of India onto the body of a man whose body changes with the ebb of time, his nose ballooning before puberty, his birthmark stretching in flux with geo-political shifts and intimate encounters; in other words, "the world". In earlier research (Truyts, 2013), I used this metaphor of swallowing as a means to examine the habits, rituals and meaning that dovetail with eating in the context of TB patients' subjective experiences of eating.[9]

Elizabeth Povinelli (2011) offers a critical vocabulary of worlds with which to think of the distribution of life. This critical vocabulary includes 'individual life worlds' (like Jessica's), 'social worlds' (the most encompassing, of which late liberalism is one) and 'social projects' (which can be traced in relation to the emergence of 'worlds' otherwise). Again, these entangled modes are difficult to render – not least because "what composes a human social world may be anything but proximate to it, let alone human" (2011:8). Policies and politics shape life, but fall always on uneven terrain, and that terrain is marked by geopolitical spacing (11km to the hospital), and material worlds (the valley slopes, the icing). This chequered terrain leads to new potentialities – "worlds otherwise", which are continuously produced and multiple. Asking about nourishment recognises that its modalities are difficult to track and generalise from, particularly as related to affect.

A consideration of affect acknowledges that "emotions are not simply "within" or "without" but that they create the very effect of the surfaces or boundaries of bodies and worlds" (Ahmed, 2004:117). A consideration of affect thus allows us to see how hurt, pain, love and fear extend into world-making, and the nexus of nature/ nurture that edits life. As exemplified in Vij's (2013) work that considers affective precarity, a viewpoint of affect allows for the recuperation of factors such as gendered social imaginaries from the seemingly stable 'structural' vectors of life (2013:122) – "[to be dark] suits a boy much better than a girl". Following Gregg

[9] My formulation of this metaphor has been taken up by the Social Markers of TB project chaired by Dr. Helen Macdonald, University of Cape Town Anthropology Section and the Wellcome trust International Engagement Awards. The project is titled *'Swallowing the world: A multidisciplinary Curatorial Project on Tuberculosis in South Africa.*

and Seigworth (2010) and Stewart (2007), I take affect as that which names forces beyond conscious knowing, forces that accrue and register the body's-being-in-the-world. Affect lies in Jessica's assurance that her child knows me, it drives the imaginaries of care (should birth be at hospital or at home?) and the composition of social norms – a nurse that scolded Jessica for choosing to give birth at home.

The project tacks between everyday experiences; discourses invested in food and infant care; and social norms. This ethnographic approach illuminates the reach of discourse, socio-political histories, and moral norms as they circulate in the everyday. By recognising that care is writ within social networks (for example, including Jessica's mother, who brought the icing) I consider nourishment as contingent on precarious livelihoods, and in relation to particular concepts of 'good'. I consider nourishment as a process and practice, which is often, (but not only) marked by ingestion. Ordinary and ritual ingestion, as well as moments in which there is no food, mark the rubbing together of social, political, normative, and everyday worlds.

Discourse in epigenetics, embodiment (Fassin, 2007;Scheper-Hughes and Lock, 1987), neurological feminism (Wilson, 2004) have taken our understandings of the imbrication of nature and nurture well beyond metaphor. The movement towards promoting 'Kangaroo care' in public hospitals is testament to the significance of care in forms that are non-nutritional. The emerging literature on alimentation further offers the gut as a useful site to think of blurring of boundaries "between the biological and the social, or the self and the environment" (Sanabria and Yates-Doerr, 2015:119). In the gut, production and consumption are made indistinct, leading to challenges for policy makers who aim to provide standardized methods to "treat 'the' body, 'the' environment, or 'the' aliment as stable entities" (ibid). Thus, attention to the boundaries of the gut highlights the tension between generalised public health management, environment, and women like Jessica whose conviction that leaving the hospital rapidly was in the best interest of both her and her son. In sum, what medical

anthropology and psychosomatic research has long shown – that bodies remember beyond nutritional substance and genetic inheritance – is now clear.

However, seeking the intersections of worlds brings the impact of moral community and biomedical norms to bear on individuals, on ordinary moments, and the array of praxis that inform 'reproduction'. "Reproduction", Christopher Davis argues, is a false notion – there is only production: "every birth is a perilous passage for both mother and infant. Every face coming into the world has never before been seen" (2012:507). As Jessica returned over and over again to the pain and blood of childhood, the fragile line between life and death at birth was clear. Whilst epigenetic research acknowledges the diversity and heterogeneity of signals that impact infants in utero, it is crucial to acknowledge the multiplicity of factors at play so as to guard against determinism. As Donald writes, "experience affects individuals differently" (2013:2). When considering methods to track inheritance within the body there is a risk of ascribing a determinate 'cycle of poverty'. This is critical especially when exposure to stress is considered likely to shape the brain so as to encourage 'anti-social behaviour and criminality' (see La Gasse et al., 2012). Epigenetic research acknowledges that the effects of regulatory 'switches' may not be determinate, remediation is possible and brain development is not cemented during the 'first thousand days' of life (Morgan, 2013:9).

Research in Kylemore

Kylemore, founded in 1898 (Du Plessis, 2009:41) is situated in the Boland agricultural region of the Western Cape, commonly known as the 'Cape Winelands'. During what is locally known as 'the season', or 'the hungry season', precarious employment renders access to food and other nourishment less reliable than during harvest periods of comparatively higher employment.[10]

[10] Runge et al. name 'the hungry season' as "the period just before the next harvest when food stocks are lowest. It is during this period that transitory hunger is most widespread" (2003: 81). Battersby's urban research shows that seasonal lack is not solely related to agricultural trade, but also tied to spending and other industries. For example December spending is very high and industries that provide contract employment such as building close or narrow down their

The implications of epigenetic research and the new molecular politics it ushers in come to bear on reproduction universally. I decided to conduct research in a context of seasonal precariousness and relative economic marginalisation. This is largely because the statistics previously cited invite research attention, and because the impacts of discourse and moral community are much more significant and clear in such instances. Because of the rigid temporality prescribed by the imaginary of the 'first thousand days', I asked how precariousness interacts with this notion of linear time. Since the valley is exemplary of precarious labour practices, I expected to find clear evidence of the impact of seasonality on nourishment and new life. I had hoped to conduct research in a semi-rural area in order to link food systems to individuals in terms of both consumption and production. I thus also considered research in the horticultural area of Philippi in Cape Town, where I conducted preliminary research, but selected Kylemore on the basis of my fluency in Afrikaans. This set of reasons to select the geographical site is likely shared with other researchers – the popularity of the valley as research site is exemplified in a series of excellent theses (see Du Plessis, 2009, De Villiers, 2011) and the publication of an excellent edited volume "*Winelands, Wealth and Work: transformations in the Dwars River Valley*" in 2014, edited by Kees van der Waal. The volume draws the questions of contested histories, capitalism, and chequered inheritance into conversation with attempts and forms of 'transformation' and 'development'.

In this book I learned that Kylemore was established around the turn of the 1900s by residents of nearby Pniël who purchased land there (van der Waal, 2014:9). This was later developed in the village[11] through housing schemes. The 1950 Group Areas Act moved residents to allocated places in the valley according to the

operations, leading to a significant 'January trough' (2011:16).

[11] Whilst the use of the term village is used in much of the literature, I use town as it is the most direct translation of 'dorp' – which people used to describe Kylemore, in spite of it's small size (a population of approximately 4000 in 2001 according to van der Waal, 2014), and the lack of infrastructure. There is no police station, and no formal supermarkets, although there is a government clinic, and a junior and highschool.

categories 'white' and 'coloured'. No provision was made for 'African[12]' in spite of the fact that 'African' workers had been recruited to the area for unskilled labour purposes since the 1940s (van der Waal, 2014:11). However, Randle writes that some intermarriages occurred, allowing for re-classification and thus, permission to remain living there (2014:42). In spite of the fact that I encountered a handful of residents in Kylemore with a similar pigmentation to mine, I was irrevocably cast as 'white'. The reification of these naturalised categories, resistance to them, and their consequences for nourishment are addressed later in the thesis.

Barring the accounts I had read in *Winelands, Wealth and Work,* and an internet search that described Kylemore as the home of a "previously disadvantaged groups" with "little economic prospects and no industry" (Imbali, 2017) I had never been to Kylemore, and took a preliminary trip with slight apprehension. Turning right off the R320 (Helshoogte road), that snakes through the valley I drove over the bridge, past a fruit packing business premises, and into the main street. The road took me past the high white 'Tuscan' walls of Capola Varo, an enclosed security estate that juxtaposes starkly with the other homes on the street. These were unfenced, with doors clearly visible. Men in blue overalls brandished chainsaws and shears, trimming the hedge of 'Capola Varo' to resemble long, green boxes. Above their heads a security fence angled outward, projecting its message of fear, its accusation of threat. This sign of gentrification that walled off a cluster of houses disbanded the idea of Kylemore as a wholesale "previously disadvantaged" "economically vulnerable" community. It signaled the close juxtaposition of material wealth and poverty in one small town. This is a microcosm of disparity in the Cape Winelands, and in South Africa (see Robins, 2014). Outside of the security complex three phases of government housing schemes have resulted in a gradual shift in the size and spacing of homesteads. As you advance towards the mountains the sizes in houses and yards decrease, and there are more informal houses mixed amongst brick-and-mortar constructions. I

[12] I include racial terms in inverted commas throughout foremost as a cue from Jessica and Ant Sara – both explained that these words actually have "no really meaning" (Jessica) and "confuse everybody" (Ant Sara). This format also highlights the abstraction of these categories, and the debilitating work they continue to do.

stopped at a spaza shop, and was served by a man from Bangladesh, another contradiction to the imaginary of Kylemore I had been prepared to receive.

I conducted fieldwork with Jessica, mentioned above, and five other central interlocutors, as well as women of the older generation for five months from mid-winter to November in 2014. The generational range was not designed but hadthe effect of demonstrating how belonging is wrought over time.

I met Jessica at the soup kitchen hosted in the Community Hall. This served as my entry into fieldwork. I arrived for the first time with a colleague who introduced me to Antie Sara, a fifty-something year old woman resident who started the soup kitchen in response to seasonal hunger, itself a result of a production-oriented capitalist politicaleconomy of the region (van der Waal 2014:3). Antie Sara told us that it all began when she was 'down and out' herself. She was scraping together some ingredients to cook a meal, and then two children arrived at her door, hungry. She told them to come back later for soup. Twelve children returned, and Antie Sara responded to this by mobilising to start the soup kitchen. In 'die seisoen' ('the season' – when the harvests on nearby farms ends and workers' short contracts expire), her soup kitchen feds between 200 and 300 people three times a week, and relied on donations from an NGO in Stellenbosch, whilst also accepting donations and assistance from a localcookery school, a gardening project, wine farms, and various other activist groups and interested individuals.

I would help out at the soup kitchen, spend time with Antie Sara and the women who worked with her, and after some time I met Jessica, Veronica, Lydia and Emmie outside. Jessica was six months pregnant at the time. Veronica had a nine month old daughter, Emmie a one year old son, and Lydia's daughter was nearly a year old and her son nearly five. After I got to know them all individually I started a tea group. We set up a list of expectations and understandings, and met weekly. I facilitated the conversation, provided tea and snacks, and recorded our talks. Later we would reflect on our previous conversation to clarify or expand on themes. During focus groups we used drawings anddiscussed food diaries (Zimmerman and Wieder, 1977). I 'hung out' with the women individually and in

smaller groups, too. For some this meant cups of tea and chats in their front rooms, or hanging out, watching TV or cooking with Emmie or Veronica's families. I would sit with Lydia as she did laundry, walk with her to say hello to Jessica, and drive them to town sometimes for errands. I also had tea with the Anties, and spent time socialising with them, especially Antie Sara. I have made a table that sketches the general groups and networks of women I worked with, as seen in Appendix A and discussed in chapter three.

Income and security were differentiatedin Kylemore, and whilst I spent a large amount of time at the soup kitchen, I also worked with senior teachers and professionals, women with permanent managerial jobs, and interviewed 'white' women who were involved in charitable organisations. I also participated in the daily ongoings of a local state-subsidised crèche. I spent approximately three mornings a week there, assisting in the youngest class. I would play with the children, help during the day's activities, and talk with the teachers and assistants. Over time I got to know some of the children's carers and family through this and other points of contact.

My research was not constrained to the bounded space of Kylemore. I situate it centrally because I found that sites and shapes of nourishment were contingent (in shifting, diverse ways) on being *there*. However, my participants were mobile, and many 'came from' elsewhere. Jessica's father, for instance, lived in Gauteng, and was born in the Eastern Cape, as was her partner. Emmie was born in Kylemore but lived in Bishop Lavis, a neighbourhood in Cape Town, for much of her childhood. Ant Liesbet's eldest son went to school in Johannesburg, almost two thousand kilometres away. People shopped in nearby Stellenbosch (accessible by mini taxi cab), walked in the valley behind, and visited friends in other places in the valley. Kylemore is not estranged from the greater region – with much socialising happening across the valley. Kylemore's 'locality' is thus a composite of elsewheres, a notion I consider in relation to terroir as 'somewhereness' in chapter seven.

The fact that I started at the soup kitchen skewed my sample towards residents with lower income, who were much more likely to experience 'hunger'. I did not conduct sustained research with any man directly although I encountered them and spoke with them intermittently. This is largely a product of the gendered nature of infant care in the Valley. The research focus on women as primary caregivers echoed the notion that in Kylemore, childcare was considered women's domain. While there were exceptions, it was clear that men were marginilised from the daily routines of childcare.

Nonetheless, I did try to involve a few men in my research. Lester, Veronica's boyfriend, was largely absent as he lived and worked in nearby Groendal, although we spoke briefly on a few occasions. Emmie's boyfriend Thato missed two interview dates. It later transpired that he was using tik (crystal meth) heavily at the time (see Versfeld, 2012 for detailed discussion on the effect, histories and circulation of tik in Manenberg, Cape Town). Another threatened me quietly; saying he would like to take me to the bush and "show me". This did not surprise the women in the tea group when I told them. Rape and abuse were unexceptional and were often related to alcohol and tik abuse by both men and women, young and old. Thereafter the women lectured me about never walking in the bush alone, or interviewing men without discussing with them first. I learned over time that Antie Sara and the network of women at the soup kitchen extended a watch over me. My gender thus significantly influenced my fieldwork. Similarly, because I did not have a child I was considered a little 'green' especially as most women in Kylemore have their first children before 20 or in their early twenties, and I was 26 at the time. However, this meant that women took on an instructional role when telling me about birth and raising children.

Ethics and inheritance

Eating is intimate. Asking questions about food reveals information about income, bodily desire, the formation of self and family, and respectability. This is particularly true in a context of material scarcity. Nyamnjoh describes ethics as "the extent to which our attitudes and practices as social scientists impinge upon

or respect the rights and dignity of the individuals and communities we study" (Nyamnjoh in Ross, 2005:100). Anthropologists are rightly concerned that historical patterns of studying 'the other' can perpetuate systems of unequal power (see Speigel and Becker (2015) and responses). The action of conducting fieldwork in the rubric inherited from Apartheid anthropology recalls research that continues to foreground 'black' bodies as objects of research. It risks re-imbibing the same skewed power relations, categorically tracked according to constructions of race and culture.

During fieldwork I did not live in Kylemore, but in Stellenbosch, and was consistently reminded of the scales of difference that exist between the two places. I was doing fieldwork in a world vastly different from my own. Part of my justification to conduct research in an area marked by economic scarcity was due to my funding – I was on a scholarship oriented toward social justice projects of redress. My tell-tale 'white' skin signalled material privilege beyond my interlocuters'. It was not just skin-deep. I was materially much more wealthy than they, and at a much lower risk to precariousness. Other differences were marked, too – my language is that of the 'white' Afrikaner," not the Afrikaans-speaking 'coloured' or 'Kaaps'; my gender as woman, (26 years old and childless); my mobility through ownership of a car; my affiliation to the University, and the notebook and pen that signalled that I was a researcher. I was interpolated in modes that registered my inherited privilege, my alien status, and often (with a laugh and rib-poke), my ignorance and stupidity. However, a list of privileges (see Nyamnjoh, 2012) does not satisfy an ethical approach that appraises the dignity of interlocuters. Ntarangwi (2010) cautions against a superficial evoking of reflexivity as a 'band-aid' that interrogates fieldwork locations, writings style and method, all the while stepping neatly around the edges of calls to decolonise. Nyamnjoh argues that reflexivity be considered a process (2012:67).

Crapanzo marks the threat of solipsism that, in spite of an awareness that we know others through knowing ourselves, forces us to ask: "must we be bad epistemologists?" (2014:255). This question recognises the entanglement of

ourselves and our becomings in the process of knowing others. Encounters and stories moved me between subtle thresholds of life – from violent encounters to sips of tea, from stories of childbirth to nostalgic reminiscing about schooldays, from a long queue of people in line for soup, to a toddlers' game of building castles, smashing them down, building them up again. Whilst my reflexive process was ongoing, I do not explicitly track my personal peaks and troughs in relation to fieldwork unless doing so contributes to the project, as is most clear in chapter six.

I paid close attention and reflected on questions of power, dignity, and intersubjectivity throughout both fieldwork and the writing up process. This highlighted the difference in individual worlds between myself and my interlocutors. Tracking ontological clashes, as Das et al. (2014:3) write, risks rendering the experience of the 'other' as 'symbolic' in relation to dominant or normative modes of thought or behaviour. This imbalanced perspective privileges normative modes that deliver universal prescriptions and reduces the experience of the 'other'. The anthropologist risks aligning with the dominant discourse prior to research and analysis, likely thus to re-inscribe the hierarchical modes of moral reckoning she seeks to trace. Having trained and worked as a professional chef, my notions of 'good' food were thus shaped by experiences of working in five star restaurants, my upbringing and training. I also completed a semester of postgraduate studies in Nutrition Science at the University of Cape Town. This was after fieldwork, but still had an impact on writing.

Two months into fieldwork I drove up Malva Street just as the high school had been let out. I heard a shout through my open window, from a school pupil I did not recognise: "hey!" he called as he pointed at a teenager beside him -"He also has a girlfriend, with a small baby!" Clearly, news of what I was doing and who I was talking to had spread around town.[13] This visibility has ethical repercussions now,

[13] I encouraged this open engagement for two reasons – I wanted to invite anyone else interested in talking to me to do so; and I wanted it to be clear that my involvement with participants did not make any insinuations about them. Previous research (Truyts, 2014) has shown that the simple presence of researchers as visitors can index illness or other taboos that may invite gossip.

as I write about these women – it is possiblethat they may be recognised in the text by virtue of our relationships and their standings. For these reasons I obscure certain details, and thread stories and lives in such a way that the experiences I share may not be directly linked to particular women. The time I spent with certain women is in some instances disproportionate to their appearance here. In our discussions, I explained that I would recount stories as I heard them. In a few cases women helped me compose accounts that would have a similar message if not similar particularities. I offered pseudonyms but do not detail who took them up.

In closing, I am mindful of situating a discussion of ethics in terms of a mode of praxis – McDougall (2012) reminds that divorcing anthropological ethics from the abstract confiscates from the discipline an opportunity to engage with its tempestuous colonial past, and re-figure the ways in which it could advance. In many ways, this thesis engages in its arguments the same question it sought to address in its mode of conducting fieldwork - questions that shake inheritance:the inheritance of disciplines, of vocabularies, power, histories, difference, and how that which is received is reconfigured, re-imagined or tossed away.

One meal at a time

In his seminal work on food, sociality, and sugar Sidney Mintz foregrounds mealtimes rather than meals– allowing him a scope of adaptation, a view of the sociality of ingestion, and the how and why of food as opposed to the actual substance (1986:5). In contrast to the forward-looking anticipatory logics of epigenetic research I show how, in conditions of precariousness, nourishment is figured from one meal to the next. The structure of this thesis makes this emblematic: Each chapter pauses at one meal, one moment of ingestion.

I sought nourishment and belonging and temporality arose. Belonging was central to nourishment in terms of category and social networks. In the first chapter, belonging is contextualised in the home and social networks that guard against

precarity. Belonging also rests in social capital and inherited categories of race and class – a baby can belong within a 'blessed union', a child can be bullied, or fed, according to skin colour, accent, parentage. Thus, sensibilities of matter, time and place that mark belonging and demarcate morality in notions of good and bad came to light. I track these in intimate home spaces, yards of charged proximity, in the designations between the poor of 'Malva straat' and in relation to categorical distinctions between children, teenagers and adults. In the final chapter I track belonging from sedimented community, to the gut and finally in terms of the epistemological genealogies that inform the tense of the 'other'.

Temporality and time was thus a second emerging theme. This was not least because belonging depended on measured time, but because the measure of days (1000) that index a period of crucial intervention in early infancy and pregnancy also overlapped with seasonality and conflicting notions of best time and place. The 'DOHaD discourse refers to development – physiological growth and formation. This orientation quickly folds 'best practice' and 'modern practice' together: the hospital is the best place for birth, the level of blood sugar is more important than the mother's desire to be at home, where "it is not people-less". There are ethical pitfalls to this approach that are rooted in colonial and modernist perceptions of a upward trajectory towards a development apex.

This thesis is broken up into eight chapters, or meals. In chapter two I show how I departed from the discursive question of hunger towards the framework of nourishment. Belonging and networks of sociality, taste and desire, and modalities of inheritance are placed on the table alongside food and 'hunger'. In chapter three I show how sensibilities of matter, space and time are disrupted in daily practice, highlighting the centrality of the home and sociality in nourishment, as well as the impacts of responsibilisation. Both chapter four and five explore notions of belonging in terms incomer/ resident status in homesteads marked by 'charged proximity'. The socio-materiality of food is central in chapter four, *Cadburys Fruit and Nut* where I argue against mechanistic allocations of abandonment by considering relationships and practices of care over time and within networks.

Through attention to the sensory experience of smell in chapter five I pay close attention to the ways in which belonging is linked to naturalised notions of race, culture and class that interweave with understandings of respectability. In chapter six, *Fishfinger stew* we visit the soup kitchen where peach tarts and an unpalatable soup are served differentially. Nourishment as a concept and modality is forwarded in relation to a spectacle of shame, notions of morality tied to Christendom, and the complex practices of charity. We then sip wine at the valley Derby in chapter seven, thinking the concept of terroir along with the epigenetic impetus to think of the environment as exposure to food, and thus to self, extending the ongoing analyses of belonging and time. This forwards a discursive agenda to thinking nourishment in the long duree, and in relation to epistemic genealogies.

Two.

Mussels and Crackers

> "I ask her about her history. (Does hunger have a history? Does it matter?)… I now have my history, but Wilmien Wilders is still hungry. The only thing I can do is make an appointment for the following week" (Kruger, 2014:146).

It was a Wednesday in October. Jessica, Veronica, Emmie, Lydia and I were assembled around a metal fold-out table in the least-dim corner of the community hall. We had settled into a routine for 'duisend dae tee/ thousand days tea'. I would bring snacks, tea things, my recorder, and stationery. On arrival in Kylemore I'd park at the hall, then walk to the women's homes to call them. We'd set up a table, lay out the colouring things for any children who came along, make tea, and catch up as we ate and drank. After some chatter I would introduce a topic or theme for conversation, ask questions, and facilitate what was part chit-chat, part focus group. On this day I unpacked a vanilla shop-cake with creamy icing, tins of mussels, a plastic container of grated yellow cheese, packets of crackers, a box of fruit juice, and the elements for tea: milk, rooibos and normal tea bags, sugar. I had in mind to talk about hunger.

Literature review: from hunger to nourishment

I came to the fold-out table holding tea ingredients and the question of *hunger*. This chapter engages the dilemma posed by Kruger's opening quote, taken from her chapter in van der Waal's edited (2014) volume on the Dwars River Valley. Her questions arise in a context of clinical psychological counselling, her patient Wilmien lived in the same valley as Kylemore, her context was similar. I show that hunger has a history, and that it matters. This does not erase the concern that "Wilmien Wilders is still hungry". I relate the discourses of hunger to the worlds of these women with whom I had 'thousand days tea' every week. How did prescription (both biomedical and socially wrought) that designated them as

'hungry,' (and largely responsible for protecting their infants from such a risk) feature in their everyday lives? Food security, geography, public health, DOHaD and Nutrition Science have standardised indices of hunger. In the following section I argue that they are demonstrably irregular, and likely to detract from the dignity of those designated 'hungry'.

Hunger cannot be reduced to a social construction – "the emptiness of hunger is emptier than all curiosity; cannot be compensated for with the mere hearsay of what it demands" (Levinas in Garrido, 2012:81). To show that hunger's meanings are multiple is not to excavate hunger to a point of diminishment, or prize 'history' over lived experience of pain and discomfort. Attempting to do so would be irresponsible.[14] Quantitative research that draws attention (and concomitantly, policy, political will and mobilisation) to issues of inequality is critical. While recognising the value of macro-approaches that necessarily correspond to large population groups, this thesis shows the import of attention to details – ordinary, particular, everyday life. Povinelli argues that potentiality is always embodied in *specific* worlds that must be socially anticipated if they are to avoid reduction to temporally distant events that assume a stagnation of time, ethics and event. Thus, following Povinelli (2011) this is not an attempt to erase materiality, but to ask how discourse "matters forth" (2011:14) – how it makes objects appear – and at the same time – recognise that what "matters forth" is *different* to discourse. Hunger, by this reasoning – may have material properties (variably defined, but still 'real') – but discourse produces it categorically– as the next section that probes hunger in Nutrition Science, food security, and the anticipatory logic of the 'first thousand days' shows.

Discourses of hunger have ethical implications. I pay attention to structural violence to show how the objects of discourse shape life differentially. Here it

[14] See Latour's 2004 paper *Matters of concern* that argues against critical research that endlessly seeks to destabilise the grounds on which knowledge is produced: a mode of debunking that ultimately collapses itself.

becomes clear, as I alluded to in the previous chapter, that a 'space between' the disciplines and worlds concerned exists, to which ethnography has much to offer. Prescription is not limited to posters on the walls of hospitals and clinical booklets – the section on moral community contextualises circulating social norms as they come to bear on the mother–child dyad. I then foreground the socio-materiality of food – the deliciousness of KFC, and the relations of sociality that foment around the table (or not) to make a case for considering food beyond nutrition. I am thus arguing that discourses centred on hunger would do better to centre on nourishment – such as the complexity of eating and growing new life demands.

I don't eat at that time!": the social grammar of hunger

> Hunger has a cultural history that belies its apparently consistent material form. This history matters not just because hunger hurts, but because how it has hurt has always been culturally and historically specific(Vernon, 2007:8).

At the advent of Nutrition Science (when it was considered as the 'best science' to index poverty), nutrition was understood and represented as an exact knowledge (Vernon, 2007:84). During my semester of studying Nutrition Science I learnt that there is no 'exact science' of hunger. The most 'straight-cut' case of hunger is starvation – a deficiency of macro and micro-nutrients that leads to wasting, and eventually, death; a relatively rare way to die. Hunger has many names in Nutrition Science and Dietetics, each indexing a deficiency of critical nutrients. However, the manifestations of hunger in terms of protein-energy malnutrition, (including kwashiorkor and marasmus) are not limited to famine or, necessarily, relegated to the past. To guard against these and other deficiency diseases, the South African Food-Based dietary guidelines (Bourne et al. 2007) are based on long-term systematic research that provides 'congruence of evidence'. The lack of universal measures for hunger as well as disagreement of what constitutes healthy diets is indicated in the diversity of nutrient profiles adopted globally. Consumption of Recommended Daily Intakes (RDI) gives no guarantee of intake

in the body. Understood in terms of bioavailability, the uptake of a nutrient can be affected by factors as diverse as the structure of the food, the state of the intestine, co-ingested substances and so on (Mahan and Raymond, 2017:8 - 16).[15] Similarly, measuring exact nutrient usage and absorption of energy is virtually impossible without ludicrously expensive equipment.[16]

Deficiency diseases are not always indexed by a lack of macro-nutrients such as PEM (Protein-Energy-Malnutrition of which oedema and kwashiorkor are extreme symptoms, Mahan and Raymond, 2017:375) it can also refer to micro-nutrient deficiencies. Malnutrition registers both obesity and undernutrition as argued by Crush, Frayne and Mclachlan (2011) who examine the links between malnutrition and non-communicable diseases (NCDs). The links between diet and illness are the focus of the 'nutrition transition' that considers 'over-nutrition' (Monteiro, 2011). This focuses on the changes brought about by shifts from 'rural' 'agrarian' diets to more 'industrialised,' energy-dense, often processed foods that are high in fat, protein, and sugar, and poor in nutrients (Methvin, 2014:10, see also Lock et al., 2010, Battersby, 2011, Koornhof, 2014, Bourne et al., 2007). Further, while epigenetic research highlights the possibilityof transferring heart disease and cancer risks, these signals may lie dormant unless 'switched on' by environmental events. Whilst some nutritional deficiencies are clearly linked to disease (such as a lack of folic acid causing Spina Bifida Mahan and Raymond, 2017:919), others have less clear paths, and are very amenable to a veritable 'soup' of environmental exposures (Senekal, 2015). There is no single, 'precise' indication of hunger.

[15] For example, omega-3 is an essential nutrient, but excessive intake of omega 6, common in fatty and oily foods, retards the absorption of omega 3.

[16] In order to measure a person's total energy expenditure the thermic expenditure of food and activity thermogenesis must be gauged. Accurate data requires a resting value – that is, the base energy required to stay alive with no energy expended. Since a number of factors (ranging from age, to metabolism, body-fat percentage and so on) influence this, it is known that energy expenditure varies greatly between humans (Mahan and Raymond, 2017:21-22).

These concerns in Nutrition Science operate closely with 'food security', a concept coined at the 1996 World Food Summit (Even-Zahav, 2016:15). Sen's (1983) seminal work on entitlement argues that hunger is not due to production, but rather to the inability of the poor to access entitlement to food – in other words he argues that hunger is a democratic issue, not one of food supply *per se*.[17] The rights discourse is now prominent in food security, and seeks to address broader issues of inequality. This discourse is also seeking to correct the skewed focus on agricultural production (see Battersby, 2015) that omits urban concerns around food security. As Battersby argues in the context of food security discourse, 'Southern research' in food security unproductively conflates urban food security and urban agriculture (2013). Battersby shows that the discourse is underlined by "a series of racialisations of the region and its people" (2013:155) thus revealing the complex ways in which affect and power shape policy which in turn, impacts everyday life. Labadarios et al., (2011) have argued that the constitutional right to food may be the driver behind South Africa's reduction in food insecurity from 1999 to 2008. As I later show, the telescoping of hunger may undermine a further constitutional right – that of dignity. It is thus clear that concepts and notions of hunger have shaped policy and intervention. The designation of hunger is based on a variety of different indices.

