Navigating their way: African migrant youth and their experiences of schooling in Cape Town

by
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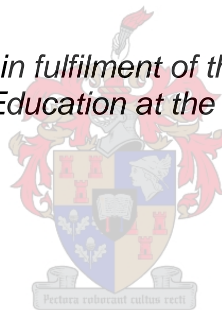

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DECLARATION

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ABSTRACT

Migration has been described as "the quintessential experience" of the contemporary period (Berger, 1984). Across the world this global phenomenon has been chiefly driven by conflict, persecution and poverty resulting from destabilisation in the various home countries of millions of individuals. Within the process of worldwide migration, South Africa receives perhaps the largest number of asylum seekers in the world and according to the UNHCR (2010) the majority of migrants entering South Africa are children or youth.

Crucially, this increased migration into South Africa is occurring at a time when the majority of South Africa's general populace is still struggling with the aftermath of apartheid and increased levels of poverty and unemployment. In this qualitative, interpretative study I focus on how a group of 20 African migrant youth that live in Cape Town and attend one local school engage with the migratory experience and navigate their way through local receiving spaces. I assert that these spaces, which include both home and school, mark the youth in very particular ways and bring into focus key aspects of identity, culture, social worlds, imagination and aspiration.

The main conceptual contribution of the thesis is the idea that we are all migrants in the current world, whether we physically move or whether our lives are moved by the impact of increasing global flows. Consequently, we need to develop, it is argued, a frame of thinking that makes the migrant central, not ancillary, to historical process. For that purpose I utilise the theoretical lenses of Pierre Bourdieu, Arjun Appadurai, and Tara Yosso to argue that the African migrant youth in the study are not passive recipients bombarded by the forces of globalization and migration, but are active agents in the shaping of their local realities.

By linking individual biographies to the questions they raise about larger global, social and historical forces I attempt to offer a temporalized account of late-modern life that incorporates the contemporary conditions that the African migrant youth face as they navigate urban social arrangements, and the daily educational challenges of their local school.

A further contribution of the thesis is the documenting of the particular internal and external resources that the 20 African migrant youth drew on to motivate and assist them to navigate their schooling and social lives, as they faced up to the growing uncertainties of their new 'foreign' spaces.

OPSOMMING

Migrasie is al beskryf as “die wesenservaring” van die moderne tyd (Berger, 1984). Oral ter wêreld word hierdie globale verskynsel hoofsaaklik aangedryf deur konflik, vervolging en armoede wat die gevolg is van destabilisasie in die onderskeie lande van herkoms van miljoene mense. Binne die wêreldwye migrasieproses is Suid-Afrika die land wat waarskynlik die grootste getal asielsoekers ter wêreld ontvang, en volgens die Verenigde Nasies se hoëkommissaris vir vlugtelinge (UNHCR, 2010) vorm kinders of jeugdiges die grootste groep migrante wat Suid-Afrika binnekom.

Wat van kardinale belang is, is dat hierdie toenemende migrasie na Suid-Afrika plaasvind op ŉ tydstip waarop die meerderheid van Suid-Afrika se breë bevolking steeds worstel met die nalatenskap van apartheid en verhoogde vlakke van armoede en werkloosheid. Hierdie kwalitatiewe, kwasi-interpretatiewe studie fokus op die wyse waarop ŉ groep van 20 jeugdige Afrika-migrante, wat in Kaapstad woon en dieselfde plaaslike skool bywoon, migrasie-ervarings hanteer en hulle weg deur die plaaslike ontvangsruimtes baan. Ek voer aan dat hierdie ruimtes, wat sowel die huis as die skool insluit, ’n baie duidelike stempel op jeugdiges laat en die aandag op sleutelaspekte van identiteit, kultuur, maatskaplike wêrelde, voorstellings en strewes vestig.

Die hoof- konseptuele bydrae van die tesis is die gedagte dat ons almal in vandag se wêreld migrante (van welke aard ook al) is, of ons nou fisiek verskuif en of die impak van toenemende wêreldwye strominge verskuiwings in ons lewe veroorsaak. Daarom, word daar geredeneer, moet ons ŉ denkraamwerk ontwikkel wat die idee van die “