The *International Food Policy Research Institute* defines hunger as food-energy deficiency, based on economic income that is categorically measured against the American dollar (see Burchi et al., 2011; Gani and Prasad, 2007).[18] In contrast to the poverty-based approach, the *Global Hunger Index* measures hunger according to undernourishment, child weight and child mortality (GHI, 2013). However, it *describes* hunger as a concept that encompasses the "discomfort experienced as a

[17] See also Sen (1981) and Drèze, Sen and Hussain (1995) whose political economy of hunger and famine earmarked structural violence as integral to hunger and vulnerability, as well as Pottier's (1999:143) critique of Sen's portrayal of famine as an event rather than a process that results due to long-worn vulnerability.

[18] 'Subjacent hunger' is suffered by those who live off between 0.75$ to 1$ a day, 'medial' between 0.50$ and 0.75$, and 'ultra hungry' as those who eat off less that 0.50$ a day.

result of a lack of food, including both undernutrition and malnutrition".[19] The measurement of hunger and the tools by which it is addressed are often directed at a population level, and are thus quite general.[20,21] In Public Health, Nutrition Science, and Food Security evidence of hunger is indexed in terms of stunting, weight, and assessment models such as the HH Dietary Diversity scale, and – critically for monitoring seasonal variance, the Months of Adequate Household Food Provisioning (MAHFP) study. Whilst Fukuda-Parr and Taylor (2015:14) argue that dynamic methods of measuring poverty and inequality (including income, service delivery and self-perceived reporting of poverty) are sufficient to index its multiple dimensions, the demarcation and context-specific meanings of hunger in the food security discourse remain vague.

Hunger is most often presented quantifiably in discourse (see Randolph and Hertel, 2015:25). In cases where intervention or mobilisation are sought, hunger is often presented in dramatic, spectacular forms such as in the common trope of famine – images of children suffering from kwashiorkor (marked by swollen bellies caused by oedema), or, more in keeping with the challenges of the 'nutrition transition' – images of bodies classified 'obese' or scenes of overeating. In his social history of hunger Vernon shows that it was when spectacular images of hunger came to be news-worthy (the humanitarian discovery of hunger) that the now-classic representation of hunger as statistic, spectacle, and a condition of poverty was webbed (2007:17).[22] Vernon aims to disabuse the singular notion that hunger represents the consequences of capitalist and imperialist histories. He

[19] Pinstrup-Anderson notes that health and nutrition outcomes resulting from agricultural and other food system policies and programmes are very difficult to assess with randomised control trials, due to difficulty in randomising effect and because the pathway is so long (2013).

[20] The tools for measurement include the Household Food Insecurity Access Scale, HH Dietary Diversity Scale and Months of Adequate Household Food Provisioning (see Deitchler et al.2010). These are based on surveys that attend to individual and household incomes, expenditures, spending patterns and so forth and conclude that migration and rural-urban dynamics require attention, and that absolute food shortages are not the main culprits of insecurity. Rather, limited access to economic opportunities is behind the finding that 77% of surveyed households were classified as either 'moderately' or 'severely' food insecure (Frayne et al., 2010).

[21] More contextual and comprehensive approaches, Evan-Zahev shows, are more costly, subjective, time-consuming, and often narrower in scope (2015:9).

[22] Nixon, 2011, and Fassin, 2001 usefully disabuse exhibits of spectacular violence.

challenges us to examine how hunger became a category we "have used to reflect upon the world we inhabit" (2007:8).

Hunger only became known categorically in the last century (Vernon, 2007:3). Prior to that in Britain, hunger was seen as the fault of the poor, and their own concern. However, as Nutrition Science linked labour productivity and diet (see also Kamminga and Cunningham, 1995), hunger came to be seen as a problem that impeded the national project of modernisation. So, the link between poverty and diet was forged. Consequently, Vernon writes, the humanitarian discovery of hunger (largely at play in the 'colonial laboratory', including South Africa) showed that the poor were not at fault, and the structural underpinning of oppression came to view. At the same time, the poor were presented as passive, faceless victims (Vernon, 2007:33).

In a similar tradition to Vernon's, social historian Diana Wylie (2001) has conducted a social history of hunger and malnutrition in South Africa. She interrogates the oxymoronic expression "starving on a full stomach", made by an anonymous African man to state officials in South Africa who were investigating malnutrition in the 1930s. The 'malnutrition syndrome' was of concern mainly due to its ramifications for labour productivity in the African workforce and was in itself a form of cultural racism (Wylie, 2001:16, 163) making clear the link between the state's biopolitical regime and nutrition. Wylie shows how prescriptions, diagnoses, and treatments were ideologically embedded in discourses of colonialism and Apartheid, with specific cultural histories and impacts. The history of hunger matters because the 'malnutrition syndrome' in this country arose due to the designation of Bantustans and efforts to generate a labouring 'African' population – fit for work but not for thinking.

Wylie's (2001) social history of the malnutrition syndrome shows that evidence in science and medicine is politically and culturally shaped, and should consequently be approached with caution. Yates-Doerr (2015) takes up the new forms of such control in her work on obesity in Guatemala (2015). Yates-Doerr

and Carney's (2015) research reveals large disparities between women's practices of caring through food and biomedical models that focus on individual treatment. Framing their work in terms of alimentation, they call for a "demedicalization of health" that acknowledges the power of state systems (and as Cousins' (2014) work investigates – other nutritional interventions) to gain control over bodies. Following this (as well as the implication for population-wide interventions based on epigenetics and nutritional research) – then biomedicine starts to register as a form of state control. Recall that one impetus to administer intense care and optimise future health is to 'increase GDP'.

I take from Wylie (2001), Vernon (2007) and Cousins (2016) the impetus to investigate the social histories and present-day force of hunger as a concept and question. The discourse of food security, which often uses 'hunger' as a primary indicator is directed toward shaping national policy that might facilitate the realisation of the constitutional right to food. And yet, hunger remains a slippery concept. Its application and designation is insufficiently contested. Crude measurements and categories rely on and generate a link between poverty and hunger.[23] Whilst this has political importance, the discourse is shadowed by renderings of abjection, where the hungry are cast as victims – hunger 'matters forth', making hunger, poverty and abjection synonymous. In his excellent review of food security in South Africa, Even-Zahav points out that definitions of food security imply passivity, and do not allow for the agency of people as they engage in their own food systems (2014:11). This demands attention to the power relationships at play in research and representation as well as in the making of everyday lives. I thus asked the women at the fold-out table if we could talk about hunger.

All four women nodded. I asked what they thought hunger was – whether it was something any of them ever experienced? Jessica said that hunger was "not having something to eat." Yes, sometimes, she experienced it. Veronica said she did, too,

[23] Although the simplification of this correlation is acknowledged by the FAO (Even-Zahav, 2015:11).

especially when her father's construction work had ended without notice. "You just go to sleep", she said. "You just sleep, and you wait".

Jessica said:

"One get headaches from hunger. It's something everyone in our community has experienced.

But people scold about food too much: Food, and money are not important things,

It exhausts a person, it makes you just want to… disappear"

"What do you mean?", I asked.

"Ek eet nie daai tyd nie! I don't eat at that time!" She replied. And again: "Ek eet nie daai tyd nie! I don't eat at that time!"

The designation of 'hunger' is often tied to a lament that writes poverty as alien, dirty, undesirable (see Joubert, 2012 and Lappe et al., 2008). The 'hungry' are described as an amorphous mass of victims in general terms, the plight of hunger twinned with poverty and inscribed with pain. The 'hungry' are cast as victims, impoverished and vulnerable. But (materially) poor mothers are also charged with safeguarding their infants against malnutrition. Ziyanda Ndzendze (2012) has taken Adichie's (2009) framework of the 'danger of a single story' to show how rendering economically poor people in abject terms designates an 'Other' and does violence by focusing on lack. Poverty is again twinned with hunger, inscribed with pain. As Kruger (2014) notes, hunger is often linked to depression, and to shame. Indicators of emotional exhaustion were relayed by the women – the fact that hunger 'makes you want to disappear'.[24] Kruger argues that attention to the inner worlds of women is disguised by the 'slow violence of poverty' (taking from

[24] Both Jessica and Emmie were referred to what I hope was appropriate support – a social worker in one case, and access to psychological counseling in both.

Nixon, 2011), which reflects the lack of a psychological response to poverty, and the hidden ways in which violence that is unspectacular manifests in the body. However, she also makes it very clear that the simple formulation that poverty equals pain is itself a poor reduction. Real hope, joy, and pride are felt alongside despair and pain (2014:151).

A little later, after the last shreds of cheese had been nibbled and Jessica had cut and shared slices of cake, we began to talk about food diaries. I had planned to request that the women keep food diaries (see Zimmerman and Wieder, 1977) in order to detail their daily food intake and the sources of food. I handed out the diaries, and began to explain about the columns to fill in daily. The women started trying to recall what they had eaten, wondering out loud. Lydia's silence rang like a siren. She had been unusually quiet throughout. I asked her if she was ok? She looked at the small book, and the other two women making entries under what they ate yesterday (Tuesday). Lydia? Her voice cracked and with her double stream of tears came the words: "ek het Saterdag laas geëet. The last time I ate was Saturday". In the fraught pause that followed I calculated how many days that was – three. We were all in shock. Lydia was sobbing. I moved to comfort her. The others commiserated, expressing their shock and anger at Lydia's family. The hunger that had been spoken of in past tense and general terms came to the present. It was painful.

Even when hunger is acknowledged it is often phrased in terms that disguise its particular charge – hunger induces shame, people scold "too much" about food. In a world of 'too little' it is 'too much' that marks precariousness. Jessica explained that hunger was "always there", but never talked about. And yet I learned through this experience how deeply talk of hunger exposes intimate experience and runs the risk of compromising dignity. Further, Jessica had said that people scold about food too much – signaling a sense of social shame. The hunger the women described could not be measured quantitatively, and was inconsistent if not pernicious. Even in that context interlocutors sought to disguise hunger, talking around it, and projecting it as a general problem that *everyone* experienced. When hunger was named and acknowledged, it was clearly linked to shame, and guilt.

The impulse to describe ill-health as related to food access in terms of hunger not only disguises the threat of less visible malnutrition (such as obesity, and micronutrient deficiency) but compromises dignity by presenting people as passive victims, and otherwise in terms of a project of development and modernity. In such a view, those who do not adhere to food-based dietary guidelines, policy around breastfeeding, procedures for birth and so on, are cast as backward – out of time, antithetical to the project of modernity, and void, as Mbembe (2015:4) might say – of time. The representation of 'the hungry' as an impoverished 'other' thus poses an ethical problem, not least in terms of the production of texts, calls to mobilise, policy drafting – but also in the power relationships between researchers and interlocutors.

"In this day and age!" Intervening in the 'space between'

> "It is inconceivable how, in this day and age (!) a nurse can recommend Stony Ginger beer to a nursing mother as something that brings on milk".

This sentiment was expressed at the interdisciplinary workshop in January 2016 that I organised on the topic of nourishment in the 'first thousand days'. During my fieldwork two women explained that drinking ginger beer was a common practice, exemplifying another discrepancy between prescription and practice. The statement arose from a larger discussion on the forces that edit life. It resembles common conceptions which, in efforts to provide optimum healthcare, presume a stable, 'right', norm, albeit one directed toward health and well-being. Deviations from this norm suggest irresponsibility, irrationality, a lack of education, and/ or a lack of access that impedes 'knowing better'.

What becomes clear is that the discourses of food security, public health, nutrition and epigenetics each have an articulate language with which to express aims and criteria and gather and present evidence. Anthropology grapples with the 'space between'these disciplines, which largely look with wide lenses. It engages with

debates in science studies and other schools of social research that show how the 'hard' facts of science and fact (for example, that three days without food signals hunger) are taken as true, and 'soft' facts of hunger (the misery, the exhaustion, the shame) are relegated to a kind of abstraction. Hastrup (1993) writes that anthropologists avoid discourses of pain, hunger and suffering, used as they are to studying well-functioning social systems. She argues that the assumed 'softness' of anthropological studies is part of a social construction of 'soft' and 'hard' facts. This obsolete construction delegitimises anthropological attempts to write hunger and pain. Thus, asking how discourse produces indignity is not to abstract or diminish pain. Such an interrogation shows how social histories of nutrition, as made clear by Vernon (2007), explored in a context of state intervention in the body, and contextualised in contemporary regimes of producing a labouring body (Cousins, 2014) come to bear on everyday life.

Ethnographic attention is thus imperative for two reasons. Firstly, this attention highlights the paradoxical ways in which attempts to realise the constitutional rights to food, health and safety (and specifically safeguard futures) can simultaneously induce shame and infringe on the right to dignity. Discourse and policy can impose prescriptions of moral good without keeping track of the complex intricacies of alternative modes of care that mirror contexts, agency and desire.[25] This is exemplified in the choice to apply sugar to a baby's lips, fast-tracking exit from the "people-less hospital". Secondly, 'scientific' claims direct policy and hand down recommendations at a pace that far exceeds social research (Cousins, 2014). Cousins argues that the discourses of HIV/ AIDS and nutrition are intertwined in South Africa in complex ways: policymakers may overlook experience and affect, but this ignores the fact that affect is interpenetrated with politics and policies in significant ways (ibid).

[25] Povinelli (2011) would phrase this as a tension between autological constraint and genealogical society.

Both of these concerns can be traced back to language and the ways in which certain kinds of knowledge are valued in relation to each other. Ethnographic attention to the everyday thus helps track the moral antecedents to policy and modes of practice that seek to foresee nourishment in the first thousand days.[26] Helen Verran (2001) advocates for attention to modes of foregrounding and backgrounding, in order to unpack the creation of moral orders.

Anthropologists have taken an interest in causes for malnutrition, the intentionality of mothers, and power politics that influence and allow for malnutrition in certain contexts (Howard and Miller (1997), Scrimhshaw (1978), Cassidy (1982), Scheper-Hughes et al. (1998) and Scheper-Hughes (1992). However, research on the relationship between normative expectations of care within the family, strategies for nourishment and the links to dignity are dwarfed by the much-larger body of quantitative research on food security. This neglects the constellation of families and kin; the ways in which agency is exercised; historical and political factors; and thebody. I have focused so far on the impacts of biomedical prescriptions as they 'matter forth' in policy. The landscape of social norms (including and beyond the 'social determinants of health' explored in public health) require attention.

"Rather be late than…" moral community, gender, and respectability

While I opened the tins of mussels, Veronica told the others how I got the recipe for mussels and cheese from her mother, who had learnt it during a recent visit to her great-aunt. The snack was a talking point at the baptism party – it entailed "making your own" and was a "fancy, delicious combination" as one Antie said to me. Together Veronica and I regaled the others with the story of my faux pas in dressing for the church baptism. I had taken Veronica's insistence that I wear "anything, anything at all, ***really****" to church quite literally (in fact I considered it a hint not to*

[26] This is particularly clear in the literature on mothering, where responsibility is designated to mothers, often in spite of the structural forces that limit their choices and desires (see Majombozi, 2016; Waltz, 2013).

dress up), arriving in neat jeans and a non-collared shirt. As I stepped out of the car I was met by the half-laughing, half-appalled face of Veronica's aunt, standing in the door dressed to the nines. I sighed sheepishly and asked if I should go home and change? She nodded yes, holding her waist from laughing, "yes, yes, I think go and change - we'll save you a seat in the church. Ja. rather be late than be…"

The previous section has shown that discourses of food security and public health, risk threatening the dignity of society's poorest members, in an effort to index disparity and bring about nutrition-oriented interventions. This requires attention to the ordinary and everyday: a mode that uncovers the inextricable links between food and dignity. The context of insecure labour prospects (most workers were only able to get employment on farms during the harvest season) feeds into the arguments around decency/ respectability (*ordentlikheid*) that Ross describes as making "weighty demands" (2010:43) on people in her ethnography in nearby Die Bos in Cape Town (2010:103). Ross refers to people's coping strategies and modes of endurance, demarcating dexterity characterized by "skills in cultivating networks and reading social situations" (2010:133). Here, *ordentlikheid* is "the core cultural trope in expressing the desires, aspirations and hard work of working-class Coloured people in the Western Cape". Both Ross and Salo's (2004) work on this topic make clear the force of 'ordentlikheid' as social aspiration that inscribes normative ideas of parenthood, personhood, roles of care, expectations around work and gender. Because the designation of hunger is twinned with poverty, and enacts shame, we need to critically interrogate the impact of this discourse in everyday life. Writing everyday life means writing affect, the immanent forces that Stewart (2007) suggests are not recognised in terms such as neoliberalism, advanced capitalism and globalization (2007:1).[27]

[27] An emerging body of work on "affect/sensing/embodiment /everydayness of precarity/survival/raw life/ abandonment" (Allison, 2013:208) is recognised in such a view, and informs this research project, too (see Biehl (2005), Ross (2010), Jackson (2011), Das (1997) and Povinelli 2011).

According to Ross (2010:43) it is often seen as the woman's role to keep the house *ordentlik*, introducing a gendered aspect to notions of decency (also discussed by Salo, 2004). This requires attention to gendered labour – Veronica said that she left school to work for her mother. Salo's work on gendered aspects of decency draws attention to age and generation as they act out in the everyday (Salo, 2009:13), showing the need to look beyond the mother-child dyad to the larger set of relationships that inform notions of decency.

> Jessica then changed the tea table topic to 'school days'. Emmie was eighteen at the time, having left school at 16 after falling pregnant. She reminisced about high school, explaining that she left because "it isn't 'nice' for a schoolgirl to be pregnant". When I asked why, she said "people put you down. They criticise you. And I also feel… personally – it's not how you want to present yourself

By falling outside of the prescription of appropriate time and setting for pregnancy, Emmie was contravening the social norms that prescribed 'the right time'. These norms were reinforced at the school level, where exclusion was suggested in such cases (despite the fact that it is illegal to curtail a girl's education because of pregnancy); at the hospital where young mothers were punished for their presence (see Kruger and Schoombee, 2010); in her family (Emmie only told her mother well into her pregnancy out of fear of retribution) and in community and society where religious and moral values prescribe childbearing as appropriate only within matrimony. This all in spite of the evidence that Emmie's mother's generation prescribed to no such ideals in practice, a point to which I return in chapter three.

As discussed in the following chapters, moral community arises clearly in relation to the distribution of life and death. I use food and ingestion as entry points to understand the crafting of human life, taking from Van Daele's work that conceptualises food as "a machinic assemblage" (2013:84). Van Daele extends Levi-Strauss' seminal work that explores the expression of social life through the practice of cooking as process that tacks between 'raw' and 'cooked,' situating cooking as an allegory for life. In this process of assemblage, food becomes vested

with the dynamics of fragile life sustenance and relationality. As we ate mussels on cracker-beds and unpacked the many meanings of hunger, learning of the shame of not having eaten in three days, and the fear of being scolded about food, as well as the dextrous methods (or perhaps, recipes) of eluding hunger through sleeping at intervals throughout the day, the force of food as an assemblage that crafts life iss clear. As I detail in chapter six, the recipe of the crackers and mussels came from Veronica's mother, who learnt it at a cousin's house – a recipe, an assemblage of food, at once pays homage to inheritance, to consubstantiality, and to the creation of moral community where eating a delicate new design of snacks marks a kind of respectability. This homage builds relationships, sustains networks, and invites new extensions (or pointedly does not). Hunger (in the grammar that casts it as hollow and quantifiable) does not reckon recipes.

"I also need to eat; she drinks from my breasts" culpability and responsibilisation

Emmie got KFC when she was pregnant, she told us, from her boyfriend who worked at a fruit farm at the time. "Maar nou kry ek niks in die huis nie. Hy sê Leronica moet alles kry. Hy sê my tyd is om!" (Now I get nothing in the house – he says Leronica must get everything – he says my time is over!). "Ja, I know that thing, Emmie said - I also need to eat; she drinks from my breasts".

"It's not like when you're pregnant", Emmie said. Jessica agreed – "when you are pregnant, everyone knows you are hungry all the time, everyone says 'here: eat'...

But then after you give birth…your child makes you feel guilty. You feel like another person, like a bad mother. You can't do this and that for your child. Your child goes downhill! And they get sick, they get sick quicker. They just want to lie, lie, lie, lie".

"Yes", Veronica said, "like when my dad had no job. His contract was not supposed to end but he just never heard from them. Then Leronica's godmother - Ant Lycia – they

said I should never be ashamed to ask them for food, because I am with child. Because the child doesn't know, and the child can't help it. And they're so…over her.[28]

That's why I made Lycia Leronica's godmother. If Leronica has nothing to eat they will give anything that they are eating to her".

Molecular politics risks laying blame on mothers. The seminal 2008 *Lancet* series on maternal and infant health flags the risk of poor nutrition as determinative of life, in the present, into adulthood, and to subsequent generations (Black et al., 2008:2). There is presumably much at stake. According to Morgan, the toxic effect of stress in infants remains true irrespective whether or not it is the biological mother administering the stress, or in the reverse – the care (2013:4). However, interventions are still aimed at mothers, and as far as breastfeeding in South Africa goes, governmental recommendations for six months of exclusive breastfeeding lay the responsibility for infant health at mothers' feet. In spite of this burden, care was still withdrawn after pregnancy and directed at infants, often when women needed it most.

Acknowledging that nutritional epigenetics might shift blame to individual mothers, Landecker contends that nutritional epigenetics in fact "spreads the responsibility over many generations as well as between men and women, as epidemiological studies point to an important role of male nutrition in influencing epigenetic regulation in offspring" (2011:188). As shown by the designation of Lycia as godmother who would always provide for Leronica, it is clear that infant care was a social project. In spite of this, mothers felt guilty when they could not provide for their children, and suffered most when care was withdrawn after birth.

[28] The missing word is probably 'erg' – earnest – invested – intensely concerned, the silence in this utterance signals intensity.

The women described pregnancy as a season of abundance – a time where special efforts were made to care and provide food for them. "Everyone" gave them food, encouraged them to "eat, eat, eat". As mothers of children connected to webs of kin and community they were, for a limited time, the focus of intensified concern. Concerned others sacrificed or shared resources to cater for the growing foetuses, quickly relinquishing these special privileges after birth or breastfeeding and transferring them directly to the infants. These attentions mirror public health's intensive focus on mothers during periods of pregnancy in anticipation of future life that must be safeguarded at all costs. The responsibility for the wellbeing of infants is taken on beyond the mother-child dyad in this instance, but the withdrawal leaves mothers bereft. Thus the women's bodies become sites of optimisation (Adams et al. 2009) – the moral responsibility to secure the best possible futures for children is taken up by those who have an interest in the child's future.

"Things that last": precarious life, structural violence, and nourishment beyond nutrition

I asked what food they would buy if they had R400? Cans of food, things that last, they said. Maybe something nice - some KFC! "Yes, that's normal", said Jessica quickly, "to want something nice".

The peaks and troughs of everyday life made cans of food – things that last – desirable. This is because seasonal labour practices and joblessness impact income, making food hard to come by, which in turn impacts health. Jessica said of hunger that it makes you listless: "you just lie, lie, lie". Benach et al. (2014) review the effect of precarious employment as a determinant of health. Recent research and data (2014:230) proves that "precarious employment has negative cascading effects on work, housing quality, nutrition, the education of children, and social interactions" (Benach et al., 2014:244). These 'cascading effects' point to the need to talk to a wide reach of family and community members whose lives and health impact infants and pregnant women. Similarly, we need to ask the question about

how kinship is mobilised in the face of precarious livelihoods (see Parsons, 2010) as signaled by the designation of a godmother who had stable access to food, and the hardship when such networks wear thin – when people 'scold too much', and when food is withheld or inaccessible.

The case for prioritising nutrition in the 'first thousand days' is framed in terms of investment in the Lancet series that has directed infant policy globally (Black et al., 2008:2) the rewards of which will be reaped now and in the long term future. However, access to food was inconsistent, and depended on family income, relations, and in the case of the women – pregnancy. Due to a lack of stable income, each of them was unable to secure consistent food access, particularly during the winter months when access to food was precarious. "A word of the times" (Allison, 2013:6), precarity marks vulnerability, insecurity, unsteadiness. Initially a marker for the loss of large-scale secure labour (particularly for women), Standing frames 'the new precariat' as one that consists of both those who 'fall' into a state of insecurity and those who choose it – for various reasons that are shaped by alternatives (2011:59). Butler (2009) situates precarity as a key mode for understanding moral authority, and a way of unpacking the modes of power that make certain lives grievable, others not.[29] Precarity refers to maximised precariousness that is a "politically induced condition in which certain populations suffer from failing social and economic networks of support and become differentially exposed to injury, violence, and death" (Butler, 2009:25). This differential exposure returns the question of inheritance and responsibility to that of structural violence. At the start of the tea the women spoke about how developments were being considered that would further constrain Kylemore, and curtail their access to the valley behind. "They can't take our mountain", Veronica said. The quest for housing, and the possibility of losing access to the valley (a site of socialisation, and source of firewood and other natural resources) marks a legacy of structural violence perpetuated along racial lines and reflected in land ownership.

[29] (See also Davis (2012), Mbembe (2000) and Povinelli (2011) for more on dehumanization, the valuation of life, and abandonment beyond that discussed in Chapter four).

My work steps off from these studies. I understand precarity to reference uncertainty more broadly, particularly as it refers to income and directs nourishment in the matrix of care surrounding infants. For the women in the 'thousand days tea' group, and the partners of many of the Anties who had retired, labour was contingent on seasonal work – Emmie told us that it was precisely when between her father's last two building contracts they had to "sleep the hunger off" during the day. Suchinsecurity translates across domains of everyday life: "though it may start in one place, precarity soon slips into other dimensions of life" (Allison, 2013:6). Thus I ask how stability is sought, and track precariousness in relation to vulnerabilities viscerally surfaced by attention to food.

I have shown that precarious conditions hinder the ability to provide nutritional substance according to prescription. In the Dwars River Valley, as intensely in the Western Cape and in South Africa, alcohol abuse is a major consideration. Here, it is rooted in the 'dop (tot) system'. This system, that originated with the 'Trek Boer' or Afrikaner farming formation, systemised payment or partial-payment of workers in cheap alcohol in order to procure a governable workforce (Larkin, 2015). Thus structural violence – indexed by a lack of sufficient housing, diminishing land ownership, and an enduring dependence on alcohol (characterised by alarmingly high Foetal Alcohol Syndrome (FAS) rates (Schneider et al., 2007) – makes planning for food in the future hard. As Jessica said to me once when the soup kitchen, unexpectedly, did not open and she was left without a meal for the day: "Carina, sometimes you just worry about one meal at a time".

It is in this context of insecure income that Jessica quickly said that 'wanting KFC is normal'. Similarly, children who asked for suckers and chips were often given them – these were gestures of care, they offered comfort, and in some sense, social capital. As the Anties explained to me on the one occasion when I had 'thousand days tea' with them – "the sweet things have names, so people are going after the names" Names? I asked. "Labels. You know, things you get at the shops…but

they're cheap, and they're nice, you know?" KFC and sweets might not have the optimum nutrition – but they are form of nourishment – they satisfy desire – they signal that you want to spend money on your child, or pregnant partner, and they are quite simply, delicious.

Attending to the specificity of food and drink thus allows for further qualities enmeshed with food to come to the fore – the rituals, combinations, textures, and smells that arouse nostalgic feelings, a sense of occasion, comfort (or not). In a context where mothers are responsibilised with providing care, but hindered from performing the optimisation (Adams et al., 2009) of acting *now* to guard their infants' – and their own – futures), then food beyond biology takes on a crucial form of nourishment. This is not an original notion – in 1932 anthropologist Audrey Richards showed that symbolic, ritual, and personal significance of food can trump its nutritional value (Vernon, 2007: 114). At this time, scientific and rational nutrition (especially for labour forces in colonies) was seen as the apex of modernization and development (ibid). In matters of limited choice induced by precariousness, foregrounding taste is a crucial practice of nourishment.

Hunger, food, and sociality

Perhaps the centrality of food is above all in its social function. Good food, Mintz (1986:8) argues, is a social and not a biological question. The data in this chapter was born of our commensality. As Robertson Smith (whom Mintz touts as the 'real' father of food anthropology) argued: it is the actual physical act of eating together that creates fellowship (Mintz, 1986:4). Sharing in ordinary, everyday activities, especially food, traverses worlds, entangling them. This can be an intimate way to know others. Smoked mussels were precariously balanced atop mounds of cheese. Some escaped: the oily casualties were laughingly snapped up from laps, offered to the little ones. I remember this meal as an intimate embodied experience of sharing shot through with the smell of tinned mussels; the uncanny combination of sweet milky tea and fish on our tongues; the laughter as stories were told; the

soothing words; the fraught shock, the conspiratorial moments, and the comfort of taste.

We were not just eating – we were sharing, remembering, hoping, asking, and commiserating. These modalities of sociality and care were tied to the ritual of our tea, and our shared ingestion. The work of reckoning the social significance of food in terms of taste, desire, and mutuality further enmeshes 'environmental exposure' that epigenetic research minds within social and material worlds. This makes a case for considering care beyond that which is evidenced in material form, and prescribed by dietary guidelines and public health policy. In describing her work with Malay people Carsten writes: "Those who eat the same food together in one house also come to have blood in common, and this is one way in which to foster children and affines become connected to those with whom they live" (2004:129). This draws attention to the intimate experience of sharing food and the centrality of substance to notions of the body, kin, life and nourishment.

As Mintz writes, "hunger epitomises the relation between [a newborn's] dependence and the social universe of which it must become a part" (1986:4). Hunger and sociality are thus intrinsically connected – assuaging hunger is how we come into being with others. As signalled by Jessica's despair that people "scold too much about hunger," hunger is "a social as well as a nutritional crisis" (Hastrup, 1993:730). This work of tracking the entangled material, social and political influences as they act on the body and various social projects has been figured in anthropological modes via attention to food. One example is Mintz's seminal exploration of sweetness and power that links systems of capital gain, historical slavery and subjugation to bodies that reflect desire and tastes (1986). Further, Adapon argues that food has social agency, allowing for the cook as 'artist' to construct "social and spatio-temporal relations within both the family and community" (Vallianatos, 2008:115).

The impetus to focus on caregivers beyond the mother-infant dyad recognizes the inherently social nature of care. As DeVilliers' (2011) work shows, mothering can

be described as a three-generational process, with all the participants in her study (which was based in a demographically comparable research site to mine), making use of multiple care providers (most often female relatives) as well as family members, friends, and more formal institutions similar to the crèche where I spent time. Close attention to the constellations of care that exists within networks of kin and non-kin is required in order to track the various experiences of exposure that edit life and shape well-being. There are many modes of referencing sociality and intersubjectivity, including what Povinelli describes as "maximal embodied social relations", adding "what I sometimes think of as 'thick life' and noting that these make physically and psychologically healthy persons" (2006:45). The boundaries and limits of kinship (whether it is figured socio-culturally or biologically) must be contextualised in a place where child-rearing responsibilities are often shared across homes, families and other communal spaces such as the soup kitchen, crèche, playground and school.

To summarise, taste, desire and eating were socially shaped: Jessica described the hospital as having a poverty of people: *"It's family-less here, people–less here. It's not for me".* Methods of nourishment were often learned through recipes passed down generationally, and distributed in a network of nourishment.[30] Thus alienation from family was not conducive to nourishment. Passing on recipes in families and communities was shown to be a powerful kind of inheritance – binding people to place, garnering belonging (as contested as this was), forming and augmenting relationships. The social nature of nourishment (encapsulated in the commensality of our shared meal) thus exceeds the mother and child.

Towards nourishment

The grammar of 'hunger,' (embedded and naturalised in food security discourse) assumes a constant material form. It does so at the expense of validating alternate

[30] And its centrality in the formation of relationships beyond the nutritive substance foregrounded by Audrey Richards (1939); and the 'good breast and bad breast' – a view of relational formation discussed by Klein (1985).

forms of care, dynamic social and psychological influences, structural violence, taste, desire and formations of social networks wherein care arises. I have contextualised these within a larger discourse that presents ethical problems in Anthropology such as the framing of the subject and the power-relationships between researcher and researched. Responding to emerging challenges, Food Security studies are increasingly mindful of these complexities.[3132] This is signified by the emergence of the 'food systems' approach that allows for a shift in focus from macro to micro perspectives, or at least, attention to these details (see Even-Zahav, 2016). Similarly, Tomlinson and Landman (2007) have made a case for considering the wider context of nutrition in mother-infant nutrition – arguing that it is 'not just about food'.

It remains that the conceptual vocabulary surrounding hunger and the 'first thousand days' is ill-suited to traverse the multiple concerns (and disciplines) that came to the table we sat around. Further, these are inappropriate to those bracketed as 'hungry', 'food insecure' and/or within or central to imaginary of the 'first thousand days'. I thus turn to McLachlan (2011), who writes:

> The word 'nourishment', like nutrition, refers, quite simply, to 'providing with food or other substances necessary for life and growth' (The Free Dictionary, n.d.). It can also refer to fostering the development of something or someone, caring, or keeping alive. It has the same roots as nurture and cultivate. A feminine word, perhaps, and obviously connected to food. But we know we are also nourished by good books and stimulating conversations, by beautiful things, and challenging tasks done well. Nourishment is the opposite of depletion, extraction, withholding. It is a

[31] For example, the *Everyday African Urbanism Food lab* research project asks what social, environmental and psychological factors, in addition to resource constraints, hinder "a strategic approach to food purchases and consumption" (Methvin 2015:5).

[32] Pottier describes the anthropological importance of burrowing deeper than household level, and investigating intra-household relationships that exist around food in search of answers to the simple, but vital question: "how is food actually accessed in everyday life?" (1999:18).

> word that suggests fullness and sufficiency, rather than scarcity and want. It conjures up a rich, empowering, supportive, thriving system, whether it applies to what and how an individual eats, the development of a local food system, or the rethinking of the global food system. It draws its inspirations and images from nature, rather than machines, and so has real power as a source of new thinking about the food system. But it is not a soft word. It does not imply that economics is irrelevant, or that power and politics do not exist in the system. In fact, it is a term that 'raises the bar' for our evaluations of the food system, and demands of us that we find tools and indicators to measure the state of the food system not merely in terms of calories or financial outputs, but also in terms of human dignity, cultural diversity, social justice, and respect for the earth (Maxwell & Slater, 2004).

Towards nourishment: one meal at a time

Minding nourishment as a framework shields against a 'single story' that casts materially impoverished people as hungry, needy and abject victims without agency. Nourishment acknowledges the complex and inter-related concerns of multiple disciplines as well as individuals who show care in multiple and diverse ways. These everyday ways of showing care are not validated in approaches that focus solely on nutrition, and are crucial to preventing the allocation of blame, which often falls on mothers. While mothers take responsibility for nourishment, the affective forces of guilt instituted by precarious and circulating biomedical and social norms are exhausting.

We laid the table with colouring pens for infants, cheese, crackers, cans of mussels and paper plates. We made tea, passed around sugar, milk, teaspoons. There was a cake on the table, and a knife. I came with the question of hunger – a question loaded with assumptions, vagaries, and a social history that couples it with poverty, and in South Africa, state-sanctioned biopolitical control over labouring populations. My asking it elucidated shame, and shame was put on the table, too. Hunger was made general, and at the end, explicit, personal, and painful. Moral community was on the table as we laughed about church decorum, and spoke of

the flux of seasonal precarity – seasons of laboured work, and the season of pregnancy. The mountain was on the table – a mark of dispossession, a threat of further removal of resources. We were around the table, researcher, women, babies. A godmother who could secure food for an infant was named. It was a heavy table – the weight and complexity of it makes it imperative to ask after nourishment rather than hunger.

Three.

Ariel cake

Seven-month old Leronica's name was a fusion of Leroy, her 20 year-old father's and Veronica, her sixteen year old mother's names. After her baptism at the church one special Sunday, the table in the front room was carefully laid. An elevated, slightly tilted cake was placed in the centre of the table. An edible portrait of Disney's 'Little Mermaid' was printed onto the smooth sheet of white icing (at no small cost, it was whispered). Small bowls of sweets, nuts and chips were arranged in patterns on the embroidered white tablecloth.[33] *Antie Bertie from down the road surveyed the front room and offered to fetch some chintz to dress the window. This offer was taken up and Veronica's mother, Ant Jolene, came from the kitchen to comment on the grand effect. Extra chairs were borrowed from neighbours and arranged against the side walls. Another woman plucked flowers and greenery from her garden nextdoor and arranged them deftly in a vase. We all moved in and out of the door, making the food and place ready to host the party.*

Before the other guests arrived Veronica's mother dished up plates of hot food: delicately spiced chicken, rice, spinach and butternut. Some children ate off adults' plates while others were given plates piled as high as mine. We ate on our laps, the newly baptized Leronica leaning on her father's knee, fingering the butternut that he took care to keep from her pink and white frilled dress. Four children occupied a chair each. Adults were seated on the remainder. The first wave of guests arrived just before most of us had finished eating. The children remained seated. I assumed this was because they still had food on their plates. However, to my surprise, when they took their empty plates to the kitchen, their seats were left vacant for them to return to.

[33] Known as crisps in some countries – a snack food of deep fried thinly sliced potato with seasoning

Introduction: Cracking sensibilities of matter/time/place

This chapter ethnographically explores the landscape of norms in terms of brackets of time, place, person and substance. Biomedical and public health discourses and social norms mark appropriate brackets of time and place in which women should/should not do certain things so as to secure the best life for their infant, and also – particularly in terms of mothering – constitute themselves as morally good persons (see Gammeltoft, 2014, Majombozi, 2015, Mkhwanazi, 2014). I grew up in a home where young children whisked themselves up in the presence of elders, were expected to clear the table, wash up, and generally knew to stay out of adult conversation and plates. As noted by the use of chairs, a lack of hierarchical distinction based on the categories of childhood and 'grown-ups' signalled matter out of place in comparison to certain categorical distinctions of my own upbringing. This social rule relies on childhood as an age bracket distinct and inferior to the adult or grown-up person. The categorisation of childhood as distinct from adulthood is a modern, Western notion (James et al., 2002:37). As theories of childhood in anthropology have shown, this distinction denies a consideration of children as social actors, casting them as passive recipients of adult interactions (James et al., 2002, Ferreira, 1999, Fassin, 2011:179).

The landscape of norms I am concerned with includes both biomedical best practices and social norms. Both appear as sensibilities, and as we shall see, both responsibilise mothers. For example, infants should be breastfed exclusively for the first six months. Heightened care should be provided in the 'first thousand days'. Birth should take place in *hospital*. The appropriate time to conceive is in adulthood.[34] According to notions of respectability, conception should take place within the sanctioned union of marriage. Much of this discourse held currency in Kylemore. As I have already intimated and will develop further here, social norms of respectability are stringently governed. However, everyday nourishment and

[34] In South Africa a child is legally a child until age 18, and considered capable of consenting to sex at 16 (Mahery and Proudlock, 2011).

practices around conception and birth disrupt and trouble such matter/time/place sensibilities.

What does the friction between prescriptive norms and everyday realities reveal? In the first section of this chapter personhood is considered in the context of homes where gender relations and norms around kin reflect internalised hierarchies (Carsten, 2004:49). I describe the centrality of homes in belonging and social networks, which provide some measure of security in conditions of precariousness. Norms ply guilt and blame, arresting the validation of non-prescriptive modes of care, and affirming the mother-child dyad as the nexus of nourishment – a focus belied by the social practices of raising children in Kylemore. The second section details examples of tensions between normal and pathological, right and wrong in an effort to shift and trouble the line bifurcating the 'good' and 'bad' mother, 'good person' and 'bad person'. In the final section I show that in biomedical settings deviation from prescription is ordinarily recorded as non-adherence. Attention to everyday configurations of substance, affect and kinship shows the importance of recognising non-nutritional forms of nourishment.

Through the kitchen door: homes as generative sites of nourishment

"What goes on in houses necessarily does so in close juxtaposition. The house brings together spatial representations, everyday living, meals, cooking, and the sharing of resources with the often intimate relations of those who inhabit this shared space" (Carsten, 2004:35).

Veronica's mom Ant Jolene and I were preparing food in the kitchen. I was grating cheese while she arranged crackers and poured drinks for the stream of children who came in bearing empty cups. The door slammed in the wind. It wouldn't latch closed. Ant Jolene pointed at the crooked lock and laughingly told me that her husband built houses for other people "meanwhile my own door is broken". They had built the house themselves, later adding on the wooden houses at the back that earned them some extra income.

How are difference and similarity demarcated? According to Carsten (2004:82) it is this question that encompasses the broadest possible definition of kinship. When I entered Kylemore I drove past the high 'Tuscan' walls of Capola Varo, where workers trimmed the prim green hedges under the electric fence. Ant Joleen said I should save up to go and live in this high-walled estate of mainly 'white', middle-class residents who drive in and out through the remote-controlled security gate. It was a place for me, and not for them, she explained. In the hierarchies that notch belonging, long-term residency in Kylemore is signified in one instance by residence in, or more accurately ownership of, a formal house. These usually belong to "inwoners" – or residents (see also Du Plessis, 2009; Ross, 2010 and Waldman, 2003). None of the so-called inkommers (incomers) I knew owned property (barring those in Capola Varo, although they would unlikely fall into either category; they were rather cast as outsiders who happened to live 'inside'.)

With the ingestion of mussels and crackers in chapter two (a recipe I learnt, on this day, in this kitchen) I began to demonstrate that situatedness within a social network can assuage precariousness. I now show how such networks arise and are maintained, or not. Can these relationships be formed, through friendship, neighbourliness, reciprocity, church membership and so forth? Alternately – does structural inheritance – of a house, for example, or the inheritance of categorical status of belonging (such as incomer/ resident) that is considered as impermeable, prohibit the formation of networks? By providing a brief comparative survey of residency I show how central homes are to belonging.

I began my survey of houses with three women who were grandmothers. As it is normal to have children young (often known as the 'voorkind' which translates as the 'before' child) all the women I knew with grandchildren were between the age of 40 and 60. They were known as 'Anties'. In Afrikaans, Antie (or Ant), or more formally 'Tannie' and 'Oom' for uncle are not limited to the siblings of one's parents – they are common respectful terms for elders. I used this term when I

spoke with the women who worked at the soup kitchen. Let us begin with Ant Sara, the woman with resources and social dexterity enough to begin and maintain the soup kitchen. Her garden was immaculately kept, with rusted vintage ornaments of enamel and antique tools carefully displayed in her herb beds. Their yard was lined with protea bushes from which she plucked flowers as gifts (I was so lucky), and for her husband to sell along the roadside on Saturdays during protea season. Ant Sara's hospitable stoep was the site of many visits.[35] The gate always seemed to be open. It was impossible to sit there for more than 20 minutes without a conversation, greeting, or joke shared with a passerby or new visitor. This helped make the house's location central to her social position. She had a fridge in her kitchen, a front room adorned with framed photographs, decorations, and a wall suite with a television (one of two in the home), and comfortable sofas. Ant Sara secured her house along with her husband after they lost her grandmother's property – one of the first Kylemore houses – in a legal dispute. It was their house and they paid no rent. She also had room enough for three tenants at the back of her property.

Ant Bertie was a friend of Ant Sara's, and worked in the soup kitchen too. Her husband owned the house they lived in, of similar size and era, also with two tenants. They did not cultivate a garden. Ant Bertie did seasonal work, her husband had a job as a security guard at the time, and she took care of their four children, who ranged in age from 18 to 2. Her youngest, a son, was a 'surprise child', her eldest a talented cricket player who had won a bursary to a top-tier school in Johannesburg. They saved what money they could to contribute to their son's schooling, and to pay for his transport to and from home over holidays.

Ant Mandy's house was similar in size, with no garden, less decoration, and two tenants in the yard. Ant Mandy had a permanent job, and accommodated her sister there, too. She had amenities to cook with, and rented out her two back dwellings to her two sons, including Elvis, who lived there with Jessica and their two

[35] Veranda/ porch. A common feature of homes in South Africa, particularly rural ones, with a focus on sociality.

children. Ant Mandy also had a 'surprise child,' a six year old daughter born when Ant Mandy was 48, whom she said was her gift for her old age.

Ant Magda owned a yellow house of similar size and age. In the front room the walls were flanked with cabinets holding trophies, porcelain figures, certificates and so on. There were three tenanted neighbours who lived on the property. The house was kept scrupulously clean by Lydia, whose partner was Magda's son. The yard was lined with flowerbeds, and stones painted yellow to mark the footpath.

In Anti Jolene's front room, where we had the baptism party, the walls were lined with medals that Veronica's brother, a professional marathon runner, had won. The garden was established, their guard dog, Lion, kept within the yard. Ant Jolene's sister, Lina, who had lost her rental home when the CapoloaVaro property was bought up, lived with her three children, including Minie, in a wooden home at the back. The table in Appendix A shows this more clearly.

Veronica and Emmie, both of whom fell pregnant whilst in school, continued to live at home and in Veronica's case, she was beginning to operate in her mother's social networks. She was close with Leroy's mother and family who lived in nearby Groendal, too. Jessica lived with Elvis in a home behind Ant Mandy's, an arrangement I consider in detail in chapter five. Lydia, similarly to Jessica, was not a conventional 'inwoner'. She lived in Ant Magda's yellow house, and did not contribute rent officially, however, Magda (mostly) took control of her grant money and Lydia contributed to the household through cleaning labour.

When we spoke about food diaries (I spoke with women individually) and food availability more generally it became clear that women of the older generation such as Ant Jolene, Ant Bertie, Ant Sara, Ant Magda and Ant Mandy who were situated in their own homes had a higher, more secure income than the women who rented rooms or did not own their own property, like Lydia and Emmie, for a number of reasons. Firstly this is due to the fact that they could subdivide their

relatively large properties into numerous smaller tenements, earning monthly rent. Secondly, as the table in Appendix A shows, most of these women were married and had numerous children, some of whom contributed to the household income. Thirdly, women in established homes had the facilities conducive to running small businesses. For instance, Ant Sara's husband sold their proteas. They also had a large freezer in which they could keep fresh fish (mainly snoek) that a fisherman cousin supplied to their home-sale business. Veronica baked and sold biscuits and cakes to neighbours. Fourth, secure homes on privately owned property provided privacy, and comparative safety. For example, a crèche mother called Alice lived in a wooden house behind a formal house. She was so weary of the other renting residents that she would not let her young daughter wander alone out of view, and took two jobs as a cashier in order to earn income to pay for crèche. In comparison, if Veronica wanted to leave the house (for 'thousand day tea' for example), she could ask her Ant who lived at the back, her mother, or any one of the women who bustled to arrange flowers and set the table at the baptism. These women would keep an eye – the network of 'Anties' thus provided safety, too.

The houses of the 'Anties' I have described were places of pride – intimate social spaces into which I was invited, where I grated cheese, ate fruit from Ant Sara's famous bottomless fruit bowl, smelled Ant Mandy's curry and watched television with Ant Bertie. Veronica's residence in an established house with neighbours who could be invited to the front room highlights the link between place-making and social capital. She (and her family) could thicken networks of care that were integral in helping her to secure support for her child. Neighbourliness was exemplified by the bringing of flowers and cloth for curtains at the baptism, at least partly enabled by positionality in such a house where a pleasing aesthetic could be created.

The capacity that a home that is pride-of-place has to thicken networks was exemplified by Veronica's designation of Ant Licia as godmother. Ant Licia had a stable income and was well-connected to the soup kitchen and other sources of

food distribution. She visited Veronica's home regularly, and came in to share recipes for trifle with Ant Jolene and I as we prepared the mussels and crackers and plates of hot food. Even if Veronica had no food for herself, Licia promised always to see that her baby Leronica, her godchild, had something. Further – being named a godparent was a form of social prestige above and beyond the mark of closeness between family and friends. Similarly, Leroy had a job as a shelf-packer, and contributed to his daughter's expenses, but lived in nearby Groendal and had no transport. His uncle, who owned a car, saw to it that Leroy visited his child and girlfriend at least once every two weeks.

Comparatively, Lydia and Jessica were, by virtue of Jessica's temporary housing and Lydia's lack of claim to belonging (chosen or dispensed) less able to welcome guests, and thus, forge thick networks. I was not invited into any informal homes such as Jessica and Elvis's. They had fewer amenities, less income.

This is not to say, in any terms, that homes with beautiful exteriors indicated security or affluence. Ant Bertie, for instance, had been unable to purchase food for her family and save for her son's schooling before she joined the soup kitchen. Only when that provided three meals a week for her family, could she afford to save money in order to provide transport home for her son more than once a year. In spite of the centrality of homes as structures that might enable social and capital gain, these were in no cases secure or uniformly comfortable – Ant Jolene's kitchen door remained broken for months. One such threat to social security has already been noted in chapter two where Veronica described periods of hunger due to the seasonal fluctuations in labour demand that left her father jobless for a period. Thus, precariousness weaves itself into homes that look beautiful and solid. At such times, the networks that were established previously served to insulate one from the effects of temporary privation.

This small sample does not conclusively constitute evidence that correlates home ownership or permanent residence with improved social networks and the means to procure capital. However, it does map the trends that are likely related to home

ownership and the formations of labour within them. Irrespective of whether the house or concomitant respectability comes first, proximity stems from location – difference is etched, nourishment shaped.

Homes are central sites for fostering social networks, and help enable the procurement of capital. In both these actions, food is central. At this baptism a much-lauded cake was the centrepiece, a new recipe for mussels introduced and the commensality of the table was a site of sharing and nourishment – an investment of social capital in Leronica's future. The very house, as well as its amenities, enabled nourishment by virtue of stove, refrigerator and ample space in which biscuits could be baked, food cooked, and the baptism party of a child hosted. Thus, the inheritance of materials such as homes (often linked to long-term residence and 'residence' status, as exemplified in the table in Appendix A) makes forging networks easier. This does not mean that all friendships or intimacies are formed with securing nourishment in mind – but rather, that value often circulates according to notions of established belonging. This does not disqualify precariousness from households with large yards. Ant Jolene's kitchen door remained broken, but there was a kitchen to cook meals for a party in, there were neighbours willing to furnish the lounge with their greenery, and there was cake – a fancy cake – on the table.

"Le-ron-ICA!": beyond the mother-child dyad

I am seated in the back pew of the church, having slipped in slightly late in my refreshed, smarter attire. Everyone is in their Sunday best. The pastor preaches. He talks to the parents directly – says that he expects them to rear their children in God's ways. But the main punch of the sermon is reserved for the godparents, and the visitors and well-wishers attending for the occasion of the baptism. He reminds us all that a community raises a child, and that to best raise a child, everyone here – ***especially*** *the occasional attendees – need to attend church every Sunday. He says everyone is* ***welcome****, every Sunday. Everyone, everyone, he says. No matter what you are wearing, no matter your sins, you are welcome in the house of the Lord. Later, as he is dousing water onto the brow of Veronica and Leroy's little girl, he says*

her name, but pronounces it incorrectly, so that it sounds like the more common Leronique. Leroy loudly interrupts him – Le-ron-ICA, he says. The pastor repeats until he gets it right.

Personhood can be understood as "what it means to be a social agent in different historical and cultural contexts" (Strathern, 1997 in Carsten, 2004:84). This section examines personhood in two registers. Firstly, by considering personhood as social becoming that exceeds the mother-child dyad. Second, personhood is discussed in terms of the agency and choices made by children and infants. Rather than simply being passive recipients of adults of care, I show that children, too, foresee nourishment. In order to examine personhood as social becoming let us consider three points about birth and sociality.

Firstly, "we are born into a network of hands" (Butler, 2009:14) – vulnerable and socially dependent on others from the outset (arguably, from conception, or before the moment of birth). Secondly, epigenetic research reveals that experience translates as exposure; environment is enfleshed, showing that inheritance (politically and socially constituted) is animated in the body (Ramirez-Goicoechea, 2013). Inheritance has many shapes. One form is affective - recipes of care, often passed on from mothers and other older women, nodes of relationality – status, reputation and so forth, as well as habits and practice. There is also the inheritance of material things – homes, cars, tools of mobility. Finally, there is the inheritance marked in the passing of genetic substance and 'environmental exposure' – that is, both the chromosomes that colour eyes and texture hair, as well as the marks on genes that epigenetic research tells us are impressionable and inheritable. This form, we now know, enfolds both prior ones, each of which is socially dependent.

Thirdly, Strathern's (1988) Melanesian research was a major part of an anthropological critique against assumptions that personhood could be considered in terms of individuals – it is often more appropriately expressed in terms of 'dividuals' (Niehaus, 2002). Strathern shows that individuals are

foremost understood as composite people – interactions between people entail considering the perspective of the other – a perspective that is inherent in a person (1988:271). Niehaus (2002) argues that dichotomising these perspectives (where individuality is perceived as 'Western') is problematic. His research in Bushbuckrdige, South Africa shows that contemporary notions of dividual personhood remain significant (ibid).

These points demonstrate three ways in which infants can be understood as multiply, socially constituted. Fieldwork data revealed more such ways: Leronica's name combines her mother and father's, the newborn we met in chapter one was not wholesale named for his father, only the first letter of his name was considered. Ant Magda, who we meet in the following chapter, refused to let her grandchild be adopted: "that is MY grandson", she said. In the previous chapter we saw that women experienced pregnancy as a season of abundance – they were given food and encouraged to eat. Finally, the pastor above charged the whole congregation and community with raising the children.

However, the 'social network of hands' is largely exempt from the responsibility that the discourse surrounding the 'first thousand days' is charged with. Fathers, grandmothers, friends, the Anties whose interactions edit the life of the child are not charged with "eating for two," although they provided food for the child (ostensibly) in utero. The withdrawal of food after the season of abundance of pregnancy left women under-resourced and responsibilised. When they were unable to provide food, they felt guilty; when certain kinds of food were provided by certain kinds of people (the altruism of the soup kitchen), they were expected to show gratitude but felt humiliation. What I am proposing is that the focus on the mother-child dyad in both modes of governance and social norms (that dictate what it means to be a 'good mother' and thus moral person) is disproportionate to the community of people who nourish, sustain, bring about and edit life.

The focus on the mother–infant dyad rests on an assumed 'nuclear norm' of families with co-residing parents and their children. However, this picture reflects

only a third of South African households (Budlender and Lund, 2011:926). Many mothers have children with different fathers and outside of marriage, as was clear here this was common across generations, many of whom lived together. One fifth of surveyed households in South Africa in 2005 had more than three generations living in the same home (ibid). The inherently social nature of care thus requires attention beyond the mother-child dyad. Kleinman (2012) writes that caregiving is the central charge of biomedical practice and is not restricted to the mother. DeVilliers' (2011) work in the same valley describes mothering as a three-generational process – marking a focus on the mother child-dyad as a risk in terms of neglecting other significant carers. Tomlinson and Landman (2007) similarly advocate for care to be considered beyond the mother-child dyad.

Kleinman (2007) describes Scheper-Hughes work that situates practices that may be considered 'bad mothering' should a universal ethical standard be applied. He invites, along with Scheper-Hughes, a context that recognises "the ways in which social and subjective interpenetrate – that is, how the mothers' pity and indifference are patterned by the economy in which they live" (2007:63). This attention allows for a universal ethical standard of 'good mothering' to be considered within a specific context. Budlender and Lund (2011) show how Apartheid destroyed family life, and how enduring characteristics of this state-sanctioned oppression has tasked women today with the responsibility to both provide income and act as caregivers, the latter being challenging considering high unemployment and limited opportunities. The context of precariousness is critical to the question of responsibilising mothers, and communities of care. I have described how precariousness touched those in houses both formal and informal. In relation to the residents of Stellenbosch nearby, Kylemore's inhabitants whom I worked with were differentially exposed to structural violence – (following Butler's (2009) conceptualisation of precarity).

Ramirez-Goicoechea writes that "political, economic, ideological, historical and biographical factors are embodied by pregnant mothers" (2013:81). Since we are all, in epigenetic terms, repositories of such inheritance, there is much at stake in

the present, which enfolds future lives. This raises ethical and political questions. However, Ramirez-Goicoechea makes the argument that the multi-faceted nature of inheritance – its politically constituted modalities, the complexity of sociality – makes the responsibility to future life *collective* (ibid).

"She cries if she sees us eating": Conceptualising children with choice

In this section assumed/ implied categories of 'person' invoked by legal and biological frameworks are examined in relation to practice. The 'first thousand days of life' marks the moment of conception and the following thousand days as a time of acute vulnerability. Undoubtedly, infants are dependent on their carers, but to what extent do they constitute persons? Aware of the recommendation that breastfeeding be exclusive for the first six months, I asked all women when they introduced solid foods. Not one waited until six months. It was repeatedly explained that children desired solid foods: "she just takes it from my plate" said Jessica. "She cries if she sees us eating," said Emmie. Thus, feeding infants solid foods was expressed as a way of acknowledging and respecting their choice. This accommodation was not only expressed in relation to food. Ant Jolene told me that her son expressed a liking for one breast, and she pumped the other in order to accommodate his choice. Children were noted as agents whose desires should be accommodated.

Another register in which infants were treated as categorically equal to adults was through language. I heard not a murmur of baby talk in Kylemore, not in homes or at the crèche. In fact, when I 'babied' a baby I was told off for doing so. A teacher at the crèche explained: if you didn't talk to children in your language, how could you expect them to talk to you? "Dis hoe hulle leer oor die lewe" she said. "That is how they learn about life". The lack of expectation that children give up their chairs to elders might signal an extension of this logic – children were socialised into adulthood on a footing more equal (in some registers) to adulthood than what I experienced growing up.

This conception of infants as social agents is at odds with pictures of wholesale vulnerability. Examples of sharing with children and negotiating with them on their own terms, even in infancy, suggests an ethic of care premised on the notion that 'what is good for me is good for you'. One modality of good parenting was exemplified by the expression "everything I have, I give to my child". This transfer recognises children as agents and presents an ethical conviction to accommodate a child in the same terms one provides for oneself, extended in language and the sharing of food. At the same time there is a differentiation and hierarchy in that there is not sharing between adults – most often (as I saw) children are favoured.

Carsten writes that "notions of the person draw upon procreation beliefs, the implications of being close kin, ideas about the body, and the spiritual and moral aspects of self" (2004:84). In this section it has been shown that the biomedical prescription for good feeding practice prescribes exclusive breastfeeding for six months. 'Good' parenting as I understood from fieldwork included responsiveness to infants who expressed desire, had agency, and acted as social agents. This included an imperative to share one's own food with an infant, and talk in the same language register used with peers. Ordinary modes of care and socialisation marked good mothering – baptising one's child in church, a party some time after birth where you 'drink the baby's piss' (beer or wine, that is); smearing icing from your cake onto your baby's lips. These are expressions of care, these are forms of nourishment that constitute good parenting. But there are categorical limits to parenting, too.

I was constantly told that children are best had within marriage, and in adulthood. Biomedical literature suggests that women should ideally not conceive after the age of 35 (this is conceived of in terms of 'wrong aged motherhood' Jarvie et al., 2015); certainly not at 48, as Ant Mandy did. In spite of these recommendations, (the prescription to wait for marriage or at least adulthood is reified in legal, biomedical and social terms and norms), 13.8% of births registered in 2014 were by mothers between 35 and 54 years old, and 13% between 15 and 19 years old (Statistics South Africa, 2014:11).

As Veronica graduated to motherhood her place in the schema of the home shifted: she told me that she became friends with older women, many of whom attended the baptism and advised her on child-care. She secured a bed in the house, contributed to the everyday domestic routine, and contributed any personal income from seasonal work towards the communal income of the house. Just as categories of 'child' and 'infant' refute legal or normalised categories, the notion of 'adulthood' as occurring when childhood ceases at 18 years is problematised by this example.

While Veronica's pregnancy was 'out-of-time' due to her young age ("it isn't nice for a schoolgirl to be pregnant," Emmie had said), and cast a mark on her moral stature and social acceptability, she could still to maintain networks of care. Attendance at confirmation classes along with her boyfriend culminated in a baptism that strengthened her child's access to food in seasons of heightened precariousness and served as an auspicious occasion complete with window dressings and a generous spread of tasty food. During the church service the parents were given a laminated certificate to mark the occasion, with the godparents' names clearly marked. The pastor, however, encouraged church attendance as habit, not a special occasion. During his sermon I realised why Veronica had originally said I could wear 'anything – anything at all' to church. She was repeating the pastor's invitation. He was attempting to make the church welcoming to people who did not have the wardrobe to participate in the parade of Sunday best that unfolded on Kylemore's streets on Sunday morning (one would see hats so grand and tall they would not be lost at the most prestigious of horse races). The pastor's attempt to depart with conventional notions of respectability was evidently being ignored – I was essentially sent home to change my attire so as to look the part – so as to better belong. Again, establishing networks at church required material capital, in this case, a fitting wardrobe.

As Leronica's baptism party drew to a close, Ant Bertie, Ant Lin (from down the road), Ant Sandra's 14 year old daughter, Minie, and I sat around on the stoep,

listening to the Sunday afternoon show on the radio. Ant Bertie reminded me that if I had only lived in Capola Varo I could just walk home in two minutes (she liked to tease me as she knew I didn't want to live there). When I shook my head, laughing, Ant Lin agreed with me that it would be a terrible idea… "because who would you live with?" she asked. I told Ant Lin that I liked living alone, or maybe with my sister and a friend or so. Minie turned to me just then: "you don't have a mother? Where's your mother?" she asked. "I do have one, " I said, "she just lives far away". "Ag, shame", Mini responded, patting my leg, "so that's why you don't have any children?" Mini's pity marked something of the privilege of having a child. I learnt thus that having a mother was sometimes considered more important for parenting than having an intimate partner, and that not having a child was itself an expression of fundamental lack. This is the one gift that precarious contexts, moral prescriptions, structural violence, and meagre networks cannot rob a person of.

Substance and strength

The previous section has detailed practice 'out of place' in accordance with understandings of what constitutes personhood and agency. This section considers ways in which strength is imbued by application and ingestion of substance and medicines, revealing forms of care that are not always nutritional, but reflect inherited wisdom and desire strength for children. I use the term substance broadly to describe materials plied in expressions of nourishment not broadly indexed as 'food' or 'medicine' that are nevertheless seminal to growth and care.[36]

Multiple conversations revealed that strength is marked in infants who take solids quickly, and that mothers can bring on certain strengths and the appropriate volumes of breast milk depending on what they ingest. Fanta Orange, however, causes jaundice, as Ant Jolene told me. Coffee gave Jessica strength during

[36] Acknowledging Carsten's arguments that this cooption of the term to express multiple flows, substitutions and mutability suggests a poor analytic vocabulary in kinship (2004:133).

pregnancy, she said. Veronica drank Stony Gingerbeer, (an anachronistic belief according to many in South Africa, according to my workshop attendee), which she said 'brought on plenty of breast milk'.

But strength was not only transferred via food. Within the first week of birth, camphor oil and 'rooi lavental' were customarily combined and rubbed between hands of mothers, or one of three women well known for performing 'die smeer': the rub (or smear). This mixture was massaged onto babies shortly after birth. Jessica told me that you could tell a person who was not 'smeered' as a baby: they had weak, knobbly knees. Smeering helps for posture, and women had different techniques – Jolene explained that you 'smeer' boys and girls differently, showing me the diagonal and horizontal strokes appropriate in each case. Pregnant women were also 'rubbed' in order to rectify breaches, correct posture, and provide comfort.

The 'smeer' constitutes a process that augments life. Similarly, Sara and her friend Licia told me over soup kitchen chores about methods to use 'fleingrassie' (a kind of wild-growing herb) and 'alwyne' (aloes) to remedy runny tummies, and gripe water in matters of other illness. They complained that younger women "run to the doctors" too quickly. Good mothers, they told me, learned and plied these methods (or recipes) of care.

I list these efforts to imbue strength not just by means of ontological comparison. As explained in chapter one, nourishment takes a cue from both Rushdie (1995) whose injunction to 'swallow the world' offers a metaphorical handle with which to think of circulating life-forces, and from the epigenetic literature which suggests that psychological forces and 'experience' are embodied, editing life. Deviations from this norm suggest irresponsibility, irrationality, a lack of education, and/ or a lack of access that impedes "knowing better". There is an assumption that taking inherited wisdom seriously, when it comes to caring for infants marks a 'backwardness' – not of 'this day and age'. This is problematic in terms of creating and perpetuating a hierarchy of knowledge, sedimenting a crisp

ontological polarity that makes clear who the 'the other' is, and validating nutritional forms of care at the expense of non-nutritional modes of imbuing strength (see also Cousins, 2014) and goodness. These should be taken seriously irrespective of context, but in the precarious conditions I have described, mothers did their best to nourish their children irrespective of skewed inheritance of the structural kind.

Conclusion: Eating Ariel Cake

Ingestion edits life. Bodily transformation, as Carsten (2004:81) writes, entails social obligations. This demands attention to the formation of personhood, considered here in terms of homes that enable hospitality; sharing of substances; and the constitution of people as moral beings. It has been shown that normative social notions of the 'right time' are internalised, and ideas of 'good care' are passed on, carried through generations, and plied outside of the mother-child dyad. I compared everyday sensibilities around time/place/matter to biomedical, religious and legal/ political discourse that delineate appropriate ages for certain practices. These discourses mark appropriate times for love and sex; providing certain practices of care and substance; and conceiving children, none of which were patterned consistently in the everyday social schemata and across generations that I encountered in Kylemore. The agency of children and the ways in which their choices were considered, referenced an ethic of care premised on bequeathing equal rights to infants and adults. This blurs the distinction between categories of age that infer vulnerability and dependency on infants, and disrespectability on pregnant teenage women.

We did not eat the cake at the party – it was a cake for show, a mark of the occasion, conspicuous and precious. It was an *Ariel Cake* - a reference to a classic Disney film and story book – a coming of age story, incidentally centred on romantic love that transgresses radically different worlds.[37] I have drawn heavily on Carsten (2004)

[37] Alas – it is the woman-character who must literally change her shape, forego her family and world to realise Disney's projection of romantic love.

throughout this thesis as her work offers an excellent case for a return to kinship in anthropology and situates the complexities of difference and belonging that kinship helps us think with. Her examples rely on accounts of apparently discrete cultures with seemingly established rituals and practices of kinship. A Disney themed cake at a baptism signals a source of norms beyond the biomedical and social norms I have described. In homes (where Carsten (2004:49) argues children internalise distinction and hierarchies), televisions and cereal boxes depict mothers who care for their children in a gendered discourse of 'good mothering'. This is so explicit and determinate that it is unthinkable to imagine an advertisement for a cleaning product or 'family' breakfast cereal that is not focused on the mother as the central (and responsible) care provider. While a media analysis has not formed part of this research project, it is clearly central in terms of perpetuating and creating a landscape of norms in which 'good mothers' and 'good parents' are foremost 'good' consumers. More research is required to investigate how consumer messages play out in homes and thus on nourishment. As Carsten acknowledges – "it is harder to challenge what has never been said" (2004:49).

Chapter four.

Cadbury's Fruit and Nut chocolate

One sunny day I stood next to Lydia while she hung up laundry on the fence bordering Ant Magda's yellow house, where she lived, whose laundry she was doing, whose son Jannie was the father of Lydia's children. I jiggled Lydia's daughter, Sara, nearly one, around on my hips. Freddie, Lydia's slightly elder son (who was nearly 5 years old), played on his fondly named 'jumping castle' - a worn-out mattress on a spring base. Suddenly, Eric, (Jannie's teenage brother) entered the gate, sprinted across the yellow footpath, and ducked into the house. Within minutes he ducked out again, sprinting past us and up the street. Lydia dropped her laundry basket, ran into the house with a shout: 'hey!'. She returned perplexed. She said that she knew it, she just knew it – Eric had found and stolen the money she had hidden. She would never see the money again. She could tell his mother – but Ant Magda would not believe nor reimburse her. Besides, she said, the money was spent on tik (a cheap and widely used form of crystal methionine) already – *it was gone.*

As we settled back into the laundry and chatted, Lydia spoke of the strain it caused her that she could not afford to give her children all the things they needed. She wanted to give them proper food, and send Freddie to crèche so that he could begin to learn with others before going to school. The money that Eric had just stolen was meant for formula for Sara.

Half an hour later, Ant Magda came home from work, greeted us, and sat down on a ledge of jutting concrete. She took from her handbag a slab of Cadbury's Fruit and Nut chocolate, and called Freddie over from his castle. She broke off three blocks which she handed to him as he leaned against her knee, slipped a cube into her own mouth, folded the wrapper over, and went inside.

Introduction: inserting chocolate between 'good' and 'bad'; ego and nutrition

This chapter explores modes of dependency and relationality in the shared space of that yellow house, and centres food and taste in thinking the contested question of socialising infants. Both Magda and Lydia considered themselves as mother of the two children. In chapter two we learned that Lydia, had, on the occasion of our 'first thousand days' tea in October, not had anything to eat in three days. Here, three blocks of chocolate were given to her son. As we women sat around the table laden with mussels, crackers and tea things, we commiserated with Lydia, and Ant Magda was described as 'verskriklik' – terrible, bad. This judgement arose in response to a singular dramatic incident – three days without food. This chapter troubles the allocation of 'good' and 'bad' in the space between biomedicine and ethics, networks and abandonment, ego and nutrition.

In the next section I open up the conversation that circumscribed these two women in terms of contested notions of the site of a child's sociality, and describe the modalities of dependence at play in the household. These are tied to diagnoses of mental illness. I then describe Biehl's (2005) work that argues that diagnoses often leverage abandonment, which I put into conversation with Das (2015) who disputes such mechanistic allotment of 'good' and 'bad'. Taking from Harbers, Mol and Stollmeyer (2002) an ethics of care approach, I add another analytic layer that foregrounds the socio-materiality of food. Through an ethnographic exploration of networks, this chapter thus seeks an understanding of "interpersonal relations spread out over time" (Harbers et al., 2002:209). Both biomedicine and ethics avoid taste – the socio-materiality of food, focusing instead on nutrition in the latter, and utility and political and personal will in the former. Both of these instrumentalist perspectives are blind to texture, desire, scent, memory and sociality. They do not heed chocolate on the tongue, or as I shall show, snoek bones between new teeth.[38]

[38] Snoek is an oily fish found in various seas of the southern hemisphere, and very popular in the Cape.

Caregivers and food: contestations around the breast

This question of dependence and mothering presents a set of contestations that dispute the seminal site of an infant's socialisation. In this yellow yard, two women with varying resources sought be understood as *the* mother of the two children. Richards (1939) and Klein (1985) both present a notion of what constitutes the foremost anchor of relationality that is centred on the breast. Food and 'nutritive substance' is, Richards argues (and Mintz, 1986 affirms) the central site. In opposition to Richards, Klein contends that the breast is the site of ego formation (1985) – it is ego formation (based on suckling) that is the foremost site of sociality. Neither of these suffices in this context. Lydia was HIV positive and was advised not to breastfeed Freddie, her first child, who was born prior to the Tswane Declaration of 2011. Before the declaration, mothers who were HIV positive were encouraged to use formula in order to prevent HIV transmission from mother to child. The Tswane Declaration called for a radical shift in policy due to research showing that formula use in fact increased the risk of transmission (South African Journal of Clinical Nutrition, 2011). Lydia was not convinced. Although the recommendation had been reversed by the time of Sara's birth, she was suspicious of the reverse in policy. She had been disciplined at the clinic when Freddie was born – and told that to breastfeed her child was to bestow a death wish. Rather than risk being dubbed a 'bad mother,' as was the threat prior to the policy shift, and rather than risk transferring HIV to Sara, Lydia opted to use formula.

The assumption that it is the breast where the new self and seminal social bond is located sidelines the complex networks of nourishment into which Freddie and Sara were born. Between these contestations lies a space for critical questions that bear on the sharing of bodily fluid and space; the place of food, nurture and relationship within those shared spaces; and an interrogation of how food comes to be part of the child's relationship(s) with its caregivers and the world (or doesn't).

Lydia could not (legally) earn her own income through work due to a diagnosis of intellectual disability, for which she received a monthly government disability grant. She depended on Ant Magda for food, for both her and her children, and if this failed, she looked to friends who stayed as tenants at the back of the property for help. One woman who worked as a domestic worker would bring food from her employer for Lydia. Ant Magda saw herself as the mother of Lydia's children, and since she largely controlled her income, limited Lydia's ability to nourish her children with food. It was Ant Magda who sought the diagnosis from authorities, and as a result she took charge of the money. This constellation of factors resembles those described by Joao Biehl (2004) in his work on the intersections between psychopharmaceuticals, domestic economies and social abandonment. Biehl argues that family members use psychiatric diagnoses to "assess human value and to mediate the disposal of persons considered unproductive or unsound" (2004:475). Biehl describes how family members leverage diagnoses of madness in order to justify exclusion and abandonment. At first glance (similarly to Lydia's revelation of hunger described in the previous chapter), Ant Magda's apparent control over Lydia's income, labour, and children might appear to signal such a mediation. A very 'bad' action.

Veena Das disagrees that a diagnosis of madness mechanistically produces abandonment (2015:84). Instead, Das tracks assemblages of relations along an illness trajectory that includes the failure of the state and medical institutions; family politics that devalue non-productive members; and the 'lure of the modern'. While a singularity "relates to certain conditions of possibility", (2015:84) Das does not think that these conditions "mechanically produce any one kind of outcome (e.g. Abandonment)" (ibid). I follow Das' method of tracking webbed relationality, so forwarding a project of nourishment. This defies cause-and-effect models (diagnosis + deliverance = abandonment) that prescribe care void of the attendant assemblage of relations. Further, we need to understand this expression of hunger in relation to care over time, which I have shown is critical in precarious contexts, and pivotal to a project of nourishment. I thus add another layer to this analysis by foregrounding food and flavour to help consider ethical allocations in

relation to time, following Harbers, Mol and Stollmeyer's (2002) "ethics of care" approach.

I selected the chapter title (which may well have been snoek, as we shall see) because it registers Ant Magda's comparative power: she had the material resources to offer this luxury food to little Freddie. However, chocolate can signal care beyond 'good' and 'bad'. Its taste, the ceremonial consumption of this sweet treat, offers a place to think critically the ethics around care. I take this from Harbers et al.'s (2002) paper that calls for the consideration of the socio-materiality of food. It begins with chocolate, too. The authors focus on food as practice. Rather than generalize broadly about food, they refer to daily care as demonstrated in a particular example. This emphasises the power of considering the materiality of food as indistinct from what has historically been studied as 'nature' – the business of sciences outside the humanities. Taste is central to their argument that transgresses nature/ culture boundaries, and is helpful in problematizing deterministic allocations of 'good.' It is the question of what constitutes good, they argue, that locks biomedicine and ethics into distinct spheres. By giving ethnographic attention to the routines of eating and drinking in a Dutch nursing home, they tend to public discourses that arose after an accusation of murder was directed at a nursing home that accommodated a demented patient's refusal of food, resulting in that patient's death. Harbers et al. (2002) explain that the public debate posed ethical and biomedical discourses in opposition. They argue that both the ethical concerns with will and agency, and those of biomedicine (couched in language of nature, disease, and death) are seen to be the only concerns at play in the deadlocked binary. This obscures a third alternative: that of care.

These authors understand care in terms of *intersubjective relations dispersed in time*, rather than as being measurable in dramatic expressions of will or the endurance of fate (2002:209). When Lydia said that she had not been given food for three days a fixed moment of crisis came into view. Harbers et al. (2002) refrain from isolating a dramatic expression of fate endured, or individual

expression. Caring relations "mean something to someone" (2002:210) and at heart seek not to neglect them (which is not necessarily visible in singular moments). This eschews a tendency, replete in medical ethics to fix on moments (or demarcated brackets of time) that herald a crisis. Arguably a similar tendency is plied in spectacular representations of hunger that require immediate intervention or action in the immediate present.

To understand expressions of pain, a description must not look within the body, but rather locate the person within networks of relations that considers affects and encounters (Das, 2015:87). It is in this network of relations, affects, and encounters, Das writes, "in which the body becomes expressive of something we might call a soul" (ibid). Attempts to track such configurations should not smother autonomy or detract from individual expressions of pain (ibid). Thus, this chapter works towards articulating multiple shapes of nourishment and experiences of hunger, hardship and vulnerability. Madness, pain, love, and joy are described in words, accounts of touch, affect and expressions of taste and desire. This surfaces assemblages that interact with both the state (in breastfeeding policy and the diagnosis of mental illness) and moral community. They simultaneously enact shame and care, enclose violence and madness, and evade closure. There is not and cannot be an allotment of 'good' or 'bad' – the force of inheritance coupled with care, as I will show, forecloses such determinacy.

"These are not my people": At the crossroads of home and naturalised belonging

Lydia uttered these words within a few minutes of my first interview with her, which took place in the house where she resided. The large house, as discussed, was constructed in the first housing phase in Kylemore, in the 1980s. The walls and boundary fence were painted yellow and the large stones along the path also mirrored the sun. One of the tenants at the back was a friend to Lydia. She worked as a domestic worker and her employer sometimes sent food for Lydia and her children. I was invited inside the first time I arrived to meet Lydia, and seated in

the front room. The lounge walls were flanked with cabinets. These were filled with trophies, porcelain figures, and a homing pigeon check-in device that belonged to Jannie, the father of Lydia's two children. Lydia lived on this property, but none of her things were on the shelf – it was not her house.

Lydia was born in Stellenbosch, *"maar ons het rond en bond gebly*" (we moved around haphazardly). She explained that her family split up because her brother was "very rude" to her mother. Her father moved to Kayamandi, and her sister now lived in Kraaifontein. Her mother died of a work-related injury when Lydia was a girl. She had just begun to tell me the story of how her mother was bleeding and the father phoned an ambulance, when her partner Jannie came in with a full plate of food in hand– white bread sandwiches and salted snoek – and sat down.

Lydia immediately fast-tracked her story, saying "then I got pregnant with him". I remained facing Lydia and asked how they had met, however it was Jannie who took off with the story: He began by saying that he had not had a girlfriend in seven years. He met Lydia through her brother's girlfriend, who was a good friend of his, on one of her visits to Kylemore. He told the story of their romance peppered with shyness and the awkward conversations as they "made eyes" at each other. As he ate he offered little Sara food from his plate – small pieces of snoek; a piece of bread torn off his slice. He framed himself as the sweet suitor, sometimes transposing me as an actor in his story: "just say for example that I was in love with you, then I would say to you…" he related. Throughout his whole, captivating story he kept one eye focused on Sara, her little mouth navigating the snoek – a luxury item in the household. His narrative account of earnest romance quickly coalesced into his berating Lydia for her rudeness and the ways in which she misunderstood him. She sat beside me on the couch, in the house where she lived, where the lounge held not a single token of her presence, saying nothing.

"Hit my mother": inwoners, inkommers, and gendered antagonism

> You see, Lydia is a very wonderful girl. But she can be rude. Incredibly rude. Once she gave me two blue eyes. But now. I don't want to hit her. That's how it is. It's just how I am.
> If she fights with me, I tell her: hit my mother (Jannie)

Thus said Jannie, reminding both Lydia and I of her comparative place in the schemata of the yard. Linda Waldman's (2003) paper *Houses and the ritual construction of gendered homes in South Africa* examines the complex ways in which belonging was negotiated in the post-Apartheid landscape where housing was allocated on the basis of a nuclear family premised on a specific notion of an ethnic 'Griqua' family. The manner in which the Apartheid government allocated housing relied on Christian notions of the house as site for 'family', which included wife and children as children of the covenant (Ross in Waldman, 2003:660). Housing was determined by race and class – 'boorlings' (those born into a place, (referred to as inwoners – residents – in Kylemore) were allocated government housing, and 'inkommers' built their own homes. While Waldman carefully delineates the ways in which ritual played a part in negotiating belonging, she also shows how inkommer/ inwoner (incomer/ resident) status relies on a similar notion to what I have described here – that inkommers (incomers) were expected to either bring in a wage, or contribute to household chores (2003:671). This meant, at the time of Waldman's research in the late 1990s in Griquastad, that relationships between inkommer and inwoner women were often characterised by antagonism (ibid). Whilst this ethnography draws on a different place and time, Waldman's observations prove a useful starting point in order to examine the regulatory powers of the state in family life, which was similarly clear in Kylemore. The intersections of gender, power, and historical weight as they plait with belonging, too, are marked.

The distinction between inkommer and inwoner – incomer and resident was articulated in many instances during my fieldwork and was the first register in

which Ant Magda described herself to me when I interviewed her in the same front room. Ant Magda told me that she had moved to Kylemore when she was six years old. However, as she had lived there ever since, she was now a '"Kymoeder"[39]. A 'Kymother'. " Yes, that's what's they call the people of Kylemore" she said. Her husband, she said, was a 'boorling', he was born there, and her children were all 'boorlings'. This distinction and negotiation of naturalised belonging produced hierarchical claims to ownership and belonging, serving to designate further degrees of separation, as I unpack further in the following chapters.

Ant Magda explained that when Lydia fell pregnant, Lydia's brother and his wife tried to send her away to an institution that would keep her until the birth of the child, and then facilitate the child's adoption. At this point Ant Magda intervened, took Lydia to live with them in the yellow house, and saw to it that her state disability grant was procured by organising multiple doctors' visits and a comprehensive report from Lydia's school. From then on, she told me, she raised Freddie as her *own*, and Sara too when she came. Thus, Ant Magda situated herself as the mother; the parent. She proudly told me that the children called her Ma, and called Lydia, Lydia. Ant Magda did not mention that Lydia was expected to do the housework. Lydia described the terms of her residence to me:

> I can never sit still in that house. I have to work all the time when I am there. I can't even sleep right in that house. If I go to sleep, I just have to stand up again, to clean.
>
> That woman, Ant Magda, makes me so angry. It's like I can just kill myself. Because she…if I am talking to people at the back there, and having fun and so on…and I'm busy – then she says "Lydia, do this, do that". I can never rest. I can never be restful.

[39] The correct spelling is likely 'Kylemore', the 'l' being silent in most iterations I heard

She never tells her own children that they have to do this or that. They never have to clean. Then once I said to her, I did not come live with them to do this and that. Just their dirty work and so on. That woman is lazy. Do you know she can't cook.

Carina: Can you cook?
Lydia: I can. But you know, those people don't want to eat from my hands.

Because of these conditions, Lydia was constantly threatening to leave. On one occasion she took her daughter and left Kylemore to stay with her sister in Kraaifontein, some thirty kilometres away. Jannie went to look for her, and was beaten up by neighbours. The following evening Ant Magda arrived with the police (a further mark of her ability to harness state power), accused Lydia of neglect, threatened her with arrest, and took both her and Sara back to Kylemore, where Lydia was not inwoner, and lived among those who were "not her people". In Kylemore Lydia could not keep her money safe, or partake in the preparation of food. Lydia was denied the experience of 'convivality of the kitchen'. Lydia's hands were not deemed acceptable to prepare food, and a piece of chocolate would not be cracked off for Lydia from a slab of Fruit and Nut chocolate. She could not afford to buy chocolate herself.

Lydia's residence in the yellow house (a result of romance; of Ant Magda's insistence that Freddie not be given up for adoption; or possibly Lydia's grant approval) provided more material nourishment for the children, than if she lived with her sister. Her income, thus, was due to Ant Magda's efforts with state doctors. Ant Magda was adamant that Lydia's sister's family's environment was not safe or suitable for the children. So, while Lydia suffered from a lack of emotional support, (so much so that she could say "it's like I can just kill myself") her presence in Kylemore tied the children and herself to a knot of relationships that provided a place of residence and care indexed by an indulgent block of chocolate for Freddie. Ant Magda was financially stable due to her permanent job as a storeroom packer.

However, despite Ant Magda's assurance to me that she took care of the children, raised them "as my own", Lydia related that she sometimes/often left them hungry. The responsibility of minding children, children whom Ant Magda insisted be born, insisted live with them, and as I would later learn, wanted to legally adopt 'under my name' was not consistently held by one person. The complex network of care resides in multiple persons (including Ant Magda's estranged husband who lived on the same yard and sometimes looked after the children), and could not always be recognised by normative measures of 'good' care. 'Good' care such as that of providing the recommended nutrients, or following breastfeeding recommendations were undermined by precariousness and a radical shift in state policy that reversed the prescription of 'good mothering' seemingly to Lydia, overnight. Nourishment manifested in the sliding angle of Lydia's hip as she held her small child tight against her waist and in the fact that when Lydia left to go to Kraaifontein on that occasion, she took Sara with. She would tell me later that one does not leave your daughter in the 'care' of men if women are absent. In that chilling reference to the threat of sexual abuse Lydia marked safety by supervision as another form of nourishment. Lydia's capacity for providing nourishment, for acting as social actor for her children, was thus limited by material want, but surfaced in multiple, often subtle ways.

Networks of both nourishment and mental instability

Das argues that the distribution of life and death is knotted in a set of relations – precisely the same set of relations in which madness resides (2015:84). Jannie, Lydia's boyfriend also received a monthly government disability grant on basis of diagnoses of mental disability. Ant Magda described Jannie as having a "slipped mind" that led to institutionalisation. She described Eric's *tik* addiction as a crazed state, a shock. She understood this too, to be a form of madness.

Thus far I have shown the variability of forms of nourishment that Lydia and Ant Magda could offer as mothers, which were forged in networks of relations. However, diagnoses and manifestations of mental illness reside in the self-same

networks (ibid). When I asked Ant Magda, who cared for the children in the household, she said that she herself cared for them. She immediately added that this was because Lydia was a "disabled person, a *badly* disabled person – I'm not sure if you noticed?" she asked. I said that I had not – in fact I was quite confused by what she meant. At the time it seemed that Ant Magda was doing exactly what Biehl (2004) demonstrates – leveraging diagnosis to justify abandonment – albeit to hunger and vulnerability, not to institutionalisation as in his example. From the mindmaps and diaries Lydia drew and kept in our 'thousand days tea' and her quick sense of humour, I had no suspicion of a mental incapability until I heard about the school she attended. It was later hinted that her diagnosis was related to the effects of alcohol abuse by her carers and brother. Although I knew that Lydia had gone to a 'special needs' school, I did not understand this to be a disability that would, as Ant Magda suggested, detract from her suitability to parent. Ant Magda told me that that you would never be able to tell that Lydia was disabled just by looking at her. However, since she read the doctors' report that demonstrated the diagnosis, she was incredibly shocked to find out how badly disabled Lydia was:

> The doctor was looking for a report, on what kind of person Lydia is. So I went and asked for one. And that report! It gave me a shock to see it.[40] Lydia is a very disabled person. She is not suitable to raise children. And she also can't work with money.

Lydia's status as mentally disabled (although the specific diagnosis was never named to me) was made prior to meeting Ant Magda. However, Ant Magda's resourcefulness and ability to navigate the public health system allowed for the diagnosis to provide a small income. This income, however, was taken over by Ant Magda who allocated resources according to her own notions of appropriate spending. When Lydia tried to save some of her 'pocket money', she risked having

[40] That Ant Magda could read the letter is part of the system – patients and their carers are responsible to convey doctor's reports – they do not liaise directly with the state. It does however signal a lack of autonomy for Lydia.

it stolen by Ant Magda's son who used it for drugs. This was not the first time, Lydia told me. There was nowhere to keep her possessions safe.

However, Lydia was not the only one on a disability grant, as Ant Magda explained:

> it's the same case with Jannie. He can't work with money. His psychologist asked me personally, that I should deal [with] his money, and organise his food and clothing. I give him a bit of pocket money, but they said that Jannie has the mental capability of a six year old.

I found Jannie to be very articulate and sharp for someone who supposedly possessed the mind of a six year old, but again, such a diagnosis leveraged a stable income, and its account in such definitive terms may well have been for the benefit of me as a researcher - possibly perceived to be connected to state powers. Jannie suffered from epilepsy as a child, which went untreated for some time. He told me of roving the streets and shouting, of seeing monsters and green men, and scaring people. His mother recounted:

> …and at the very end of the day, his whole mind slipped. And he was confused all the time, and he ended up in Stikland (a state mental hospital). He turned twenty-three there. When I arrived, they asked me, 'where's the medicine for his nerves?' Then I said 'he doesn't have medicine for his nerves, just for his epilepsy'. And they told me the doctors in the hospital should also have given him that medication, because the cause was…that now *this* was the cause of how his whole nervous system was effected.
>
> It caused his brain…that he started to hear voices. He saw little men, and it was a stressful time. It was very, very hard. Because sometimes he'd only want to be with me, and I was always scared. Because sometimes he would hit me. So I would hide. And I told my husband, 'you work with

> him, talk to him'…but how can I say…my husband drank a lot. He never helped me with the children.
>
> All throughout the years, whatever happened, I am the one. I am the mother. I am the father. I am the grandmother. I have to do everything.

"The mother, the father, the grandmother": when madness erodes the everyday

It was Ant Magda who had to bear it when Eric, the youngest of her children, started using *tik.* He dropped out of school, and a few months prior to my fieldwork, was gaoled for a weekend. Ant Magda did not say why, but expressed her frustration at the school principal, whom she said was "so busy organising plays and dances, that he doesn't notice when the children make wrong friends, do wrong things", and didn't support them so they wouldn't partake in drug use. She explained how she found out.

> At the end of the day, the shock came. It's always good for a mother and father to communicate with your children. Cut some of your time off. My time that I sit with my children is in the evening, after we've had supper. Then I'll make a cup of coffee or tea, and we can sit and talk here in the lounge. Just chat about this and that. And often we talk about the Bible, too. And that's very interesting. You get to know your child. When there's a problem with your child, you see it immediately. With Eric, the first night that he tikked, I knew it. But I kept quiet. Because it was a shock for me. I didn't want to accept it. And one night I took him with me to the room, and I said to him… 'do you use drugs?' He said yes. I asked him, "how did it happen? I warned you. Move away from those friends." Now he's in a court case. He has to go to court on the 18th.

Ant Magda paused, she had been holding her knees, squeezing them. She looked at me, squared her shoulders, and said:

> But regret is too late. I am one of those… if I decide to do something, I do it. Because lots of things have happened to me in life. And it made me a very clever person. I must say that. And it also made me a better person. Eric wanted to go back to school this year. But I said to him, no. I won't let myself be shamed. Because he was high [on drugs] and then he went to school. And then I have to go to the school again, and explain why he wasn't there. I can't do it again, I gave him a choice. I can't take time off work.

Ant Magda smoothed her denim skirt. I asked her more about how Lydia nearly had to give Freddie up for adoption. Ant Magda responded:

> It was her brother and her sister. Because they said she could not afford to raise children. And I said: '**Never.** That's my grandchild. That child is MY grandchild. I am that child's OUMA'. And I said to her brother – 'you are her *brother*'. And I said to her sister –'you are her *sister.* Not ONE of you is that child's grandmother, or grandfather. And I have all the rights over that child.' And I said to them: 'Now I am taking Lydia'.
>
> And that's why I am scared. I won't know where she is, she will leave. But of all the things I believe, the Lord gives me strength every day, so that I can be strong, so that I can raise my children and grandchildren.

Kirsten Hastrup (1993) writes of the difficulty in rendering pain, and calls for anthropologists to render it, to write it, in order that it be valourised. And pain, like hunger, is thorny terrain. I cannot aptly convey the tone of these conversations except in italics and capital letters. I cannot take you to the yard where Sara clutched Lydia's calves, where Ant Magda swept Freddie onto her knee, where Ant Magda's estranged husband Oom Karel sat quietly next to Freddie while he played with a doll, holding its soft centre and walking the plastic legs one

by one over the path he had made to a small match box house with a triangular roof. I cannot recognise mental instability or gauge the age level to match Jannie's intellectual capabilities. I can only tell you how he tore his sandwich in two, as we sat chatting in the front room, and painstakingly checked the snoek repeatedly for bones before he gave it to his daughter. He then watched every bite with intense focus, lest she choke. I can tell you how Lydia shook her fists with frustration that Jannie had lied to me about his parenting roles, but giggled shyly when she told about how she waited to tell Jannie that she was pregnant until his birthday – a surprise gift, and how he had a party to celebrate, saying Lydia was *the one*. The one who gave him the greatest gift he could have – his children.

I cannot measure the extent of Eric's addiction, but I can tell you that when he ran in and out of the house with Lydia's money, he did so very fast, and that Lydia was very vexed. I can tell you that the state policy change for HIV positive mothers' breastfeeding practice meant that Lydia was distrustful of the recommendation to breastfeed with Sara, having been told to put Freddie on formula. And that Lydia bought formula for Sara that Eric stole for *tik* money. This after he came back from the rehabilitation centre that a social worker organised for him. I can describe Lydia's dexterity: she explained to me that some months she arranged to give her social grant card to one of Ant Magda's sisters, who agreed that Ant Magda's appropriation of her income was wrong. The sister would keep the card until payout day, loan Lydia the money for the taxi to town, and keep it all a secret. But on the day that the secret was discovered, an enormous fight broke out in that household. It is a challenge to write about pain because it falls easily into the polarised debate sketched by Stollmeyer et al. (2002) – ethical allocations of 'good' and 'bad' quickly arise where fragile life is wrought in dense networks knotted with precarity, madness and love. Writing pain thus risks mechanistically distributing allocations of good and bad.

However, tracking the affective forces that shape nourishment has shown that Lydia's diagnosis as mentally unstable did not render her singularly abandoned. While her anxiety about living with those who were "not my people" stifled her

own access to the emotional nourishment that comes with belonging, Lydia herself offered belonging.[41] Her children claimed her body and presence, her daughter's hands sought hers in that way children have, of reaching upward, knowing a hand will meet theirs. In those searching acts, they wrought her belonging. In a context where multiple forms of madness (exemplary in hallucinations of green men, drunken violence, *tik*-induced theft within the home) tear at the givenness of kinship, relations, and the fleshy body, good cannot be gauged in a single meal, a skipped meal, or a single moment. Ant Magda herself told me of the occasion when Lydia took Sara and left:

> Last year Lydia went crazy. She just disappeared with the little one. And Freddie stayed with me, and when the sun went down he began to cry over Lydia. And I said, Lord, before Christmas, Lydia and that child need to be back in this home.

Conclusion: against abandonment

Mental instability assumes many forms, and abandonment might be cast as one outcome of such a diagnosis. But Lydia's neighbours did not think she was unsuitable to care for her children, and Ant Magda's sister trusted Lydia to manage her own money. Jannie's episodes that saw him roam the streets violently, hallucinating, did not cleave him from his mother. Neither did she reject her son whose *tik* abuse pained her, and everyone within the household and extended family. Ant Magda was determined that her children would grow, her grandchildren would grow, and she would be their mother, their father, their grandparents. The conditions that shape who is allowed to mind children, and how their minds might have been effected by inheritance are suspended in nets of intersubjectivity that catch affect, respond to shame, and the notions of respect and *ordentlikheid* that echo those Waldman (2003) refers to – those structures of

[41] As a result of this anxiety and other shared experiences, I arranged for Lydia to commence with counselling, and put her in touch with a local social worker should she wish to make further use of state support services.

housing allocation that register belonging and designate authority. State services diagnosed the disability that granted the disability allowance, and thus established income for Lydia. However, that diagnosis might also be the final case that Ant Magda makes in her attempt to put the children "on [her] name".

Das writes that affective experiences reveal "the fragility of relationships and of experience that is revealed when madness cannot be absorbed in the every day" (2015:84). Lydia's dash out to her sisters' family in Kraaifontein encapsulates one such moment of seepage. Das continues: "yet it is the case that it is only within this everyday, corroded and shattered by madness as it becomes, that care can be offered" (ibid). Madness and nourishment co-occur in networks. The conditions that engender a precarious life such as conflicted public health governance; insecure and insufficient income; a legacy of naturalised belonging that creates borders of rank external to the home; the legacy of Apartheid housing that fosters exclusion to this day; the legacy of the *dop* system that entrenched alcoholism as normal – these systemic forces have been shown to corrode care in relation to the assemblage of relations here. I have shown how excesses (such as the moment of theft, the departure from Kylemore) shatter the everyday. But to dwell on these as evidence of abandonment is to ignore the assemblages I have tracked and the other, caring possibilities that exist within them.

This 'meal' that departed from three chocolate blocks has sketched a complex web of relationships and encounters that point to desire - desire to belong, to hold some power, to nourish kin, children, and self. To have financial capital, security, safety from violence, and love both romantic and sacrificial. These complex desires were both debilitated and promoted by diagnoses of madness that interrupted efforts to foresee care, but also, simultaneously enfolded them. Abandonment jutted out in places – in a hungry woman whose neighbours had to help her feed herself and her children because her own income was usurped and/ or insufficient. But such a singular production does not account for the games with dolls, the time "cut off" after supper, the fervour with which Lydia endured her chores despite sometimes feeling that she wanted to kill herself. This meal has

unpacked affects and encounters that exist in a web of the everyday that was chequered by mental illness, drug-infused irrational behaviour, an epileptic and psychologically troubled man. This approach has shown some of the ethical problems that arise when a singular, dramatic exposé of neglect sends up smoke. Attention to nourishment, and the ways in which it is extended over time yields complex contradictions around normative expectations of responsibility and mothering. Lydia is 'badly disabled'. She is not 'suitable' to look after children. And yet. Lydia's son cries when the sun goes down and Lydia is not there. Lydia's children knew her hip, cried for her, bound her within this yellow-housed knot enfolding madness, love, violence, chocolate, fish, a jumping castle.

In this chapter the project of nourishment has taken up two modalities. Firstly, to track the distribution of life and death within an assemblage of relationships that move beyond Richard's (1932) nutritive dependence and Kleins' (1985) psychoanalytic focus. Attention to this network shows the intersection of fragile networks with the state (which granted the diagnosis, but also provided the rehabilitation centre, and was responsible for the radical policy shift in breastfeeding, and historically constituted the terms of belonging that Waldman (2003) describes) and para-statals (such as the school, which Ant Magda complained did little to assist her in helping her child). The complexity of concerns I have described reveals that the leverage of diagnoses by family members does not automatically equate with abandonment, or the devaluation of Lydia's life. This is not to say that pain and failure are not perpetrated – in contrast, I have described instances and patterns of these, too. However, this approach denies the allotment of 'good' or 'bad' by showing that care and 'madness' reside in precisely the same networks. They cannot be parsed apart. As Ferguson (2013) argues – understanding dependency in terms of a yearning for paternalism in the 'new South Africa' denies the possibility that dependency can be seen as emancipatory practice – it can be a choice, and action. This possibility is one that nourishment as framework allows – wherein Lydia is not an automatic victim, a passive non-agent.

I have taken seriously Harbers et al.'s (2002) invocation to contextualise care as a set of relations over time rather than a rapid response to vivid image of crises. By focusing on taste and desire within this assemblage of relations, straightforward notions of 'good' and 'bad' and their anchors in biomedicine and ethics have been blurred. What does this mean for the anticipatory logic of intense focus in the 'first thousand days" that is framed as vastly important for little Sara, not yet two years old? Her brother, Freddie was nearly five. Care will come to them both in forms that are irreducible to logics of bracketed time. The forms of care will be gendered, and webbed in a network of affect and relationality that defies measurement or a mechanistic allotment of 'good' and 'bad'.

Chapter five.

Curry

The yard in which 28 year-old Jessica lived was at the town's edge, it looked onto 'the bush'. When I visited her I would park in the street, open the pedestrian gate, and walk along the left side of a large house to knock on the door of her wooden house. Jessica and Elvis (her partner and the father of her children) followed this route everyday. Their wooden house was one of two (the other belonging to Elvis's brother) at the back of the property. It was in this house where she gave birth to her son whom you have already met in the opening chapter. (She did eventually give him his second name after a mixed-race Hollywood movie star).

The constellation of homes within the yard – with Jessica's home behind the main house – is a common housing arrangement in neighbourhoods where land, capital, and government investment in housing is insufficient. In many cases these secondary homes are rented out, and the tenants are not always family. However, the relationships are often closely knit.[42] *Jessica and I would often walk back towards the gate and perch on the brick-wide windowsill of the main house, looking out at the street and beyond to the overgrown non-residential land, sparsely fenced. Shanique, then around two years old, would perch on Jessica's knee or mine, or play around us. After his birth in September, Diego would be hugged to one of our chests. The land beyond the road doubled as a play arena for children, and was visible to a number of homes from whence carers could keep an eye on events there. On one occasion a man sat staring at us from underneath a tree emitting from his cupped hands a white smoke and smell like burning plastic. The wind carried it toward us – that is the smell of tik.*

[42] For example, Lydia's neighbour who sometimes provided food for her as explained in the previous chapter, via her employer is one such example. Monica's aunt lived with her children in a wooden house on their property – an 'emergency' arrangement when the rented property they lived on was sold to a developer, three years prior. The temporary arrangement persisted and the households sometimes ate together, and shared resources and child-minding duties depending on income and employment.

One day I had a very different encounter in the same yard. I opened the gate, walked down the side of the house, becoming aware of a delicious savoury smell. I knocked on Jessica's door. There was no answer. As I was leaving the property a woman opened the door of the large main house – the source of the smell of curry. It was Elvis's mother, Ant Mandy. We greeted and she asked if she could help me. I told her about my research project, and she invited me in to sit on the smart couches in the spacious lounge. The delicious smell of a curry was palpable. Ant Mandy said that she would like to participate in my research after I explained that it was not confined to mothers with children currently in infancy. The reason I had not seen her before, she explained, was that she worked full time at a wine farm close by. As the scent from the kitchen intensified, Ant Mandy stood up to check on the simmering curry. I remained seated in the front room, on the other, interior side of the windowsill where Jessica and I would sit, receiving the smell of curry spices, onions, and a touch of something sweet – possibly tomato, or sweet potato, in the air.

Introduction: Naturalised belonging

In this chapter I compare accounts of the experiences of race and belonging of women of two different generations who lived in close proximity. This tracks the workings of race in producing distinct notions of 'naturalised' belonging, in spite of being seen as mutable. I then question the designation of belonging through socio-cultural practice under the rubric of 'respectability'.

Curry tells stories – stories of contested belonging, of migration and slavery, of violence, of resistance, and of moralising notions of respectability and reciprocity. I juxtapose my encounters with two women, Jessica and her erstwhile mother-in law, Ant Mandy who lived on the same yard – an intimate setting of "charged proximity" (see Berlant, 2000 and Baderoon, 2014:49). Carsten (2004:35) argues that houses are sites that reveal the "encoding and internalization of hierarchical principles" (2004:37). Gabeda Baderoon uses the 'charged proximity' of kitchen spaces to think of the multi-layered histories of Muslims and 'coloureds' in the Cape, much of which is forgotten with the intense contemporary focus on the effects of Apartheid. These hierarchies reverberate outward and may contribute

to and reflect normative social distinctions produced by systems of governance. The curry I smelled was prepared by Ant Mandy for the residents of her home – herself, two of her own school-going children, and her sister and sister's two children. Jessica and others who lived on the same yard had no part in it – a point of tension. The previous chapter revealed similarly antagonistic relations between women and the ways in which residence and belonging shape nourishment and reflect inheritance.

Baderoon (2014) argues that the brutal impact of slavery is overshadowed by too concentrated a focus on Apartheid's cruel and unjust rule. She argues that attention to household intimacy (particularly in kitchens) surfaces slaves' roles and agency in producing the "amalgamated culture" whose legacy is central to South Africa today" (2014:49). Baderoon reads intimacy "against the grain – as uncanny nearness, as charged silence and as coded trauma" (2014:50). Such coded trauma and unspoken notions come to bear on the yard of 'charged proximity' I describe here, my presence in it significant in terms of long-established racial hierarchies. In this yard I read the socio-materiality of food in relation to history that is deeply touched by de-humanising segregationist political imaginaries. Curry helps to think about this, not least because the ingredients are revealing, but also because the story of curry takes us to slavery time, when an appeal to 'natural order' was used to justify the objectification of bodies and classification of Africans as sub-human (Nyamnjoh, 2016:2).

In the first section sensory attention to the charged proximity surrounding Jessica and Ant Mandy reveals the enfleshment of political economy and draws attention to temporality vis-à-vis Apartheid and colonialism. Ant Mandy's family was Xhosa and had moved to the Winelands from the Eastern Cape. She owned the house she lived in. Because Kylemore was designated as a 'coloured' area during Apartheid, she could not go to school there. Jessica, in turn, had a very light skin and was often taken as 'coloured', except – as she said – when people found out that her father, too was, Xhosa. This demonstrates the endurance of racialised categorisation that is figured through notions of naturalised belonging. However, this is contested as

I then show through examples where the preparation and editing of food subverts power by plying taste, flavour, choice, and recipes for nourishment. Finally, I show how notions of reciprocity are tethered to moral norms around dignity and respectability – it is undignified to visit the soup kitchen. Thus, moral community influences the creation and sustenance of networks in turn. Attention to the 'charged proximity' of one yard thus demonstrates internalised notions of morality and appropriate behaviour in relation to precariousness and histories continue to designate belonging.

'White is white, brown is brown, black is black": Race, environment and the risk of determinism

Ant Mandy, then 45 years old, told me what it was like to grow up in Kylemore:

> So, those were the Apartheid years. So, White is White, Brown is Brown, and Black is Black. But we had…
> We could talk Afrikaans. We could talk Xhosa.
> But we couldn't get over our Blackness,
> not in Kylemore.
> We just couldn't in Kylemore.

Ant Mandy had contested ties with Kylemore as a place of belonging. She now owned the house we sat in, and had lived there since she was child. However, she described her experiences of growing up in Kylemore as exclusionary:

> We couldn't go to school in Kylemore, because we were Black – classified as Black. If you were Black at that time, you know, you couldn't go to Kylemore's Coloured schools. So, Sara's Mother used to drive me, Sara, and my sister to a school in Kayamandi.[43]

[43] Kayamandi was the closest 'black' area as classified by Apartheid, and is 13 km from Kylemore. It is a perversion of Apartheid naming bureaucracy that the name means ' nice home,' referring to Khaya Mandi – but Khaya (home), has been misspelled as Kaya.

Statistics purport that 91% of residents in Kylemore are 'coloured', and only 4% 'black' (Frith, 2011). However, the slippery boundaries of what 'coloured' designates and the discomfort created by the existence and continually perpetuated stereotypes of such a strict category is clear from Ant Mandy's accounts of racialised exclusion in childhood:

> We all played together, but that racism was always there. So, you'll play for maybe five minutes, then you don't know what's going on, and you get told where you come from. You understand? That's how it went.
>
> But we just shook it off and grew up.
> Today we all live together.
> Ons het niks oorgekom nie. Nothing overcame us/ we weren't impacted.

Ant Mandy experienced the transition from segregated governance to a democratic state. Her recounting of impermeable racial categories marks her experience of an epoch governed by racist ideologies that first sprung from biological determinism (Erasmus, 2010:179). Justifications for racism were first based on delineations of difference in the name of science: the body indexed by skin, skull size and brain – the features that were indexed and ranked into hierarchies quickly naturalised, (Erasmus, 2010:180) linked to social behaviour, and used to justify oppression and expropriation. Even after the 'fact' of race as biology (marked by distinctive physical features) was negated, the transfer of race via birth and genes, acculturation was substituted as a means for determining race that remained couched in biological, immutable terms (ibid). Her suggestion that they "shook off" the violence of Apartheid reflects the rhetoric in which the transition was celebrated as a 'new dawn', where past injustices were dissolved and a hopeful era ushered in, as if on a clean slate. Part of the high drama of this moment included the pronouncement of a new era complete with a constitution widely touted to promote and preserve all human rights.

Apartheid's fixation with parentage (described by Waldman, 2006) is testament to this, and is especially clear in classificatory cases where appearances refused to conform to the prescribed, fixed categories. As Dubow explains, the designation of fixed categories was troubled by the 'coloured' bracket that relied on such vagaries as 'appearance,' 'descent', and 'social acceptance' (2014:38). In this ideology, genetic transference determined racial categories, and when 'scientific evidence' in terms of physiology was lacking, the means for identification relied on social makers and family histories.

While Ant Mandy had a permanent job, and owned her home, she complained of her son and his partner's lack of success in life saying.

> I am disappointed because there are so many opportunities these days. It's not like in our days – you can make and break just as you like. It depends on what you make, and what you break.

The drama marking the 1994 shift in power relegates colonial systems of dominance (with the concomitant distribution of life) to a distant past. This requires reckoning in the present. Attention to the socio-materiality of food helps us map this vast inheritance, which played out in everyday experiences of growing up. Jessica's experiences of racial exclusion also drew on playground memories, although she did not suggest that this was no longer indicative of the status quo. Jessica, of the next generation, said:

> "Our place [Kylemore] is very racist, to be honest with you – we don't accept the people and the people don't accept us. You have to *have* something, that that person needs – that person has to have something that you want, to exchange, to be friends. To exchange – to be there. That's why, the day that I make my house, then I don't want to live here. My children need to unlearn this. Because, ok, 'he's not good enough', 'don't play with him', 'give to another person' – I don't want that. Because you

> see, I've been here since I was small – where people don't accept me. For who and what I am. To this day! If I tell them my dad is Black, they don't want to believe it, because of my light skin. But *I know* – if *they know*, then they treat me differently".

Erasmus (2010:181) argues that Apartheid policy forced a marriage between race and culture, and dubbed ancestry, appearance, 'how one lived', language, and social relations as the markers that designated race. This allowed race to become "normalised and naturalised not only through its taken-for-granted visibility, but also through assumptions about culture, understood as an expression of race and as a given essence" (ibid). When Jessica held her second child in her arms in the hospital and showed me the dark pads on his ears, saying it was lucky that he was a boy, not a girl, the racialised, gendered politics of belonging were shown to be tied to a body, to skin. It was her desire that her children would unlearn the fraught understanding of the givenness of race with its concomitant distribution of life.

"Concern with roots and origins is often expressed in the question 'Where are you from?' In a discourse that treats race and culture as fixed, this question often legitimates or denies belonging" (Erasmus, 2010:185, see also Fuh, 2014). Being told 'where you come from' is a powerful example of the grounds on which belonging was denied to 'black' people in Kylemore during Apartheid. Not only did the policies direct her to a school 13 kilometres away, the discourses of belonging were inculcated in child's play. In Ant Mandy's childhood, you "got told where you come from". Similarly for Jessica, bullying at school was the norm. However, this was not only because it was known that her father was 'black'. Jessica's mother worked as a domestic worker when she was a child, and they moved around often. She learned English and Afrikaans, and attended different schools.

> "[A]nd when I lived with my mother in Stellenbosch, that White school where I was…I can be honest with you. Not one of those children was racist towards me, they accepted me as a person. I had a White friend, her name was Rushka. She didn't see the difference. We didn't see the colour

> difference. We understood each other, and we were friends.[44] Now you see, when I got here, I was talking like them – like you, Carina. And that's why I was pushed out when I came to Kylemore. I was bullied, literally. Every day after school, I was bullied. My backpack was hidden from me every day".

According to Ant Mandy's argument, then, Jessica had more opportunities than she had had. She could attend schools previously only admitting 'whites'. However, her attendance at such schools served to mark further differences between herself and her Kylemore playground mates, differences she was punished for. She described her experience of school as difficult, and suffered from depression towards the end of high school. Such differences plagued her. When she was about five or six years old Jessica went to live temporarily with her father in Gauteng. She formed a close relationship with his mother, her paternal grandmother, from whom she learned to talk fluently in isiXhosa. She returned to Kylemore at age ten, and had a hard time in school, causing her to return to Gauteng some years later.

> [A]nd then when I was seventeen I decided, ok fine. So I dropped Elvis. And I dropped my mother, and I decided to go to Pretoria (in Gauteng). I went back to my father again. But when I got there, he wasn't the man he used to be. He was an alcoholic, there was no food in the house, and I felt like he didn't care for his mother. She was old by then. And we were very close. But all those people could say was that they didn't understand that I couldn't talk their language anymore, and had changed to the Cape. And it was difficult to bond with them, and my father wanted to have me get married for lobola when I got there.

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[44] Du Toit (1993) writes that the phrase "we understand each other" has a long history as cliché in paternalistic discourse in the Cape. It highlights the "deeply organic and hierarchical conceptualisation of the relationship between farmer and worker" (1993:329) replete in relations of dependency.

Ant Mandy expressed a personal effort to overcome the marked boundaries of exclusion, by stating that they were "all the same". However, Jessica said that Ant Mandy discriminated against her and her relationship with Elvis (who identified as 'black', on grounds of race. After visiting Gauteng Jessica came back to Kylemore, and went out with Elvis again, in spite of protests from both their families. They felt that having a baby would bring about acceptance from both sides:

> we just felt that, maybe, if a baby came, our families will grow together and think that we're right for each other. And then, my family was *there.* But not his. And with the second child – still not. No progress from that side. So now, my family thinks it's better if I go back to them, because she [Ant Mandy] will never accept us. I mean – *they grew up in a community of Coloured people, they are supposed to accept everyone,* but she pretends she is better… she lives here but she doesn't accept the people, or their situations, or the way in which they live.

> So that's why, when I got back, I got pregnant… and we got our own place. But the point is, his mom and them, they are like my family was back then, you see? They don't accept us because we are Coloured. But, where I am I am actually also happy. But anytime, you see, if the rent hasn't been paid, the power just gets shut down.

A child was conceived in the hope that kinship would be forged, acceptance and blessing extended. The attempt to strengthen networks of social (and particularly material care as signified by the curry, and the electricity being cut off), Jessica argued, was because of racialised discrimination. The conception of her first child represented for Jessica a hope of familial acceptance, and possibly a strengthening of networks. The 'inkommer' invitation that she had been partly denied all her life notched belonging. She experienced alienation based on a twisting horizon of what grants acceptance – her accent in school; her loss of language with her isiXhosa speaking family in Gauteng; dismissal from her father – his alcoholism;

her own struggles with depression; and a lack of resources to establish her own home. Her pregnancy made possible the wooden house she lived in, but did not translate into direct forms of support in the form of shared meals. However, it was Ant Mandy who organised Jessica her previous seasonal job at the farm where she worked, a job that Jessica begrudgingly spoke of taking up again near the end of my fieldwork. Jessica said that Ant Mandy was "supposed to accept everyone" on the basis of "having grown up in a community of Coloured people". The differences between expectation and practice, projected hope and lived experiences, point toward a challenge in reconciling differences in a yard marked by structural violence, thick histories, and reflected in accounts of interpersonal differences fuelled by race-based rhetoric.

Peter Wade (2002) highlights the lack of critical thought in terms of describing race. This is exemplified by attempts to define race without re-inscribing the practice of invoking physical traits, and in so-doing legitimising the deterministic premise that race is 'biological' or 'genetic'. Wade calls for an interrogation of terms such as heredity, nature and blood as they are exercised in specific contexts (2002:14). This, he argues, will enable us to show that ideas of the fixity and permanence of race are not cemented. An anthropological approach that explores the flexibility of racial discourses, Wade argues, does not deny the simple reality that racism *does* prescribe fixed characteristics to certain people, and that these translate into lived experiences (2002:80). However, he argues "we need to explore what is involved in an appeal to nature and to grasp the diversity of naturalising arguments which may go beyond genetics and biology" (2002:15). This is important because it makes us aware of the ways in which human nature and essence is mutable: "although human natures may be seen as quite ingrained, they are also seen as changeable and flexible. Racism can exploit this diversity of ideas about nature in ways that have not yet been explored" (ibid). Thus, we must consider ways in which naturalised belonging is designated beyond 'biology' and in the realms of socio-cultural practice. This not only troubles the distinction between the biological and the social, but highlights modes of naturalised belonging that feed social norms. Here, kin-making was shadowed by race and the imposition of naturalised markers of belonging traced in both physical features

and notions of indigeneity, which were tied to place and contested for both women.

What has been established in this section is the strength of anthropological attention to the diverse ways in which race is figured. The categorical fixing of race typified in the statistics is shown to be far more permeable than 'black' and 'white' – Ant Mandy expressed an 'outgrowing' of Apartheid's fixed categories, and Jessica's experiences, while denying Ant Mandy's claim that this ceases to be a factor. There are many factors that allocate belonging – many of them tethered to race (as language and appearance resonate with ideas of where one 'comes from') also revealing intersections of class and culture that mediated difference.[45] Further the interpenetration of kinship and race is signalled in Jessica 's attempt to mediate between families by having a child – an act that also made possible the acquisition of her own home, despite the fact that that space was charged with tension. The yard was situated in a town where she did not want to raise her children for fear that they would learn and experience the same deeply embedded tendencies to allocate hierarchy based on ideas of naturalised belonging.

"Xhosa food, or English food": inheritance and belonging

As Ant Mandy got up to check on the food in the kitchen, she told me about her dinner plans for the evening. To her vegetable curry she would add some *wors* (a kind of sausage) left over from the night before. The addition of *wors* and side of rice was because "ek moet my pot meer maak… al die monde/" I have to bulk up my pot… all the mouths to feed". Ant Mandy and her sister took turns preparing the food:

> We love cooking: we make all sorts of food, from traditional isiXhosa food, because we are Xhosa, so, traditional Xhosa food, or English food, but

[45] As Garuba and Raditlhalo, 2010 argue, 'culture' has conflicting meanings and should be considered in context – I find the most useful definition of culture to be a signifying practice that produces meaning.

> other than that, there is no other food that we make. My children eat everything: they have to go to bed with full tummies every night.

Baderoon shows that curry serves as the locus for romantic renderings of Cape Malay food (2014). A fetishized food – a dish in which the simmering flavours and methods taken from the diverse homelands of slaves is combined with ingredients taken from South African veld and newly introduced crops. By reading recipe books, press cuttings and contemporary reminiscing about Malay curry, Baderoon critiques the ways in which colonial powers selected to represent the enslaved through a comfortable (and comforting) signifier – curry. This celebrates the Malay cook, (2014:46) as a kind of magical 'ayah', disguising the violence of enslavement. In converse to this rhetoric, Baderoon shows that curry is an excellent example of cookery that signals domination and resistance (Baderoon, 2014:50).

The enslaved people of the Cape came to shape 'national cuisine' in South Africa in "unexpectedly potent ways" (ibid). The kitchen, a private space, was a site of rape and violence, but simultaneously one where resistance could be cooked. Rumours of slaves conjuring magical food that wrought illness and death by consumption spread fear and troubled hierarchies of power. Over time, 'white' women recipe-book writers sought to appropriate recipes for publication. They met with subtle resistance, key ingredients were left out and special recipes kept beyond their grasp (2014:57). The preparation of food thus registers a charged site that can mark subtle resistance and desire.

It is coincidental that Ant Mandy was preparing curry on the day I met her. However, her choice of food 'type' was not. She specified clearly that her and her sister made "Xhosa" and "English" food, but no other 'types' of food. Her omission of 'coloured' food seemed deliberate. In this context, this could be denoted by language (Afrikaans) or racial/ cultural category. The power of food to express inner world and orientation (not just by material consumption but also sensorily) is explored by Serematakis who writes: "the senses represent inner states not

shown on the surface. They are also located in a social-material field outside the body" (1994:12). Serematakis argues that food is sensorily central to place-making, especially in the context of state regulatory regimes" (2010:212). It was curry that I smelled that day, but it was not 'coloured', it was not 'Malay', it was not 'Afrikaans'. Stoller describes a woman's making of a certain sauce as a "way of expres[sing]sensually her anger" (Stoller in Sutton, ibid). The statement that there is no other food to make besides Xhosa and Engish food (thus excluding 'coloured' food, or 'Afrikaans' food) suggests a form social resistance based on naturalised, if contested notions of belonging. This may considered an example of translocality – where socio-cultural practices shape identity rather than territorialised anchors of 'place' (see Appardurai, 1990).

Food features heavily in the social practice of forging belonging as shown by Baderoon who quotes Cass Abrahams: "Cape Malay cooking is significantly bound to geographical location- with San and Khoi people sharing food sources and knowledge with Muslims, asserting its 'African' character" (2014:61). Foil to Ant Mandy's cooking choice that omits 'coloured food' could be found at the community hall during a Heritage Day fundraising event.[46] Two elder women who were well known cookery experts and recipe-keepers sold koe-sisters – (not the kind widely touted as the exemplary "South African" sweet – but the less commercialised oblongs, doused in coconut). Alongside these palatable treats they sold small containers of 'kaffirwaatlemoenkonfyt' 'kaffirwatermelon jam'– a jam made from a melon found in the wild that holds in its name both a territorial signifier (to a locally found 'veldkos') and an extremely derogatory term for 'black' people excised from popular use today.

In the process of preparation and consumption, food has the power to meld and mark boundaries of the self and other, designate and/or claim belonging. The process of ingestion marks an intimate encounter where social and biological is blurred (Carsten, 2004:41), experiences ingested, the exterior folded within. In

[46] Heritage Day, a National public holiday celebrated on the 24th September, encourages celebration of cultural diversity.

the yard curry was cooked within, shared within. Jessica was not included in such meals. I was not invited to eat or visit Jessica as she cooked in her one-roomed home, but she told me what they ate, or liked to. Their menu was limited due to material constraints tied to their precarious income and amenities. She cooked soy mince, vegetables (seldom being able to afford meat) and made curry "like *my* mother" when there was money. The lack of money for fuel/electricity limited her repertoire to foods that could be prepared before expiry, as they had no refrigerator.

At the baptism the previous week the dish of mussels with grated cheese and crackers had been a talking point. The source of the new recipe was attributed to Veronica's great aunt. The pleasure in compiling the snacks individually was lauded, everyone gathering around the platter to try "this new thing". Veronica's mother thus paid homage to her previous host, and I in turn paid homage to her by copying the recipe at our 'thousand days' tea. Passing on recipes in families and communities is a powerful kind of inheritance. Eating together locates people together in place and time – a connection that exceeds past and future notions of place and time. This social practice has the potential to augment relationships that in turn augment life. This happens through fastening memories through arrangements of food and 'ways' of eating, that stand as tributes to elders, generations past, and modes of consumption that are remembered even whilst modes of production inflect changes on available foodstuffs and recipes. These inheritances are often imbued with nostalgia. Recipes mark memory – arrangements of food are documented, their repetition referencing patterns, people, place – memories of sharing nourishment.

However, Jessica could seldom cook *her* mother's curry. They ate from the soup kitchen whenever it opened. Jessica added spices and stock cubes – "ons kosse/ our foods" to these meals. This editing happened in the privacy of the home, and over time I learned that it was common practice. Once it was clear that I had no allegiance to the soup kitchen in particular, several people confided in me that they often thought its offerings disgusting. At one 'thousand days tea' a surprising

kind of recipe exchange occurred: the women discussed methods to bulk up portions, cure blandness with spices and seasoning, and counter unpalatable tastes and textures by mixing the stew with other foods and flavours. The act of editing food and voicing disgust, also signalled a resistance to the unpalatable distribution of resources in the name of charity and goodwill that marked local inequality.

Let us return to Carsten's suggestion that there is a clear link between material houses and the people who live in them ; and that this may be expressed in terms of eating and bodily substance (2004:41). Jessica hardly entered Ant Mandy's house, and she and I sat on the windowsill, excluded from any food being prepared inside. Our shared sensory experience was (on one occasion) of the smell of *tik*, burning across the street. Jessica, who did not have her own kitchen, but cooked on a gas stove resting on a crate in her one-roomed house, sought to show care and knit affirmation by conception. This affirmation "still didn't come" – not in word nor invitations to eat together. Ant Mandy voiced other reasons for her disapproval – she was unhappy that Jessica and Elvis lived together outside of marriage, and intimated that their relationship was fraught and unhappy. When Ant Mandy told me that none of her children went to bed hungry, I ventured to ask: "all your children?" She responded: "If the little one [Jessica and Elvis' daughter] asks for food, I won't refuse, I will give her food. I don't mind giving something to someone who is grateful. But if they're not grateful – that is a waste". Whilst it is impossible and problematic to analyse a relationship between people, attention to the 'charged proximity' offers a notion of what norms, prescriptions and expectations guard life and the construction of self. This brings our attention now to the moral questions of giving, reciprocity (see Mauss, 1966) and what social forces act upon these.

"I don't want to hold myself upstairs, but…": dignity, respectability and access to networks of nourishment

When I asked Ant Mandy what she thought of the soup kitchen, she explained that the soup kitchen was for those who are "less privileged" and "have nothing". Her

children, she shrugged, at least had "bread and a pot of food on the stove", and she felt that they should 'gun' (which translates clumsily as 'grant', or rather, to not begrudge) the food to those who *really* don't have. So, she said,

> I prefer that they don't go. But if their friends come and say, "let's go", I don't want to be funny – then they go, but I actually don't want… I don't want to hold myself 'upstairs', but someone else could have gotten a plate of food.

The use of the expression 'upstairs' gives us an entry point from which to make sense of Ant Mandy's comment regarding the soup kitchen – she does not want to "hold herself upstairs" – an expression which stems from upstairs/ downstairs dichotomy metaphorically rooted in the intimate home-space shared by the English gentry and their servants. This notion of being "upstairs" references a class distinction at work in Kylemore. This intersects with notions of dignity that can be read as "shifting registers" (following Ross, 2010) that are shaped by time and place. Jessica, who attended the soup kitchen whenever it opened, raised questions of reciprocity on numerous occasions. She had said in the 'thousand days tea' that "people scold too much about food and money – they are unimportant things". And as earlier expressed in her chagrined statement around bullying and obtaining friendship: "you have to give something". Ant Mandy's words suggest that, 'being grateful' is something that can be given. An acceptance of needing help, material nourishment, signifying a 'come-down', and allowing the receiver to take up the material goods, at cost to dignity. A complicated set of moral precedents exists around giving, hospitality, and sharing food. These signal the power of withholding or '*gun*-ing' within the social schema, along racial lines expressed in terms of bodily appearance. Jessica explained how food was discriminatorily distributed among visiting friends when she was at school:

> Ahhh…it was my family, too, I mean the Coloured side of my family – I had dark friends so they would say hello to them, ok, if they came over. But my Coloured, lightly Coloured friends, they are *guests*. If they came to my

> house they got bread, they got drinks. But the darker ones – they are troublemakers and I always said "that's not true", you see. And people mustn't look at it like that.

Experience, including "loss of face" is always simultaneously individual and collective and takes place in a specific context (Kleinman, 2007:53). Giving food was a clear indicator of hospitality, and resources would be spent fastening social ties with those who were not stereotyped as 'troublemakers'.

Steffen Jensen (2008) focuses on dignity and practices in everyday life in working class communities in the Cape. He understands dignity as that which is imbued in practice, but "only becomes an issue when domination produces humiliation" (2008:10). Jensen explains that the dominant tropes of what it means to be 'coloured' are reified as a direct result of the infusion of these practices with moral notions that underpin historical and contemporary practices of recognition (see Ross, 2015).

In her discussion of dignity in 'Die Bos', Ross writes of idiosyncrasy- "intersections of relationships and convention" (2010:113) that help make sense of social and cultural values as they happen at a particular time and in relation to particular persons. Her discussion around dignity, thus, makes clear that it is a relational concept, and tied closely to behaviour. Dignity translates as both self-respect, and the ways in which respect is shown to others and assessed by them over time.

In the 'charged proximity' of Ant Mandy's yard (as in greater South Africa) it is clear that stereotypes are often invoked, and are troubling. However, the 'menace' are the visiting 'darker friends' that Jessica describes, one of whom Jessica chose to father her children despite resistance from the 'coloured' side (her mother's side) of her family, who, she said, eventually blessed their relationship: "my family was there". Ant Mandy's refusal to accept the persistence of stereotyping is clear from her words: "we outgrew it" despite the fact "[they] just couldn't get over [their] Blackness, not in Kylemore" even though they "had Afrikaans". Ant

Mandy's point about 'outgrowing' categorised belonging was not just an echo of the rhetoric of the 'Rainbow nation'. Ant Sara told me, after months of many talks, about the traumatising day when she was forcibly removed from her classroom in the Kylemore school and told her skin was the wrong colour. In spite of having a 'coloured' father, her mother's 'black' skin, her 'black' skin, meant she had to go to the 'black' school, in Kayamandi. The principal and other parents tried to stop the government officials from coming into the classrooms, from taking Sara, Mandy and other children away. They failed. When I met her Ant Sara was known as one of the most respectable woman of Kylemore. She was widely revered, and she was certainly considered a 'Kymoeder', although I never once heard her claim naturalised belonging in such terms.

At the time of our conversation, Jessica and Elvis were both unemployed, and her child grant was in process of being approved. She received some small income from her mother, and had the proximity of her mother's family nearby should there be an emergency. However, she lacked "something to exchange", and, as intimated by Ant Mandy, refused to "be grateful", rendering any giving of material foodstuffs to her "a waste". Her resources for engaging in reciprocity were tired out, and she had two small children, one breastfeeding; the other, as she explained, listless, and upset that she no longer received the "Friday sweets" she was used to getting when her father was employed. It is clear here that Jessica's access to dignity was impinged by her material lack, shaped in turn by the seasons that tuned the political economy of the valley. This reinforced her precarious social position. A limited degree of belonging contributed to the larger trouble securing food.

Conclusion: a caution against determinism

This chapter has attended to contrasting experiences within the 'charged proximity' of one yard. This yard is situated in a valley wherein material poverty and lavish 'Cape Dutch' farmsteads – legacies of colonialism - exist side by side. In the space of charged proximity described here, racist and othering ideologies shape access to income and land, inducing people's vulnerability to seasonal

precariousness. The legacy of separatist ideas that were initially embedded in biological determinism continues to circulate. However, there are attempts to "shake them off". While notions of naturalised belonging, behaviour, respectability endure and continue to shape everyday worlds, they are contested in small ways every day, such as with curry that is not 'Afrikaans,' with the conception of a child named after a mixed race movie star, and with homemade recipes to make soup kitchen food palatable.

Categories of race and culture, as well as modalities of respectability are considered as immutable and crystallised, with real implications for everyday eating, intimate love, and encounters within one yard. This is clear where dark skin signals troublemakers, a certain accent denotes outsider status, and attending the soup kitchen marks a low grade of class – 'downstairs'. Whilst the nature/ culture divide has long fixed on these distinctions, and epigenetics begins to blur them by recognising the imbrication of 'environment' with sociality and relationality, there is a further risk of determinism. This risk lies in the explicit language of futures as being forged in the womb – "the rest of a life" is given shape. "Irreversible damage" may occur. And when we consider the intergenerational inheritance of legacies of slavery, colonialism and Aparthied that overlapped, and become enfleshed, we need a renewed guard against language (and the terms of belonging dragged along with it) that projects deterministic outcomes on infants and their futures.

Chapter 6.

Fish finger stew

It was 2:30pm, on a cold winter day. The queue of people waiting for food at the soup kitchen exceeded the length of the hall. Our work had begun around 9:00am, when the food usually arrived. The food was delivered regularly (twice a week), although the content was inconsistent. Most weeks the major food items were starch (maize and samp) and bags of chopped, mixed frozen vegetables, sometimes containing raw beans. Routinely, the cooking process began between nine and ten in the morning. A large pot was placed on the stovetop to which frozen vegetables and enough water to cover were added. Other foodstuffs (which varied according to the delivery and stock) were then added. On one occasion this was an enormous bone with some meat on, on another day it might be mince, or fresh vegetables when the nearby school garden project provided some. In a second pot the women would cook up starch. The beans in the vegetable packs were not pre-soaked, or cooked. By the time the queue started to form (around 1pm) the beans would still be hard, the vegetables uniformly soft.

On this particular day we were running later than usual. Two extra bags of donated foods had arrived from an NGO in nearby Stellenbosch. The first bag contained freezer-burnt pizzas, chicken nuggets, giblets, and fish fingers, loose from their boxes. Following the usual procedure, this collection was added to the water and vegetables in the pot. The pizza was torn into chunks and added to the soup pot along with the now-defrosted vegetables. The pizza floated to the top, dough-side up. The gizzards sank. The fish fingers bobbed around with the chicken nuggets.

The second bag contained bread, cakes and pastries in various state of freshness and decay. The mould from white bread rolls contaminated fresher loaves, also mixing with a crush of red velvet and chocolate icing. Three women took the bags to tables and began to sort the goods, without a sound. I watched their hands at work trying to keep the oozing sugar away from doughnuts away from the loaves away from the

rolls sprouting the blue/ green wreath of mould. I broke a long silence, asking "Why couldn't they just separate this?"

There was a long pause before Ant Sara responded, "No man. I know we have to be grateful. But they can also treat us right. It's not nice. It's not nice. People are hungry but they are ***still people!"***

Just then, a donation from a local culinary school arrived. Having trained as a chef, it was my habit to try and fashion such donations into some sort of edible dish. Form and quantity always posed a problem (what to do with three bags of left-over chocolate glaze and a bagful of custard? How to distribute it fairly between an indeterminate number of people?) There was an assortment of pastry, and some icing delivered that day. There was a large stock of cans in the larder. The cans had no labels or expiry dates. The prior omission was source of amusement because you never knew if it would be peas or peaches upon opening. And so we took bets. (At a later date I ate from one such can and got ill). I had a peach tart in mind, and was lucky to hit on a shelf of exclusively peaches on my first attempt. I used a wine bottle to roll out the base, and flour from Ant Sara's own kitchen to dust it with. I cobbled the base together using short crust, nut, and puff pastry offcuts, arranged the peaches, glazed with over-mixed icing (we gave that culinary student an internal rating of 2/10). I dotted them with frozen berries that arrived, luckily still packaged, in the same bag as the freezer-burnt pizzas, chicken nuggets, giblets, and fish fingers. As the queue lengthened I took two large sheets of trays from the oven. The golden brown pastry, uneven as it was, generously covered in yellow peaches and speckled with purple berries, looked and smelled delicious.

I suggested that we cut them into small pieces and distribute them amongst the attending adults. A decisive chorus of "NO!" shunned my proposal. I was sternly told we would distribute tarts to children only.

As the food neared readiness, the waiting line was divided into two– one for the adults to get their jugfuls of soup, and another for the children to receive the (unwieldy) tarts, which had been portioned into disposable cups. The soup was ordinarily distributed with a set of conditions. Everyone had to line up with their own containers. When the pots were ready at the tables there would be a sermon or speech. This was premised on moral sentiments including appeals to leave drugs, alcohol and abuse; work harder and better; stand together as a community; and remember God and the church always. Then the Lord's prayer would be recited. The voices of the children were strongest – a confident, earnest chorus. Some adults did not close their eyes, and if they bent their heads when the collective did, they lifted them by 'hallowed be thy name'. They kept their mouths closed, looking around.

The dishing up began, I refused (again) the offer to ladle up soup, but could not really justify hiding in the kitchen. So I stood near the table with the cups of tarts, where the children were collecting a cup each. One young boy took one cup, then reached for another. A woman who was dishing up soup noticed this, lurched in his direction and confiscated both the paper cups. "Out!" she shouted at him "get out!" and proceeded to discipline him. The people in the queue quietened and turned to watch the commotion. The boy quickly dropped his shoulder, face cast down, and retreated outside. His mother re-entered the double-door she had just exited, realising what had happened. "Where is my child?" she asked, softly, looking at his back as he walked away. She looked on the verge of reproach but instead mirrored his bodily reaction. They left with only her recycled margarine tub of fish finger stew.

Introduction: revolving foreground and background

Consider this paradoxical picture. A researcher seeks nourishment in a soup kitchen. A soup kitchen operates in a seemingly abundant valley alongside elite new housing developments and wine and fruit farms. An organisation aiming to alleviate hunger donates rotten food. A soup kitchen must execute advanced pastry making. Food meant to nourish the body turns toxic.

Can these contradictions be thought together? What does the question of nourishment offer? What is in the foreground? What or whom is in the background? The answers are shaped by discourse and perspective, most of which would foreground a single facet. A political economy approach might centre the capacity of capital to exploit labour. Emmie remembers this day as the one in which the worst food ever was served: her and Jessica explained that they had a tough time disguising the ill-flavour with spices and additives when they got home. A sponsor may view this as a call for further help, or affirmation that their food has, in some measure, reached the intended 'hungry'. Ant Sara had fond memories of the day – I heard her telling visitors to her stoep: "we have a chef, you know – you should have seen our tart!"

The more interesting question to put, as Verran (2001) proposes, is how the representation has been *ordered*. This chapter foregrounds different aspects of this picture in turn, noting what slides from view in each instance, and what is illuminated. Thus, this chapter is about how to seek nourishment: revolving the foreground and background, listening for silences, seeking context, foregrounding the body, reflecting on the self and orders of knowledge.[47] Moral orders, relative concepts of good, and the sociality of food emerge.

I begin by foregrounding hunger – it seemed to me at first to shout from this scene, and consider indignity next. Both illuminate inequality, alerting us to the question of whether material want justifies humiliation. This follows Fassin's (2012) critique of humanitarian reason. I then centre shame (corporeally) and its production in terms of Christian ideologies and normative notions of good. But this reduction to a dead-end view of reciprocity makes us blind to kindness, as Clara Han (2014) argues (and I experienced). I then show how attention to modes of forgetting, remembering and pretending not to know conceal kindness. In this foregrounding, biography is privileged over biology, and languages of compassion

[47] Another route to such a production could follow Lefebvre (2004) who draws attention to the production of social space. This requires that time and space be studied simultaneously, centring the body as in his method of rhythm-analysis (see also Ross, 2010).

are sought. In order to hold hunger and nourishment together without relegating either to the background, I ply Han's (2014) notion of 'vertical time'. The quiet sorting of mould from fresh bread brings us to the food – when we draw mould, peaches, and fish fingers to the front, what do we find? Here I consider what thinking rotting food alongside delicious peaches reveals about the fragility of life, proximity to 'environment', and ethical obligation to the other inherent in sociality: we all deserve what Levinas (1987:110) calls "the good soup".

Foregrounding Hunger

I have argued previously that hunger is hard to quantify – in terms of material intake, and in terms of rendering subjective experience. I arrived at the question of nourishment precisely because seeking hunger creates victims, assumes lack, and attempts to quantify subjective experience without consideration of the social complexities of eating in political context. Yet, one cannot reduce hunger to abstraction. Particularly not in *this* soup kitchen, particularly not on *this* day. The long queue of people was surely testament to material want and inequality. If we count bodies (there were at least 180), and contextualise this within the seasonal calendar, that constitutes evidence for capital's ability to exploit the body, and the structural violence that underpins it (Cousins, 2014, Wylie 2001, van der Waal, 2014).

In foregrounding hunger we must ask: what has been inherited? Capitalism exploits labour and depends on the designation of difference. That legacy is embodied and continues to extend into the present and everyday, as I have shown. A system of charity that delivers food that is both toxic and undesirable to people to eat makes the hierarchical distribution of life clear again. From Stellenbosch to Kylemore, the question of what life is worth (from Davis, 2012) suggests that the lives of those in Kylemore is worth less. The inheritance of paternalistic practices on farms, which pivot on relations of dependency and vulnerability (Du Toit, 1993:316) endure.

This picture sits in a larger context. Twenty-two years after democracy, a soup kitchen arises in response to seasonal precariousness, and Kylemore's people wait for food parcels to arrive from Stellenbosch. The NGO seeks to prevent hunger and provide work and food for women. In this context it is clear that historical modalities of dependence, and naturalised belonging persist. A lack of food security is clear, and inequality remains rampant. Let us pause at this evidence of hunger and disparity. What does it do? If humanitarian reason prevails, it will hopefully solicit help.[48] This blatant inequality is obvious, but it clearly needs to be recounted over and over until the need for a soup kitchen ceases. Such a political project will inevitably foreground a large-scale spectacle of hunger in this picture – the visual cues being the large pots, the long queue of people wrapped in warm clothing, to which the only humane response can be: Action! [49] This narrative of spectacular want was foregrounded in the story of the soup kitchen's genesis.

I heard the story of the soup kitchen's origins on three occasions. The first was during my preliminary research, when I met Ant Sara, as I have already related. The second occurred one day when we sat on her stoep. A far-off acquaintance from nearby Pniël came to ask Ant Sara's advice on starting a NGO. The man explained that he had sought her out for advice because her expertise in caring for the community was well-known. He likened her to the "Mother Teresa of Kylemore". She responded modestly, saying that such work was imperative, considering the "terrible conditions people live in". The third rendering was over the local radio station where Ant Sara was interviewed. She was canvassing for further support, and encouraging others to take up similar projects. The accounts were emotive in each instance, emphasizing the appeals of children, who came to

[48] Recall an NGO (not the one that served the soup kitchen) website's introduction to Kylemore: "Kylemore is a previously disadvantaged rural community outside Stellenbosch in South Africa. Although a well-established community, with a remarkable level of generic skills and individual talent, it is still economically vulnerable: 60% of adults are unemployed, and the village is socially deprived of community facilities" (Imbali, 2009).

[49] In her meditation on the valuation of life Davis writes: "With the perception of life as wasted, there is not so much the question of "what is to be done?" as there is the exhortation of "something must be done!" (2008: 508).

her door, hungry. In each account the numbers of attendees were given – 200-300 people, three days a week!

Fassin (2012) argues that humanitarianism depends on spectacular exhibits of violence, poverty and suffering. The language of compassion emphasises suffering but is justified because "compassion spurns action" (2012:180). That Ant Sara was convinced that a response was needed is of no doubt. That aid should come from wealthy neighbours on wine farms and in the urban centre aptly recognises the unequal distribution of power in the valley, and the intensified scarcity of resources in winter. Fassin (2012) argues that numbers are inflated, singular instances ballooned, in the name of creating awareness. The consequence is, Fassin (2012) argues, that context is subsumed, and further agendas as well as structural causes are omitted. The soup kitchen arose in an election year. Two further soup kitchens began at this time, each headed by an electoral ward candidate. A fourth, long-standing soup kitchen was managed once weekly by a local church. I counted just under 200 people on this day, but it was usually a much shorter queue, and if it reached 300 I was not witness. This is not to dismiss the case of hunger – doing so undermines the efforts of carers, and neglects the evidence of want that needs to be quantified in order to gain political attention. This is, as Fassin (2012) shows, exemplary of the paradox that the critique of humanitarianism wrings. Such critique is considered out of bounds, precisely because the problem at hand is 'real', materially felt: there is the queue of people, in the winter, waiting for soup.

The affective dimension of humanitarianism reason produces victims removed from context; risks painting them as deviants themselves; and allows both structural and historical causes and enduring forms of care and solidarity to slide from view (Fassin, 2012:180). Further, the compassion of humanitarianism has boundaries, most often tracked along lines of race and class (Fassin, 2012:198) as made clear in the pathway of aid described here. Givers in Stellenbosch could maintain a distance from the designated, needy 'other', marking the geo-political distance. The distribution of toxic and undesirable food in the form of charitable

donation confirms this, as it was a relatively face-less process with a number of middle-agents doing the deliveries and collections.

The soup kitchen's organisation reveals internal othering and power differentiation (Fassin, 2012:244). The organising women framed themselves as 'insiders in charge'. Whilst they shared the mutual burden of precariousness and material poverty, they were not as impoverished as those who attended. Those differences were marked in the disciplined bodies that must line up, the moralising sermon, the spectacle of a queue, the boredom of waiting for an indeterminate time, and the compulsory public exhibition of hunger demanded by walking with receptacle in hand to the community hall on certain days at 1:00pm. This separation relies on the designation of a needier other. In fact, there were cases in which women who worked at the soup kitchen had similar income to those in attendance. This is significant as it marks mutual vulnerability to precariousness. The women were not remunerated for their work – but did receive first choice of all donations in compensation for their time and efforts. In spite of the close proximity (often in terms of family, neighbourliness, and income) to those receiving, those who were dishing up had a very different experience – status was inferred. Giving was also explicitly described as a way for oneself to feel better. Ant Liesbet told me how she recruited her niece to start working there:

> "I told her, change your vision. At the soup kitchen you look at other people: they have even worse problems. It makes you feel better".

The existence of a needier 'other' bolstered the self, the giver. Whilst not everyone who attended the soup kitchen was in dire need (some such as Emmie visited strategically, in order to save on household expenses), there was a clear designation of needier 'others'. I have described the ways in which inequality in Kylemore is (as elsewhere) heterogeneous – some families had secure and stable income, and at the other side of the spectrum people relied on child grants, networks, and other forms of aid. These were broadly known as 'Malva straat se mense' – Malva Street's people. Jessica explained:

> I mostly feel that they ['Malva Straat se mense'] should be thankful. It's not necessary that she (Antie Sara) does this, she does it because she cares for them. They feel like, because she gives to them, they don't have to buy foods to give their children at home. So they can smoke tik or drink, because there will be food the next day, Ant Sara will be there. So 'why must I make provision for food at home? Now I can drink'.
> It's those people – on *that side's* street.

Children were also clearly identified as a morally valuable group (Fassin, 2012:176 and Han, 2014:72) their dependence on adults elevating them above 'Malva straat se mense'. Whilst the disciplining of the child who took a second tart (for his brother? Or mother? Or a love of peaches?) was premised on an accusation of greed that presumed lack of thankfulness for *what was received*, 'the children' were otherwise favoured recipients of food and care. The women's indignation when I suggested the tarts be given to adults was evident, and the moral imperative to prioritise 'children' over 'adults' was voiced repeatedly. Linda, whom I interacted with briefly via the crèche, managed a children's feeding programme. She made the prioritization of children clear when I spoke with her and two NGO workers who supported her programme. Linda mentioned in conversation that she had used some of her own rice to feed the children. The NGO workers protested. They asked her to let them know when they should reimburse her for using her own ingredients. To this she responded with impatience, (possibly directed at the NGO workers themselves for exactly the patronising attitude Fassin (2012) decries) stomping her foot: "Even if there was NO HELP (gesturing at the two women), I would, by myself, feed all these children. *Children are everything*". Ant Sara also repeated this sentiment. During her Mandela Day celebrations some adults approached the kitchen around 1:00pm (the usual time). She shouted at them, telling them to go away as it was the *children's* special time. When I asked why she said "Ek is baie erg oor die kinders" (I am very earnest about the children).

Satisfying the hunger of children was more commendable and enjoyable than that of satisfying adults. Both depended on a recognition of hunger. Foregounding hunger has revealed the persistence of inequality and skewed systems of distribution that designate worthy and wasted life in a larger socio-political system. It has been shown that such imagery is the currency of humanitarian organisations. Fassin (2012) cautions that foregrounding the spectacle of suffering thrusts structural causes from view. Further, it disguises the conditions of compassion and the hierarchical designation of difference that creates victims of suffering, who are morally valued in relation to their suffering (Fassin, 2012:178). Who and what is omitted from a picture in which hunger is at the forefront? I have earlier argued that within the focus on the mother-child dyad other carers are omitted, and that discourses of hunger risk entrenching indignity; attendees had to comply with the decorum of the soup kitchen and "act grateful" if they were 'Malva straat se mense'. I suggest that by focusing on shame we will be able to register the ways that social relations are materially and corporeally manifested.

Foregrounding shame

The previous section showed how complex hierarchical designations of difference (from Stellenbosch to Kylemore, and 'Malva straat se mense', children) shaped forms of reciprocity. Similarly to hunger, shame is a sensation, and is subjective. What marks shame? What surfaces it? Can we assume that the distribution of toxic food would induce shame? Ant Sara said "[w]e may be poor, but we are still human" in response to my critical question about why the food was not sorted.

My account of shame derives from attentiveness to the body. The open eyes during prayer, the slant of the child's shoulder as he walked away from the table, his mother's pose mirroring his. I noted it in the posture of a mother I knew via the crèche – she avoided my gaze, just as I avoided hers, pretending not to register that I had seen her. It set my body ablaze, too, marking my complicity in systemic inequality. Whilst naming shame is challenging, we know enough about social norms around poverty, respectability and the intimacy of eating to deduce that

having to ask for food, and be seen to do so publicly, induces shame. I now consider shame as evidenced in the ritualised process of the soup kitchen; in terms of respectability; in relation to a moral economy based on an interpretation of Christian norms; and finally in terms of my own body.

I have described the intimacy of eating. An act usually confined to home or hospitable social spaces, visiting the soup kitchen was public. The reason for attending was to get food to the fill the stomach – a biological mode of augmenting life. (I doubt anyone attended for just the sermons). There was no table at which to sit and eat, no effort to conjure the commensality of the kind nurtured in the home (apart from the ritual of beginning in prayer, to which I return). Eating indexes taste, desire, class, and crucially– income. This was related to notions of respectability that were governed by social norms. Privation indexed poverty – it could land you along with 'Malva straat se mense'. Mandy "didn't want to hold herself upstairs" but was ashamed that her son and his partner attended the soup kitchen. She insisted they had enough food, more than most. Shame was induced in the obligation to be seen to be grateful, which Jessica said 'Malva straat se mense' should be. Gratefulness sits in tense relation with frustration; recall that Jessica, too, had expressed frustration at the expectations of reciprocity that made her feel like she wanted to 'disappear'. The Christian convocation to give and receive in certain registers was clear in the ritual of prayer littered with messages of conversion and cleansing of sin.

Han (2014) asks about the role of Christianity in the space between the humiliation of charity, and material want. Drawing on Illanes (2007) she argues that the 18th century Catholic church actively worked to affirm an 'unequal complementary' that made rich and poor mutually obliged to each other (2014:74). This unequal complementary persists, here: the poor benefit from material aid at the soup kitchen, and the women who work there receive assurance that their lives are comparatively better – other people have 'worse problems'. The soup kitchen as platform for self-improvement was also used as a way to inspire "Godly behaviour" and prevent or stop deviance from moral norms.

Homosexuality was frowned upon. Lizet, a gay woman who was struggling to get by was taken up as a volunteer at the soup kitchen. Her apparent transformation was proffered as evidence that the possibility of working at the soup kitchen offered redemption. As a woman explained - she had been there for three months, and "look! She has left those evil ways!" Lizet had to act 'thankful,' and heterosexual to retain her position in the soup kitchen.

The form of reciprocity available to those in need – their gratefulness - induces shame in those required to demonstrate it. The designation of certain figures of vulnerability functions to maintain an 'unequal complementary'. However, this "unequal complementary" functions at two levels – with the larger aid programmes that donate food to Kylemore (the site to which Fassin's (2012) critique of humanitarian enterprises would predominantly attend), and within the functioning of the soup kitchen itself, where the designation of difference and fraught expectation of 'gratefulness' seem to inscribe larger discourses of aid within a local context.

In the meal described above, Christian valourisations of need and charity were deeply embedded, politically-induced precariousness was evident, and the language of compassion was one that identified suffering but worthy victims. It is to this combination that Fassin (2012) argues humanitarianism responds in a delivery tied to notions of 'good'. This 'good' relies on the suffering of others, and so produces further suffering. Tracking nourishment as I have formulated it meant I was attending to the ordinary so as to understand everyday notions of 'the good'.

But what capacity or measures did I have to recognise 'good'? On this day at the soup kitchen the sight of a gift of rotten food, the humiliation I witnessed, the shaming of the child and the unpalatable soup culminated in my hopeless anger, despair. I was deeply ashamed. I knew my presence as witness probably intensified the shame experienced by others. I stood where Fassin's (2012) critique of humanitarian reason might place me: watching an internalised version of humanitarian reason that designates difference, relies on suffering, allows for humiliation, and does so within a moral economy that will continue to perpetuate

moral norms as the basis for othering. My presence seemed a double voyeurism – reifying otherness from my position on the helpers' side and doing research as if this was some distant phenomenon. As I watched the child and mother retreat my body felt hot, my throat dry and scratchy. I was so ashamed that I fled fast on the heels of the mother and child, omitting our ritual final cigarette and goodbye.

Shame "dramatically questions taken-for-granted distinctions between affect, emotion, biography, and the places in which we live our daily lives" (Probyn, 2004:328). Shame is registered in the body, and is heightened when we are dislocated from habitual places, forcing us to re-think everyday lived experience. Because shame is heightened when the body is out of place, it reveals our vulnerability and "dependence on the proximities of others, of place, of routine, of biography and history" (2004:329). What did I learn from my dislocation – beyond what was already clear in terms of race, income, language, privilege? I was oriented to find nourishment but was blinded by my own notions of *good*. I had, after all, made a career of sensorial satisfaction of the appetite. I wanted to serve delicate, warm peach tarts to everyone. I stood there, believing in the power of taste to comfort, to knit care, to nourish and felt ashamed that this could not be so.

Probyn (2004) argues for the positivity of everyday shame. This is not to say that shame is a positive sensation, but because it alerts us to experiences of dislocation it highlights notions of the normal and good. In this instance, my experience of shame illuminated two things very clearly: firstly, that I was vastly out-of-place. My shame reflected a radical, persistent inequality. My close proximity to a meal that was as far from the delicate peach tarts I had served in Cape Town's high-end restaurants was dizzying. My presence, (my white skin the only clue required) as one who lived in comparably vast privilege was a continuous imposition. Secondly, this disrupted habitus (taking peach tarts from an oven in soup kitchen and not an elite restaurant) reminded me that I had little or no sense of what forms 'the good food' took in this context. Even the soup, I thought, was a nutritional farce: the boiling would have decimated the water-soluble vitamins, the combination might cause vomiting, make people more ill. I was not hungry myself, so who was I to take notes on the moral economy of reciprocity?

Shame is affect, and attention to it allows us to register the ways in which the body's continuous interest in life alerts us to the modalities of everyday life (Probyn, 2004:329). If my experience of shame is foregrounded, then ominous hunger with a threat of poisonous food, the fragility of life and its near proximity to death comes into view. The unequal distribution of life is shown to be spatially and temporally allocated, with registers of respectability and the designation of difference plied. My relative privilege is lit up, my displacement a hot flush, a choking up – a corporeal response to being-out-of-place. The ethics of bearing witness (Ross, 2005) come into view, as does the very real concern about hunger, the importance of affect (shame makes one want to disappear – Probyn (2004:329) just as hunger does – and neither is immediately deducible) and the ways in which designating people as worthy reflects certain orders of good, relative to context.

Foregrounding Kindness and compassion

But where does this leave a project of nourishment, which seeks contextual notions of good, and highlights the moralising impact of omissions and prescriptions that responsibilise and risk causing blame? The critique of humanitarianism comes to bear on the women of the soup kitchen, and does not grant space for compassion and a contextual notion of morality. Davis reminds us that classic anthropologists sought to identify utopic possibilities. This project depended on relativism in the sense that "charity or compassion had to be recreated through whatever political language is made available to it" (2008:512).

Fassin writes that humanitarian reason privileges biology over biography. This results in an ethical failure to apprehend 'the face' of the 'Other' to whom we are ethically obliged. Aid is offered in the name of biological life (food to cure hunger). Yet, it is through the biographical life that people can give meaning to their own existence (Fassin, 2012:254).

Foregrounding hunger and shame revealed that I had little concept of local ideas of 'the good', and by plying a critique of humanitarianism, lacked the ability to

recognise women's kindness. In her work on La Pincoya, a poor urban neighbourhood in Santiago, Han describes similar conditions of mutual vulnerability and shame induced by an unequal complementary, as well as vexed notions of reciprocity marked by fraught relationships (2014). Han pays special attention to relational boundaries (such as those that mark the difference between begging, and reciprocating) and the ways in which periods of heightened vulnerability such as loss of income are mitigated by concealed acts of kindness. In such moments a friend or kin member might find a quiet way in which to assuage that person's challenge to endure, and the boundaries between friend and kin and asking/ begging are delicately maintained (as Ross, 2010, also details in her ethnography).

Han (2014) is unsatisfied with explanations of kindness confined in terms of moral economies or in service of social interest. She considers kindness in terms of the self-in-relation to the other – kindness is plied through remembrance and forgetfulness – in short – through attending to biography (2014:78). Explanations of reciprocity depend on a stable notion of 'time' that occupies the distance between one act and another, following Mauss's (1966) formulation that demonstrated the function of 'the gift' in society. This means (following Bourdieu, 1980), that giving is too quickly seen as an act of gaining social currency (Han, 2014:83). What happens to kindness in this analytic mode? Han explores attentiveness through close attention to relationships, and the ways in which people acknowledge hardships, but often feign ignorance – a concealment that recognises mutuality and shared vulnerability. This intimacy, between friends, is characterised by a co-presence in time – being there, knowing one another, remembering, forgetting and sometimes pretending not to know – a performance that marks a double concealment.[50] Such kindness is marked by shared time – knowing biography – an exercise of intimacy. In contrast, Han argues that poverty

[50] This takes from Austin's (1958) essay on pretending – Han shows that Austin's description of pretending draws attention to co-occurring acts and to what it is that concealment shows and hides in the everyday. It also reveals the moral energy required to keep mum (2014:83-84).

programmes with conditions attached responsibilise women to move on the state's time (2014:91).

The state's time designates difference, and delineates the conditions that make one fully human. Thus, noting kindness firstly requires a close attentiveness to silence, relationships, and ordinary acts that reveal how biography is known. Secondly it requires a different orientation to time than that operationalised by the state – or, for that matter, by biological sciences and biomedicine. Han thus describes 'vertical time.'[51] This mode does not seek to understand acts of good faith in relation to the stable time between acts of giving and receiving. Rather, 'vertical time' refers to co-occurring or contemporaneous acts, moments, and circumstances involved in [acts] of kindness" (2014:76). This allows for a multilayered 'slice' to be carefully unpicked, for instability to be minded, and for the ethnographer herself to acknowledge her orientation to the ordinary (2014:76). Finally, such attention (similarly to attendance to shame, if we follow Probyn, 2012 and lethality and mortality if we follow Davis, 2008) to time in this sense allows us to "take seriously the stakes in that kindness for the achieving of everyday life" (2014:76).

When I first noticed the mould and decaying bread given to the soup kitchen, I was furious, perplexed at the compromising position it imposed on the women, and the implication of 'wasted life'. My interjection disturbed the quiet sorting. It is at this quiet sorting that I want to pause. It occurs alongside a spectacular example of material need, and theft of dignity – a 'gift' of rotten food distributes rotten life and designates people as suited to consume waste. The quiet sorting of bread was interrupted, however. My interjection solicited an acknowledgement of inhumane and undignified treatment. It was jarring. I am certain that if I had not said anything, it would not have been mentioned. In that quiet sorting – the picking of white and blue mould from cakes, the prying of icing from bread rolls – the

[51] This notion of time is vertical is akin to Merleau Ponty's explication of time as co-occurring (Han, 2014:92).

material lack induced by economic precariousness was acknowledged, and the struggle to give with dignity quietly worked with dextrous fingers. The quietly *unapologetic* service of unpalatable soup concealed the suggestion of wasted life. Han writes of La Pincoya that she witnessed silences and gestures that, aware of gossip that betrayed a critical moment for an individual – gave a 'free gift' by pretending not to know the shame-shadowed circumstances (2014, 78- 81). Forgetting in this instance could be interpreted as a form of nourishment.

In Kylemore as in La Pincoya (Han, 2014:78) the quiet knowledge of who required help was often obtained via gossip. The women who worked at the soup kitchen had clear ideas of who "Malva straat se mense" were, and often distributed food according to their intimate knowledge of need. They gave less soup or foods to those whom they knew to be less needy or 'deserving' (as it was phrased), and extra helpings for those with larger families, particularly if they knew them to be in some kind of trouble. Their knowledge of who was 'in need' relied upon regularity of attendance, readings of physical markers (one woman said she could "tell a *tik*-user from a kilometre away") but also because the network of women had contacts at the school and in various churches. Thus they relied to a great degree on circulating stories that exposed moments of seepage: a woman's son was seen getting into a car with a known *tik*-dealer, for instance. If the women knew, they could respond with an extra ladle of soup.

In another example of showing care through a quiet redistribution that recognises the unequal distribution of resources and opportunity, teachers at the crèche managed the tea-time. Carers were expected to pack tea for the children every day. Some received yoghurt and bananas, many had cheap chips and sweets (recall, the sweets 'with names'). Some had nothing, and some arrived with lunchboxes that were empty, their siblings having eaten the smaller children's snacks on the way. The teachers pooled the contents of children's lunchboxes, distributing the food (relatively) equally irrespective of what had been sent along with infants for their tea.

Let me offer another example of attentiveness. Ant Sara spent months collecting gifts for goodie bags for the women 'in the community' for her Woman's Day event. She sold tickets (hypothetically at least – she gave them away for free as I witnessed on several occasions). She arranged for a group of women connected to a NGO to provide snacks, and the cookery school to make and deliver fresh cupcakes. Into crisp goodie bags she put slightly out-dated *Food and Home* magazines, sanitary towels, and pamphlets of religious nature. She spread the word with excitement: "on Women's Day, all the women of Kylemore will be brides again". She arranged for them to procure wedding (or at least 'fancy') dresses. Marital or relationship 'status' was beside the point. Her own husband was invited to watch, but he was not 'The Groom;' a man was selected for this honour on basis of his genial nature and dancing skills. Ant Sara procured cars and drivers for the hooting, jovial wedding procession of brides (including Kylemore's oldest woman inhabitant), around the town. She arranged for them to be taken to a nearby wine farm and wedding venue for a photo shoot. When she handed me a disc containing the photographs I asked if it was successful in terms of fundraising for the soup kitchen (the aim she made clear to sponsors, and to me, initially). Ant Sara said no.

> No! But it doesn't matter at all. No, not all. It's fine. It was a day, *just* for the women a day that *no-one will ever forget..*

Han's work registers remembering and forgetting as modes of care. The fear of 'forgetting' the poor is one constantly reckoned with in Christian biblical narratives (2014:74) where forgetting the poor and forgetting God are inextricably related. The work of 'remembering' is done in significant ways in the soup kitchen, by the simple method of acting on knowledge (however it was gathered – volunteered, through gossip, or deduced from observation) that signaled different levels of stress as it related to a material need for food. This remembering accepted (or took) responsibility, extending from individuals a mode of social care that encompassed more than nutrition. The disciplining of a child who took an extra tart might be more than rebuke that stems from anxiety

about distributing scarce resources equally. The scolding rests on normative ideals of community, sharing, and proper behaviour and is thus premised on a remembering that foregrounds moral respectability. The poor, especially, must not forget God.

The most significant difference between what Han (2014) and I are describing lies in the characterisation of relationships. Although shared vulnerability is common to both situations, attending to biography here was not in the context of intimate friendships. In friendships it is easier to recognise vulnerability, but in this case vulnerability might also have to be performed. The beguiling business of managing public opinion or 'saving face' and staying 'ordentlik/ dignified' often masked the signs of vulnerability. Mandy's insistence in the previous chapter that her son did not need the soup kitchen is one example of this. Sometimes the judgement of need might have been miscalculated simply because it was impossible to know who had received state child grants unless you saw them in the queue in town at month's end; knew what systems of kin-based care people had access to; and what their household distribution of food might be. Ant Sara's known position as a trusted confidante of some people 'in need' might be testament to moments of need that required a confession or exhibition of lack – a knowledge of hardship that would not otherwise reach her via gossip. This acknowledgement of heightened need might be shameful, but could translate into a larger scoop of soup, an extra roll of bread.

Providing food and moral guidance as it was offered at the soup kitchen with prayer and sermons can be seen as a therapeutic and divinatory practice. Davis argues that such practices are underpinned by moral community, and "the constant awareness of death (including its social correlatives, i.e., inattentiveness to and disregard for death)" (2012:508). At the intersection of hunger, death, and moral community nourishment draws attention to ways in which life is validated through remembering and forgetting, (biography over biology).

Kindness can be slippery and often invisible. Nourishment can persist in invisible forms even when hunger is explicit. Dislocation and location can occur together, 'vertical time' helps make this clear (my presence was not always an imposition, it was drawn on for good, too). When the shadow of shame impinges on boundaries, remembering and forgetting serve as tools to nourish – to know, to recognise life, to remember a person and make much of them. To pretend not to see the decay, and to take pride in presenting food that cannot satisfy taste and desire. Compassion is created through the language available to it. And sometimes, in the sorting of toxic from edible food, that language is silence. Sometimes it might be scolding. Nourishment can thus be invisible, hidden in a performance of forgetfulness, a harsh word, another scoop.

Foregrounding food: Fish finger stew and 'the good soup'

Foregrounding shame, kindness and hunger drew attention to modes of othering, biography and belonging. In all of these, relationality is central. Food, by virtue of mediating life sustenance and relationality (see van Daele, 2013) can bring about social ties. However, it does not always do so. As we have seen, its distribution can also invoke shame, creating figures of vulnerability and suffering. Thinking of 'vertical time' has allowed us to consider nourishment as a mode of care premised on recognising biography rather than biology through remembering intimate details as revealed by attending to relationships. By showing how forgetting or ignoring signals of wasted life can be kindness we begin to understand nourishment as a relation of care over time where time is not necessarily linear or anchored in space.

Food "sustains concurrent biological, social, religious, economic, political life at the *same time* that it produces the possibility of death and decay" (Van Daele, 2013:99). Food can be simultaneously nourishing and frightening. It is necessary for life, augments life, stays death, and can kill. In the soup kitchen there was samp, a staple grain that added calorific bulk and some nutritional value and there were vegetables, ill-prepared to deliver 'optimum nutrition' – the properties of most water-soluble vitamins decline with exposure to heat and light (Mahan et al. 2012,

75-89). The beans were hard, indigestible, the spinach over-cooked. The fish fingers that slid from their packets, probably in the back corner of a supermarket freezer, were combined with gizzards, and pizzas from a factory that produces ready-meals: the domain of those who can afford to pay for convenience that suits their taste. These foods came from the nearby town of Stellenbosch, the vegetables and grains donated by an organisation which I visited – itself organised by volunteers who aimed to empower women, in the words of the manager, to distribute food in their own communities. Their donations were solicited from farms in the area, depending on harvest (and thus seasonality, too), and the fluctuating needs of consumers that dictated what could be scraped from freezers after stocktake. From a local cookery school there were the failed and mismatched products of lessons in 'high cuisine'.

Tracking foodways (see Marte, 2007) shows a system of distribution that troubles simple critiques. I learnt at the NGO that the women who worked there (chopping the vegetables, packing the distributions) were just as exposed to precariousness as those whom I worked with. The organiser was well aware of the importance of minding taste and did not wish to prioritise the biological over the biographical. The women themselves were put in a difficult position when supermarkets sorted food incorrectly – they too had to 'be grateful' and take whatever was offered. The mould on bread did not singularly mark toxic distribution – it also marked the process of composting, the inevitable route to expiry, and the challenges of the delivery system that mismanaged time. The soup kitchen only opened on three days, and not over the weekend. If food was discarded on a Friday, it would have to keep until the following week. The donation of food from supermarkets itself reveals market exploitation of CSR (Corporate Social responsibility): donations of food (irrespective of quality) increase a companies' CSR rating, thus perpetuating and amplifying a system of waste within the larger global capitalist economy. [52]

[52] This was confirmed in conversation with Gareth Haysom, (see Truyts 2016b) who conducted a review of food distribution practices in the Stellenbosch area.

As for the peaches, Randle (2014) describes the establishment of Rhodes Fruit Farms in 1906 as central to the industrialisation of the valley, with clear changes to the built environment that shaped labour relations and the economy of the area. There was an outcry from Afrikaans farmers whose land was "lost forever" to the land-greedy and map obsessed Rhodes (see Nyamnjoh, 2016) and his compatriot Pickstone (Randles, 2014:39-40). The funding of such land purchases and changes in the management of crops, land, labour and the market that came along with it tie the shifts to colonial and imperial exploits, which Nyamnjoh (2016) argues are not justifiably distinguished from 'slavery time'. If we follow this crop of peaches from that establishment (and the prior dispossession of indigenous inhabitants as Randles (2014:50) argues) – the longue durée of domination has taken a disguised form – in a rusted, unmarked can in a soup kitchens' larder we find its material evidence.

Describing foodways details the biography of the pot. Foregrounding food in this way reveals systemic inequality, complex relational webs, and the stakes of attending to ordinary life as people endure. This chapter has moved from an ethnographic description of a meal where hunger and shame were evident, and the comforting qualities of food and commensality depleted, to a case for seeking kindness relative to the language available to it: the language of silence, remembrance, or a larger scoop of soup. Attention to nourishment allowed for the structural violence inherent in this distribution to be shown, and the legacy of notions of moral good in Christianity to be examined, particularly in relation to the reproduction of the 'unequal complementary'. What has emerged is a vexed picture of nourishment, in which moral community has significant charge: children are centred, adults are bracketed as less worthy of life, particularly if they are like 'Malva straat se mense' – deviating from socially prized forms of good. Such treatment seems only to sediment their dehumanisation. The adults in this picture were considered morally most wanting: they did not deserve dessert.

Foregrounding nourishment

Levinas writes that "nourishment, as means of invigoration, is the transmutation of the other into the same, which is the essence of enjoyment" (1987:111). He thus makes the case that nourishment is contingent on the other: it is relation. We are ethically obliged to the other. Lee summarizes Levinas' argument in terms of a politics of hunger – each person is responsible for the hunger of all others (2016:260). But assuaging hunger is not merely nutrition, it is not 'bare' life (see Agamben, 1998) in the sense of biology. It cannot ethically be stayed by the simple contents of a pot: fish fingers, vegetables and the like. To quell hunger is to nourish, and to live is to enjoy "the good soup,' air, light, spectacles, work, ideas, sleep…and so forth" (1987:110). Levinas is clear that these 'ingredients' are not merely abstraction. The 'soup' that feeds the self gives vitality to one's own strength and self by attending to the vitality of others. This reminds us that hunger cannot only be quelled with food – we need 'dessert', too: the joy of satisfying desire. Enjoyment is part of 'the good soup', and each person deserves it.

But let us return first to nourishment as relational: nourishment is contingent on the other's satisfaction. Fassin shows the relational ethical impetus in humanitarian endeavors guided by the idea that "by saving lives, it saves something of our idea of ourselves, and because by relieving suffering, it also relieves the burden of this unequal world order" (2012:252). In spite of this acknowledgement of mutual obligation, Fassin writes that it is precisely the failure to acknowledge the 'face' of the 'other' in humanitarian logic that is its failure (2012:254).

It is this 'face' that deserves nourishment beyond the nutritional that I fled from in shame. Such shame is the obvious result of the relation Levinas sketches: that we are obliged to each other, and our nourishment contingent on the other to whom we are responsible. Yet, a political economy of disparity and reliance on an 'unequal complementary' renders us as eternally unable to rectify. Thus, distance from the other who needs us might ease guilt. Foregrounding hunger, shame,

kindness and food each reveal modes in which the designation of difference operates, and is reckoned.

A view of nourishment is thus not ahistorical, or politically sparse. Just as reflection on the corporeal experience of shame registers the power inherent in being-out-of-place, so asking how a meal nourishes (as 'the good soup' must) highlights what is excluded from forms of care. Asking what 'the good soup' means in relation to context means searching for the language of compassion at hand, a language that underpins moral community. The torque that language has in the everyday should firstly encourage structures concerned with relieving hunger to question modes of responsibilisation (contingent on conditions such as sexuality or adherence to public health prescription) that have affective force and cause alienation. Secondly it should incite researchers to consider their own notion of the 'good soup' in relation to fish finger stew, and the ethical obligation to the 'other'. In between these languages – in ordinary acts of forgetting, remembering, ignoring, bodily satisfaction – kindness sits. It is often a secret. It does not require any gratefulness, and the burden of being 'thankful' is relieved. It is made visible if we slice time from top to bottom, rather than in the linear, chronological sensibility that makes it hard to see nourishment and hunger in the same frame.

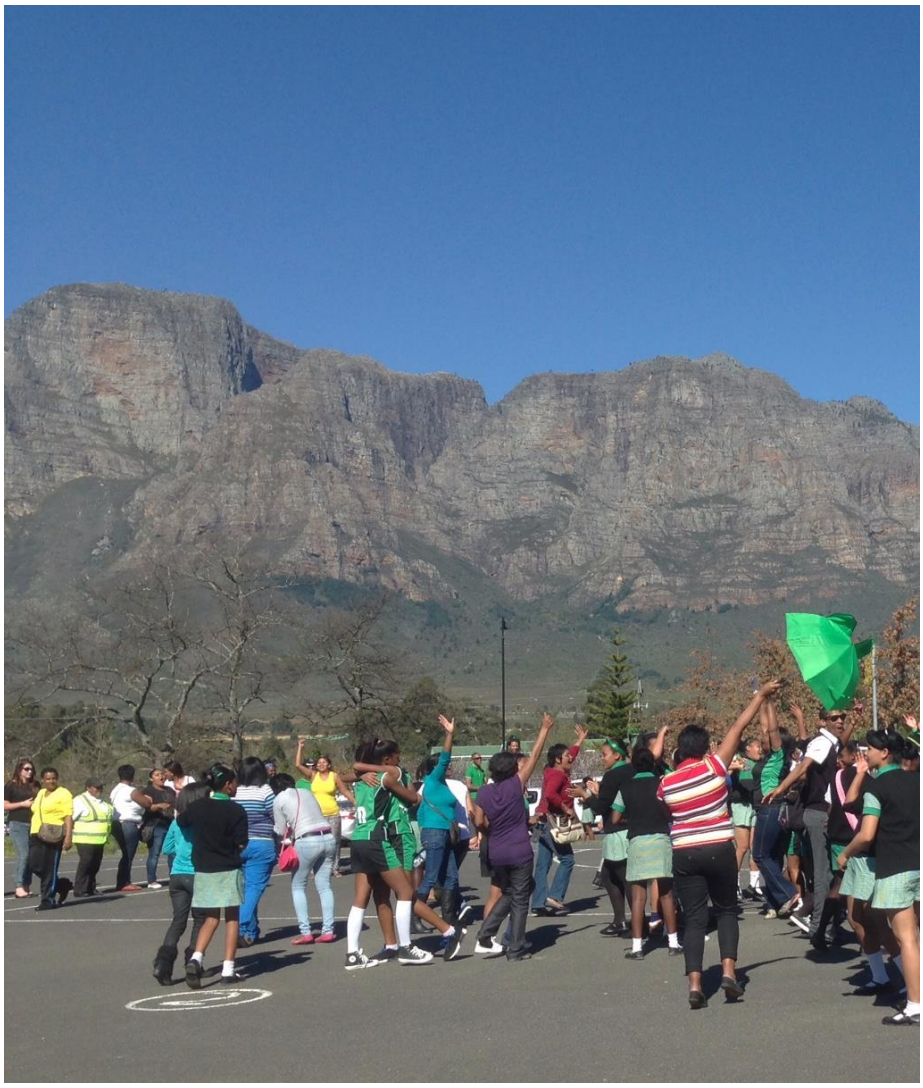
To ask about nourishment is thus to ask how the good is sought and offered. It may consider the particular within the macro context – the queue, the political economy. Nourishment notes the object of care at all levels, and attends to the body – of the researchers, and of those who nourish and seek nourishment. Nourishment must be tracked in relation to history, and ideology. Nourishment is not committed to stable sensibilities of time space and matter, and thus requires listening to silences, to see what might co-occur.

Chapter seven.

A toast of wine

"Terroir is a composite of many physical factors...as well as more intangible cultural factors. Matt Kramer once very poetically defined terroir as 'somewhere-ness,' and this I think is the nub of the issue. I believe that 'somewhereness' is absolutely linked to beauty, that beauty reposes in the particulars..."

(Grahm, 2006)



In the Dwars River Valley, the yearly 'Derby Day' – a sporting competition between Kylemore and Groendal High – is a calendar highlight. My friend Duane and I drove to Pniël, where it was hosted in 2014, on a bright spring morning.[53] *The roadsides of the valley were speckled with blossoms: the fynbos fine yellow, on fruit trees the pink and white promise of apricots and peaches. The tall mountains on the left and right were a rich carpet of green grasses, fynbos, fruit trees, and vineyards. In Pniël a funeral procession slowed us, a small crowd of people mostly wearing black awaited the hearse near the road. We continued to the sport fields. There was a queue at the security gate. A sign was attached to the fence: "no drinking, no smoking, no Okkah pipes."*[54] *We were frisked for contraband as we entered.*

Inside, the air was thick with whoops and shouts; the smell of braaiing meat from the boerewors stand managed by school prefects; and the hum of anticipation of the main event – the first team rugby final.[55] *We watched netball first. The supporters formed a live human hem around the netball pitch. They shrieked and applauded and sighed as they egged their teams on. A furore whipped around the crowds when it was learned that one player was in fact a past pupil who was not officially enrolled in school. She was disqualified, to much disgruntled pooh-poohing. Kylemore lost the game and a supporter beside me accused the referee of treachery. We traipsed over to the rugby field, jostling to find seats on the packed pavilion. I sat directly behind a young man who had the word "Kylemore" shorn into his close crop of black hair.*

Matric learners milled around in shirts with the names and faces of the first team boys printed on them. Kylemore had its own small musical band. The rhythmic clamour of a large white drum was eventually shushed by security, to which the crowd responded with a mutinous wail. The spectators were dressed to theme and

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[53] As van der Waal (2014:3) argues, competitive sport is a strong contributing factor to the identity of the valley, largely anchored in Pniël

[54] Okkah pipes refer to Hookah Pipes, also commonly known in South Africa as 'hubbly bubbly'. The water pipe system is used for smoking specialised tabacoo, and sometimes cannabis.

[55] Braai is an Afrikaans word, widely used in South Africa, to indicate a barbeque, over open fire. It is considered so ubiquitously 'South African' that National Heritage Day is also known as 'Braai day'. Boerewors, a spiced, spiral shaped sausage is common 'braai' fare.

sat in coloured blocks: yellow for Kylemore, green for Groendal. Not everyone in the crowd had a direct connection to the players in the rugby team. This was a valley social event, advertised in the local paper, the outcomes widely speculated upon. A printed programme was passed around before the match. To start it off, the Matrics formed a tunnel onto the field, clapping the cheerleaders who were waving sparkly pom-poms. The cheerleaders danced in formation to a pop music mash-up. They kicked out from under their short skirts and tied-up school shirts, twirling chairs, pressing knees and palms into the grass. The applause was deafening in spite of a few tsk-tsk comments made in our proximity about the length of skirts.

After their performance the headmasters took to the field. The host took the microphone and called for a minute of silence for the deceased person whose funeral we had passed on our way in. The crowd did not observe the silence, growing more restless as the minute wore on. Laughs and giggles erupted, murmurs echoed, and conversations were struck up. The headmaster responded with a short admonishing speech. Then the team captains shook hands, and the next event was announced.

Necks craned to view two young women emerging from the bleachers: Miss Kylemore, and Miss Groendal. They walked onto the field in their full pageant regalia – tiaras, dresses, sashes, high heels (slightly troubled by the soft grass). The pageant queens shook hands with the headmasters and team captains as the crowd applauded. An assistant in school uniform proffered a tray that held six champagne flutes, and a green wine bottle. Liquid was poured from the bottle into the six flutes. (Is it wine? Is it grape juice? There was speculation in the crowd). The two pageant queens raised their glasses in salute with the headmasters' and the rugby captains'. They toasted, sipped, (did they sip? The crowd members behind me suggested that if it was indeed wine, the school learners would only touch it to their lips, not swallow). After this toast the non-players left the field, and the opening whistle blew.

Introduction: terroir, territory, and temporality

Nourishment pauses at moments of ingestion – each bite may 'swallow the world'. The rituals of eating and drinking reflect social worlds and as Sutton (2001) shows, are endlessly symbolic. But as Povinelli writes "what constitutes a social world may be anything but proximate to it, let alone human" (2011a:8). This chapter moves betwixt the carpeted green valley slope (the topography, the stories the fruit trees tell), to this sip of wine ingested in a festive, sporting ritual.

Attention (sensory and political) to the body and everyday moments of ingestion pulls complex histories, experiences, desire and dread into view. Attending to 'swallowing the world' recognises that exposure to food is also exposure to what food has gathered *en route* to ingestion, thus encompassing geography, topology, and socio-political histories. In the register of inscription and the political economy of embodiment, the spectre of Foetal Alcohol Syndrome (FAS) comes sharply into focus. The supply of crude wine as a form of labour control, historically known as the 'dop' system in the winelands, has left a legacy of alcohol abuse explicitly linked to viticulture in the Western Cape (Schneider et al., 2007:1). This has impacted pregnant woman and subsequent generations, with evidence also showing that heavy-drinking male partners have helped to erode the taboo against drinking whilst pregnant. (Schneider et al, 2007:4). In 2001 the incidence rate of FAS in the Western Cape was 87 incidences per 1000 births (Schneider et al., 2007:17).

The wine industry, too, has a vocabulary for 'swallowing the world'. Terroir (a French term that foregrounds place), marks 'somewhereness' as that which a good wine reflects in terms of the particular environment of its making, as vigneron Grahm (2006) writes in the opening quote. Terroir appeals to locality, and has been applied beyond viniculture. It refers broadly to the notion that "distinct ecologies of production generate distinctive sensory qualities in handcrafted agricultural products" (Paxson, 2010:445). Roots break rock, vines assimilate carbon dioxide from the air at a certain slope, and suck in soil and water. Wines that have been expertly made from aged vines are expected to reflect the character

of a place – the mountain slope, the landscape, mesoclimate and so on. This is not to say that the 'place' is instantly recognizable to the tongue as a distinct taste or flavour. As Paxson points out, this is a form of discernment that usually only trained sommeliers and wine connoisseurs can distinguish (2010:446), marking the consumption of such 'fine wines' as a form of distinction.

In her research on obesity in Guatamala, Yates-Doeer (2015,124-125) puts terroir to use conceptually, using it to ask how naturalized belonging comes to be re-figured. She shows that the process of biomedical governmentality (using the tools of measuring devices, prescriptions, and dietary regimes) is producing new bodily standards of health, beauty, and acceptability and in so doing shifting the horizon of belonging. This discourse, emanating from public health centres and the body-shape and personal aesthetic market is centred on body weight, but also inculcates notions such as blood and place. By entwining health messages to conform to bodily conventions of 'place' an emergent grammar of belonging perpetuates the more familiar racial discourse that stitches particular persons to particular places (ibid). I similarly utilize the link with food, place and the formation of personhood. I ply terroir to interrogate notions of naturalized belonging and exclusion and how this may be resisted. In a very different register of resistance to the ones I will gesture toward here, Paxson details the processes whereby American artisanal cheesemakers are "re-versing terroir" (2010:447). Rather than accepting terroir as an interpretation of historically sedimented place (as in the French tradition), American cheesemakers are re-framing terroir as mindful practice where (marketable, desirable) places can be created, thus making the future (ibid).

In this chapter, belonging and terroir are brought together in three registers. The first tends to the Derby Day as a bordered space that represents a kind of utopic glimpse (Davis, 2012) into ritualised celebration of and participation in community. This is by means of taking seriously the voluminous moment of silence, the rhythm of the drum, the line of Matrics cheering their rugby team on. As Mususa cautions (following Yamba 1997), it is important to "take seriously discourses that seek to make sense of life and hardship in place" (2012:306)

before moving rapidly to "structural battles opposing modernity, colonialism or globalisation" (ibid). Thus, I first consider belonging in these registers of sound and sense of place marked by boundaries and ritual. This explores how people theorise their own lives. I then consider histories of production and consumption by questioning the place of the labouring person in the demarcation of terroir. However, as de la Cadena argues, cultural analyses and political economy approaches stop short of the work required to intervene in neo-liberal governance (2010:336). Similarly, Povinelli (2011b) and Mbembe (2000) ask how discourse has and can intervene in the landscapes of governance. I thus take a further step to consider epistemic genealogies through juxtaposing terroir and territoriality. This shows how constructions of space-time and tense impact upon belonging, and consequently nourishment. Gesturing towards this epistemic genealogy returns the question of a toast of wine to a particular space-time configuration and the obligation of theory.

"No smoking, no drinking": boundaries of belonging

As the morning unfolded Duane and I compared this sports day with our own respective South African school day memories. The pitted rivalries were familiar, as was the cheerleading demonstration (down to the glittering hats, although perhaps our cheerleaders were slightly less risqué, a decade or so ago). Similarly, the 'tunnel,' the celebrity status of the rugby first team, the support from parents and family; the boerewors rolls on sale; the rule that all schoolgoers must be in uniform – these are part of a Saturday morning scene that plays out nationwide during school term weekends. A significant difference was demographic, I was the only 'white' person in attendance. Duane, based on his skin colour, appeared to interlocutors as 'coloured'. In fact, that Duane and I were thus seen together resulted in a rapid establishment of rapport (similar to the famous Geertzian cockfight flight (Geertz, 1973) with women – particularly more 'middle-class' mothers such as those who worked at the crèche, who were not particularly interested to talk to me previously. This does not just signify the conventional insider/ outsider boundary of classic anthropology – but a convention of class and race that meant I was *a priori* assumed to represent 'whiteness' in the familiar

South African rubric of disproportionate power. It is likely that a reverse demographic was visible at sports days at nearby elite schools in Stellenbosch and Paarl – evidence that Apartheid's separatist legacy endures. The effects that this had on education and children was shown by Ant Sara's and Ant Mandy's experiences in chapter five.

I have argued that belonging is a critical axis around which nourishment pivots – in terms of inwoner/ inkommer status, the ability to thicken networks through commensality in the home, and in terms of designating 'needy' groups. This celebration of "Kylemore", exemplified by a crowd in yellow uniform; a large-scale social investment in music, atmosphere, and sporting bodies; a hairstyle denoting a place and team, suggests that one way in which people theorise their own lives (Mususa, 2012) is through enacting social belonging (the term 'Kymoeder/ 'Kylemoeder', that Ant Magda used in chapter four also symbolises this). Attention to boundaries, (and the ways in which they are constructed, patrolled, and transgressed), highlights modalities of social ordering. When paying attention to borders, the forms that 'good' take, and the risks of danger – and pollution – as well as the sacred, are made clear (Hammond-Tooke, 1981).[56] That the Derby Day comprised a bounded social space with a particular set of rules and taboos was clear when we walked up to the gate.

The sign at the gate banned drinking and all forms of smoking. No alcohol seemed feasible, but I was surprised that the search for 'contraband' applied to all attendees – cigarettes and lighters were confiscated from both pupils and the general public. The enforcement of these clear boundaries constituted a space

[56] In his structural account of the borders constructed (under threat of pollution, taking from Mary Douglas, 1966) in Zulu and Kgaga social systems, Hammond-Tooke (1981) attends to the centrality of rituals in marking belonging, taboo subjects, and norms for social order. This is not by means of imposing fixity to worlds in flux, but in order to note the manners in which boundaries are patrolled. Hammond-Tooke takes Mary Douglas' (1966) proposal that the concept of pollution and the danger it poses signals something of the ordering of society. He concludes by generalising the significance of minding the construction and maintenance of boundaries to the (then) South African political context, showing how these take on political significance and are used to justify oppression under the banner of 'cultural difference' (Hammond-Tooke, 1981:24).

(visibly) void of the 'evils' of smoking and alcohol denoted at the soup kitchen, in church, at school and in the hospital and clinic.

All attention was directed to the schoolgoers in their uniforms that displayed yellow or green colours. The rivalry superseded school pupils. At the sidelines the groups of pupils, as well as parents, relatives, family friends and residents were also dressed in school colours, complete with hats, enormous ribbons, banners and painted faces. During the respective school songs the entire yellow and green blocks rose in turn, and sang with rousing enthusiasm. At mine and Duane's school events the anthem was only sung by the pupils. The rivalry thus exceeded the institution of schools – the netball referee's decision to disqualify Kylemore's alumnus goal scorer was taken personally, and was a major talking point in the week that followed. Ant Sara explained this to me –the goal scorer's disqualification was unprecedented: she may no longer have been in school but she was from Kylemore!

The Derby Day was about team sports, community, and the celebration of athletic performances of which stories would be told. To belong was to be there, singing, cheering and witnessing life. Death was not welcome. During the ill-observed 'moment of silence' I sat staring at the word "Kylemore" shorn in the hair of a young man seated in front of me. I wondered at this close weave of life and death. The solemnity of the moment of silence was inverted: reverence for the departed was not on the crowds' programme. As Davis (taking from Canguilhem) writes – inherent in life is the desire to stay alive, a viewpoint that easily falls away with sharp focus on precariousness and instability (2008:506). Thus, including this rendering of a joyful sporting celebration, of leaving the soup kitchen, the yard, and the clinic, is part of the project of nourishment – the Derby Day offers a place with which to think of kindness, of celebration, and of the vitality of life. When school children and the larger community sing a school song, when no alcohol is allowed inside, and a drum that is shushed causes a collective admonishment we see life and the desire to stay alive cheered, and in this utopic glimpse, death resisted.

Belonging was inscribed in the creation of the bounded space, with rules to keep it sacred, collective team colours, the prestige of athleticism and the ritual that included beauty queens and a shared toast. I repeat Carsten's injunction: when people eat or take substance together, the social and biological blur (Carsten, 2004:81). The toast thus resembles a ritual form of commensality, inferring a sporting truce. Yet it is simultaneously a social exchange that blurs the self with the molecules of foodstuff, and so, via "exposure" in the gut – to the 'somewhereness' that terroir signals. Environment that is close – material - but not necessarily human (Povinelli, 2011a:8). The moment of swallowing thus brings attention to the crossing of social and biological boundaries (see Mol, 2008 and Landecker, 2011) in gesture, and in gut.

I have written in chapter four about the space between Klein's (1985) formulation of the ego at the breast, and Richard's (1939) focus on nutrition as the nexus of sociality. However, Wilson argues that the psychoanalytic requires more research in terms of understanding sociality. In spite of the fact that the links between psychological events and gut disorders are widely recognised (Wilson, 2004:44) psychological events are referred to vaguely in terms of social factors such as stress.[57] Wilson writes that self-development hinges on intersubjectivity, which (in psychology) references the outside world. But for the stable self to emerge, these relations must be *taken in* – they "are psychologically generative only to the extent that they are internalized (ingested, absorbed, excreted)" (2004:44). Ingestion, absorption, excretion – these are sites for assimilating foodstuffs and simultaneously internalising intersubjectivity. Thus, with the passage of the 'environment,' in the gut, socialisation occurs. This leads Wilson to suggest that ingestion and digestion are not merely metaphorical – it is possible that "they are 'actual' mechanisms for relation to others" (Wilson, 2004:45).

We know that this is true for breastfeeding – 'Kangaroo care' engenders bonding with caregivers, for example. But the implications for the self to merge and

[57] This is likely due to studies where 'stress' translates as a flooding of cortisone in brain, shaping it (see Morgan, 2013, and Donald, 2103).

stabilise in relation to others through ingestion of alcohol must be considered carefully. Alcohol marks complicated histories and social practices, with severe ramifications for health, violence, and community. Historically the 'dop system' created dependence on alcohol, a dependence that still manifests in social norms today, to the extent that the Western Cape is predicted to have the highest incidence of FAS in the world (Croxford and Viljoen, 1999 and Schneider et al., 2000:17). I knew of women who experienced and administered abuse whilst drunk. I was not welcome in town on the day after grant payouts when large-scale drinking happened. I have shown that wine was central to celebrating a ritual of truce, good health and belonging, in spite of the fact that it was not ordinarily consumed in such a way. Wine in stemmed glasses was not the common way people I knew in Kylemore drank wine. I once arrived for a meeting with Edie hungover, who just laughed. "HA!" she said, "you drank too much! Was it wine, Carina?". I told her I had been to a wedding the night before. "Fêncy I bet", she said, "glasses and all? That's not for us, we drink from the papsak, you know it?"[58]

Whilst the school pupils were likely only allowed to touch their lips to the glasses (as speculated in the crowd), getting drunk was, as is common in South Africa and elsewhere, a form of celebration. This included birthdays and births – Emmie explained that after the birth of children the family, friends, "actually the whole street" would gather to "drink the baby's piss" – wine and beer that is – a toast to the baby's long and good life.

This set of contradictory meanings reflects historic processes, the modalities of sociality, the political economy that allows cheap wine as temporary escape, and the fragile line between thickening commensality (in the conviviality of a booze-up) and the risk of obliterating life (through violence and inherited lack). This fragile line is tied to the "somewhereness that rests in particulars" in a modality that the terroir of winemakers ignores. Attention to the creation of borders thus takes us from symbolism and celebrations that augment sociality, to the forms of precarity around which social and environmental becomings take shape. Even as

[58] A packaging method in which wine stored in an airtight, boxed bag with a tap, normally of 5 litre size. This is conventionally for cheap wine, although such conventions are shifting.

death is waived aside, its specter marks the fine boundaries between life and death.

Labour and labels: a political economy of precarity

The metabolism of food is a site of "crucial interconversions of matter that tie society and biology together in specific circuits of exchange" (Landecker, 2011:188). Duane and I were surprised to witness wine being consumed in a public ritual on a Saturday morning. Yet, this is quite standard 'wine-tasting time' for the estates that surrounded us. At the glossy tasting rooms of wine farms, vignerons and customers are invited to taste the terroir, and buy bottles espousing the 'somewhereness' of the valley. This section asks what the histories of exchange circuits are that underlie this. I show that the dissonance reveals a capitalist system underpinned by practices and ideology that evacuates the human labourer whilst placing high value on the material environment – the slope; the grapes; the imported wooden barrels for aging wine; the land.

Wine labels of notable terroir often contain the label "estate". Based on the European Wine of Origin system, a 'Wine of Origin' contains only grapes from a demarcated region (for example, Stellenbosch). A further unit of demarcation is "estate wine". That sticker or label indicates that the wine has been produced in full on the premises, or on neighbouring premises, provided the crop was handled as one unit and wine produced in one cellar (WOSA, 2016). Such a label thus signals consistency in ownership and product. Consistency of ownerhisp marks quality due to the time it takes to grow vines to maturity. Thus the certification process requires evidence of uniform treatment of crops. If they were farmed as one unit, the wine is more likely to reflect both the character of the place and the vintage. Place is of prime importance, and it is expected that each 'Wine of Origin' wine will reflect the distinct natural environment.

Wine, if we think of terroir, and in the language of molecular exposure, pulls the soil that nourishes the roots of vines into the body and the everyday – soil shaped

by labourers whose names do not go onto the intricately designed 'Wine of Origin' labels. Those are the workers, many of whose histories of labour have been moulded as Du Toit (1993) shows, by practices of paternalism; and whose everyday modes of being have been imprinted with the stamp of Apartheid's skewed designation of resources that shaped ingestion (see Wylie, 2001). These are the workers whose attempts to endure include constant engagement with belonging in terms of land – the hem of their townspace folded in, tighter, every year as conservancies and housing developments encroach. I have shown in chapter three how central homes are in the formation and maintenance of networks, and that property owners with space to house tenants have the means to secure more consistent income than those who rent and depend on seasonal labour.

Barring the residents of the affluent 'security village', Capola Varo, none of Kylemore's inhabitants whom I knew enjoyed the expensive distilled terroir that gave a taste of the gentle mountain slope, the winter rain, the fertility of the soil – harvested, pressed and aged in elegant glass bottles. Not one farm belonged to the people of Kylemore.[59] The present ownership represents a class of wealth unobtainable to anyone present on the sports day I attended. This distinction of ownership was not just marked in land, but also in geo-political spacing, illuminated by the distinctions of race and class between Kylemore and Stellenbosch.

Weiner argues for close ethnographic attention to be paid to material things, showing that objects are imbued with meaning and value just by virtue of their historicity, their rarity, or the proximity to powerful owners (1985:210). The focus on belonging that I signaled earlier is critical to notions of place. Public representations of the valley stress its panoramic beauty and micro-climate, and

[59] An important exception is the ownership model at Solms Delta, an atypical wine farm in the valley where workers own rights and profits of 30% of the business and land (Jackson, 2014:82). As Jackson writes – this offers an alternative model for land reform, notwithstanding challenges related to paternalism.

the long tradition of wine-making and fruit production. People are seldom mentioned. Weiner writes that the power of the past is imbued in objects, of which possession then transfers affective power to owners. She goes on to write that "in linking persons with things, the things are made into more than their own materiality, for the things themselves stand as the means through which individual mortality is transcended, ensuring some measure of the person's or group's immortality" (1985:212). Such is the power of the label "estate wine". Imbued with the power of the legacies of ownership marked in Cape Dutch gables and ancient vines (which produce superior wines), the image of the estate has come to surpass the value of the people.

In her thesis "Terroir: the footprint of great wines", Gerda Mouton writes that 'the human' is increasingly referred to as one of the contributing factors to terroir (2006:35). However, the 'human' in winemaking refers to the winemaker. The grape pickers and seasonal labourers are not mentioned (see Levine, 2014). The 'human' does not, apparently, index the buying power of those humans who have been able to afford this prime agricultural land. The 'human factor' does not reveal *whose* lives and the modes in which they have been put to use. We may understand this as shallow temporality (Paxson, 2010:447). In this sense, terroir avoids the history of labour and circuits of exchange, and while it indexes land, the question of ownership is not used. Space and temporality are separated; ownership is dislocated from environment.

In Marx's formulation of exchange-value commodities, the labels of commodities do not contain evidence or representation of the labour involved – nothing but "phantom-like objectivity" (1982:128) remains – that objectivity refers to the concealing of bodily energy. Here, the labels reflect a legacy of ownership whilst the bodily energy of workers is seldom referenced. In her optimistic summary of the wines of South Africa, Robinson explains that the demise of Apartheid opened up export markets for South African wineries (2015:330). This has, however, not resulted in significant shifts in terms of ownership or practices of disempowering labour schemes.

Terroir conveys stories of place through taste. However, the boundaries of locality that dictate 'estate' demarcation reveal more than soil, slope and cultivar. As reported in Oz Clarke's Encyclopedia of wine, the diversity and versatility of wine in the Stellenbosch area is "partly due to the fact that the regions' boundaries were originally drawn up along all-inclusive political rather than climatic lines" (2003:354). Thus – the politics of locality may well mark the taste of somewhere. Conceptually, then, terroir offers the potential to think of deep history, and the ways in which environment – mountain slopes, vine pests, climate, and humans have interacted, culminating in a very particular configuration of factors. However, papers and discussions of terroir only pay lip-service to human labour and political histories of people place and dispossession.

To what can we ascribe the normative dislocation between terroir and territory? Again, we can consider boundaries. In the landscape that I have described, ownership is predominantly 'white'. The scarcity of 'black' winemakers and vineyard owners is such that a website dedicated to maintaining such a list contains only 33 entries whereas the total number of wine cellars is 566 (WOSA, n.d). Temporality is an enduring feature of terroir. Paxson shows that in American cheese making discourse, terroir is being wrested from purely material factors – human-environment interchanges are both taken seriously and actively incorporated into a new tradition of terroir that considers ownership, and violent dispossession. There is an increasing awareness of the selective understandings of temporality that are both shallow, and void of histories of dispossession. Paxson describes a conference panel at an American Cheese conference where human intervention in terroir was foregrounded. One participant said "[t]erroir is not magical thinking. It happens because of people" (Paxson, 2010:447). To this a panel moderator challenged: "from the point of view of terroir, many lands in our country have been raped" (2010:447). This violent analogy is discomforting as it breaks with the romantic notions of a panoramic, fertile and storied landscape that can be bottled. It makes a clear distinction between place and territory.

Paxson thus shows how contemporary notions of terroir often trade in shallow temporalities. In the wine tasting rooms of the Dwars River Valley, terroir depicted on bottles and sold to consumers is also most often void of recognition of human intervention, practices, and the unequal systems of exchange that the industries of this valley have long been part of. What is captured on a bottle's label then: the panorama, the vintage, the distinct environment, signals terroir according to labels that bottle 'estate' and 'origin'.

Terroir, territoriality and time: theory and the tense of the Other

The circulation of material resources, while necessary, also risks categorising *things* as distinct from and superior to *people* (that this results in killing people is the crux of violence, according Mbembe, 2000:259). Mbembe pays attention to the moving of boundaries in terms of time and place – illustrating the need to distinguish between 'place' and 'territory'. The latter refers to movements, "an intersection of moving bodies" (2000:261) whereas place infers a stable, ordered configuration of elements. Terroir that is limited to notions of stagnant place avoids human becomings, the political imaginary, and the flux of the human-thing interactions that happens when grapes are picked, soil tilled and fences raised. This 'somewhereness' is thus a shallow marker of place. However, if we take seriously the human-thing interchange, the exposure of environment to gut, the hand to the worker in soil, then terroir has the potential to recognize terroriality, and the terror that Mbembe (2000) argues was inherent in the making of 'place' in the colonial process.

Boundaries as impositions of colonialism are often reduced to legal and spatial demarcations of 'space', ignoring the diverse political imaginaries that imposed and moved boundaries. A boundary is not a simple extension of sovereignty, nor is it (or was it prior to colonialism) arbitrary (Mbembe, 2000:262). Mbembe argues that globalisation takes a vantage point of Africa as marginal, and imposes homogenous space-time configurations upon it. The structuring of economic spacing that echoes this dynamic of power has not ceased. For example, the 'estate' is a powerful form of capital and its ability to trade in the supposed 'longue durée

of time impressed upon the composition of soil and slope is exemplary of this imposition. This is akin to the shallow temporality that disguises the violence of colonialism that the panelist at the American conference on cheese and terroir referred to as the rape of land. However, the difference between this Derby Day and another at a predominantly 'white' school in Stellenbosch is not limited to economic spacing.

I have described the endurance of racial separation and othering in this valley, and it was very clear at the Derby Day. How has this distinction come to be normal, to the extent that racism is so conventional that only being seen with someone ostensibly 'coloured' led to an acceptance of my presence in some quarters? One key way in which the violence of colonial territorialisation was justified is based on "the racial denial of any common bond between the conqueror and the native" (Mbembe, 2003:24). This mode of othering was foundational in the imposition of a jurispolitical system that denied indigenous people personhood. As Povinelli shows, this systematic calculation of territory, person, and rights serves as *the* foundational political imaginary (2011b:16). It was foundational in the sense that it then, as today, implicates both settler and indigenous, who are irrevocably interlaced through their shared foundation, and kept operationally distinct (ibid) if we follow the logics of othering visible in the demographic composition of the valley and its schools.

Povinelli thus shows that the 'governance of the prior' – the foundational political imaginary that binds settlers and indigenous – is extended in the use of narrative – the tense of the other (2011b:22). I have made reference to narrative throughout this thesis – showing how ontological difference often assumes a radical, impoverished other, and creates and perpetuates hierarchy through representation. Narrative and representation matter, just as social grammar does, in actual processes of belonging and praxis of nourishment. Inasmuch as residents of Kylemore and Groendal forged belonging in the marginal spaces available to them, they are constantly interpolated in the tense of the Other – that is – the prior Other. Social belonging is distributed along those fractures.

The demographic dissonance of the Derby Day in relation to the valley was not surprising. As a local NGO's website reads: "Kylemore is the home of the "previously disadvantaged" (Imbali, 2009). In that wholesale designation (albeit a tool in the arsenal of redress) it is clear that Jessica, Emmie, Ant Magda, Elvis, Ant Sara, baby Leronica and the attending crowds on this day, are considered in the tense of the past participle. The tense of the genealogical subject, however, belongs to the estate owners – the architects of future labour formations, housing developments, and the constant appraisal of space as an extension of their superior belonging: territory, not terroir. *Their* logic is anticipatory. Their rubric for 'good' is development. Whilst both the governance of the prior and the indigenous are linked by the 'vital organs' (Povinelli, 2011b:22) of the law the settlers brought – social belonging remains divided in accordance with the tense of the other.

Povinelli argues that it is the task of critical theory to track the ways in which the prior is produced in the tense of the Other (2011b:26). In the domains of law, market and public we need to ask how the state situates the prior people. Another way of asking this is 'how does the logic of terroir remain more acceptable than that of territory?'. This is not to be reckoned by investigating the governance of the prior *per se*, but rather by asking how the *logics* of settler and indigenous are translated into tense. The indigenous-aboriginal-native is allocated the past perfect, while the settler occupies the unmarked present or the future anterior. It is the task of critical indigenous theory to foregound the crisis of obligation and belonging "in the narratives of freedom and constraint" (Povinelli, 2011b:26).

Freedom, love and life: temporality and belonging

From the vantage point of the wine industry and its concern with taste and discernment, terroir signals place, rather than territory. However, as Mbembe (2000) and Povinelli (2011b) have shown, the power of territorialisation has

underpinned the foundational epistemologies on which discernment and displacement are based.

The Freedom Monument in Pniël, depicted in van der Waal (2014:216-219) contains a plaque that reads:

> The Dove symbolises – Freedom,
> The flame – Love,
> The Fountain – Life.
> The idea implicit in the memorial is that we will always
> Remember the indignities and suffering that our ancestors
> Had to endure, but also their unfaltering faith in GOD
> We therefore commit ourselves to the search
> For true FREEDOM, LOVE and LIFE.

Within a 10 km radius of this plaque, in 2014, a Derby Day where a rugby match was toasted with wine, could be found alongside wine estates, the fruit factory started by Cecil John Rhodes, and the women I know whose children tasted wine through the placenta and mothers milk. The 'estate' is a powerful form of capital, and its ability to bottle the 'longue durée' of time impressed upon the composition of soil and slope is exemplary of this imposition. Theory can and must intervene in the shallow history – the line between terroir and territoriality. This bifurcation draws attention to the question of tense and has its foundation long before the shallow histories that "estate wines" signal, that is, prior to the emergence of the nation state we recognise now.

Attention to belonging has demonstrated the designation of the other, and the ways in which tense figures in the distinction between terroir and territoriality. However, there are modalities for resistance. As Paxson shows, terroir can be refigured – out of historical narratives void of people and into the creation of new niches that offer terroir as something that does not only value that which can be "discovered through selective recuperation of the past" rather, terroir can be considered to have "something to do with the future" (2010:445). Considering political, economic and epistemic genealogies has moved us from the symbolic

modalities that etch belonging, to a hope that terroir can begin to mind territory, and that the "beauty that reposes in particulars" (Grahm, 2006) will respond not just to a celebration of 'somewhereness', but also to tangible changes in land practice and renewed attention to the logics of freedom and constraint.

Eight.

Conclusion

We began in a hospital where a mother smeared icing on the lips of her newborn, opposing biomedical prescriptions of the 'right time'. This opened a set of questions about clashes between prescription and practice that was tracked in the everyday by attention to moments and sites of ingestion, 'swallowing the world'. These moments, however, were not read as singular abstractions, but considered the uneven terrain that constitutes social worlds continuously in flux. What has surfaced is a complex set of interpenetrating forces that rub together with bodies, people, and places at uneasy junctures, giving rise to moral imperatives, dextrous alternative means of providing care, and cruddy endurance (Povinelli, 2011) that daily disavows the insidious powers that distribute life.

Provoked by literature in food security that uses the framework of hunger, and evidence from epigenetics and public health discourse of the first 1000 days, I argued that the social grammar and singularity of 'hunger' gives lie to the complexity of care, the taste of mussels mixed with sweet tea, the deliciousness of KFC – something 'nice'. I thus proposed nourishment as a question and concept that tends to the complex ways in which time is figured, life apprehended, and relationality sought and indexed. Sensibilities of matter, space and time were contextualised in the everyday in *Ariel Cake*. Homes were shown to be central to the configurations of networks marked by precariousness, and also by dextrous, storied ways of caring for children that defy brackets of the 'best' time and place. It was in networks – of affect, of madness and of care, that nourishment was laced in *Cadbury's Fruit and Nut*. Mechanistic allocations of 'good' and 'bad' were troubled in the space between contested anchors of relationality. Chapter five, *Curry,* turned to allocations of race, class and culture in the designation of naturalised belonging that were examined in a yard of 'charged proximity' that registers deep temporality, and contemporary naturalising discourses concerning respectability.

In *Fishfinger stew* I foregrounded hunger, shame, kindness and foodways in turn, revealing how a perspective of nourishment minds such complexity, attends to the manner of ordering the everyday in representation, and heeds contextual notions of good and the co-occurrence of toxicity and nourishment, life and death, kindness and humiliation made visible by dissecting time in the 'vertical'. The toast of wine at the Derby Day was thought in relation to the celebration of everyday being and belonging in community, the fraught sociality of taking alcohol together, and the political economy of precarious employment in a valley where the slopes – the soil – the panoramas are bottled as terroir and the violence of territory (which indexes underlying epistemic genealogies) bracketed. In this final discussion of belonging in relation to the formation of state I argued, following Povinelli (2011b) that it is the task of critical theory to investigate underlying political imaginaries. It is this self-same imaginary that designates the 'other' as one who should not act 'out of time,' obliging women to act in the present to secure the future of their children, and possibly their children's children, in spite of the restrictions of precarious life.

Attention to meals allows for the social nature of nourishment to be tracked: subjectivity and inter-subjectivity are shown to be plaited in the conversations, life stories and engagements that surround meals. This reveals the potency of considering ingestion as confluence of inheritance, intersubjectivity, and that permeable boundary of the body – the gut. The gut is the site which takes in and assimilates the material substance of food as something that functions within the body, but carries with it flavour, memory, pleasure, disgust, context, and sociality. The ingestion of food can make us feel that we belong. It can grant access to dignity, and assist the sedimentation or formation of relationships.

Attention to ingestion in the everyday has illuminated what is foregrounded in different discourses and rhetoric, and what slides from view in those instances. What has been recovered? Discourses that govern "prioritise the future as that which matters most" (Adams et al., 2009:248). This is especially clear in biomedical settings and in the literature on public health that brackets the first

thousand days as pivotal to life-long formation and the wellbeing of future generations. However, precarious conditions often limit the ability to perform what Adams et al., (2009) term abduction – that is – acting in the present in such a way as to optimise future conditions of life. Rather, hope, kindness, (and often concomitant remonstrance) were expressed. These are powerful vectors of nourishment that remain unmarked by those so vividly sketched by the anticipatory logics of epigenetics and food security. These discourses are shot through with affect, and their prescriptions shape notions of what constitutes 'good' care and morals.

In cases where individuals lack the means to foresee material nourishment, their dexterity and resistance to domination and precarity take forms that have no room in quantitative discourse. Those who fell outside of the bracket 'the first thousand days of life' are charged with providing the appropriate care, but fall out of view themselves. Mothers who were no longer breastfeeding experienced an end to seasons of abundance. Carers who were not mothers edited life in multiple ways – by passing on recipes for curry; securing social grants; providing a home; making soup for children who come hungry to the door. Those who are not included in categories of naturalised belonging (within homes; within yards; within Kylemore; the valley; by adhering to notions of 'good' mothering married to ideas of modernity; within the slippery but sticky categories of language, race and class) are less able to foresee and receive nourishment. Attention to multiple forms of inheritance has shown that belonging is contoured in geo-politically specific ways. This shapes the forms and practices of nourishment that are expressed and experienced, which are specific in turn. Holding up everyday accounts of these forms of care reveals the challenges of administering general prescriptions for best practice.

What are the limits of accounts of everyday, specific experiences? This ethnographic account was focused on a small sample of interlocutors, in a particular time and place, and is coloured by my immersion. Further research is needed to explore the questions and intersections marked here. For example,

what do middle-class norms around the formation of kinship and personhood reveal? How do these sit in relation to prescriptions of care and in relation to temporal politics that are rapidly projecting futures based on dynamic claims in science and in respect to global networks of economic, affective, capital and political flow? How are moral prescriptions of the 'right' time, place and substance received and negotiated in other settings? The bracketing of time, people and place has been shown to have serious repercussions in Kylemore. Discourses that assign blame and morality were acutely felt. This is likely due to the intimate social setting pockmarked with precariousness where 'being respectable,' serves as currency. Comparison of what constitutes nourishment, forges belonging, and edits life across the socio-political landscape of South Africa and further will likely reveal new knowledge to track the imbrication of discourse with multiply constituted social worlds, and concomitant systems that produce and dispense knowledge.

This thesis opened by giving attention to a mother-and-child, and closed with a community celebration, marking the centrality of social networks. Michael Jackson (2011) writes that the injustices that allow some to access wealth, and dooms others to abject poverty are cause to ponder what it means to have a life – one that is bearable, one that is worth living. He thinks, along with Ernest Bloch, that the fear of insufficiency – of not being enough, (I think here of Jessica's words that spell inadequacy as she cannot provide for her children, just as Lydia feared she herself might disappear for want of food) and the search for security, a way to be genuine – is at core connected to "how we come into our own with others" (2011:93).

Nourishment – as a concept, an orientation, or perhaps a touchstone, can stand as a critical counterpoint to existing discourses that foreground hunger and universal prescriptions of 'right' and 'wrong' care. Nourishment includes notions of being and belonging that stretch to family, community, valley, province and country and continent and across generations and between people in a complicated matrix of care and overlapping and intersecting temporality.

Nourishment recognises the multiplicity of hungers wrought by experiences, and the diverse forms of inheritance both invisible and clearly marked. It minds memory (bodily and emotionally expressed) and is aptly tracked through ingestion – the attainment, preparation and sharing of food: recipes of care, the affirmation of personhood (mussels, icing, Cadbury's chocolate, Ariel Cake, a shared toast, a pot of curry and silence in serving unpalatable stew). It recognises affect and seeks to mind care over time, or 'vertically', in the everyday and in terms of networks of relationality. Nourishment takes heed of kin, relations, proximity. It attends to the home and politics of temporality and belonging, shaped by political imaginaries that distribute and edit life. I have tendered nourishment to show how social networks edit life and the socio-materiality of food registers care. I have explored how bodies and personhood imbricate environment and negotiate multiple forms of inheritance, resisting determinism and inflections of determinate abjection.

10 Appendix A

Women, residence, partnerships, children and income

Green: 'thousand days' tea women

Blue: women at soup kitchen ('Antie' generation)

Other women of 'Ant/Antie' generation)

Name	Age	Partner	Children (Age in November, 2014)	Grand-children	Type of residence	Employment/ Income	Incomer/ Resident
Lydia	25	Jannie (28)	Freddie 5 yrs Sara 10 months	-	Lives with Jannie in Aunt Magda's house	State disability grant, two child grants	Incomer
Monica	18	Leroy (22)	Leronica 7 months	-	Lives with mother Auntie Jolene	Seasonal labour, cookie business, child grant, household income	Resident
Emmie	16	Thato (22)	Mia 6 months	-	Lives at home with mother	Child grant (in process), household income, seasonal labour	Resident
Jessica	25	Elvis	Diego Elijah 2 months Shanique, 2 years	-	Rents room with Elvis behind his mother (Aunt Mandy's) house	Child grant (in process), seasonal labour, help from mother and grandmother	Shifting

Sara	50	Uncle Shaun (Father of 3 children)	4 yrs 17 yrs 30 yrs	3	Own home with 3 tenants	Pensions, snoek and Protea selling business, Tenants	Resident
Licia	47	Married	3 and godmother to baby Leronica)	1	Own home	Permanent job at school	Resident
Bertie	54	Widow	4 (including Aunt Lisa below)	12	Own home with two tenants	Pension	Resident
Marie	60	Married	4	7	Own home, 2 tenants	Pension	Resident
Lisa	36	Married	4	-	Lives at home with Antie Bertie	Seasonal, Husband works in security	Resident
Magda	47	Divorced: Husband still lives on property	4 (including son Jannie, Lydia's boyfriend)	4	Own home and 3 tenants	Permanent job: domestic work	Incomer became 'kymoeder' through marriage
Mandy	54	Unmarried	4	3	Own home and 2 tenants	Permanent job on fruit farm	Resident since childhood (but see re: discrimination)
Jolene	48	Married to Sam	3	1	Own house, sister is tenant behind	Husband Sam is a builder, unemployment grant, son contributes, sister contributes where possible	Resident

Ten.

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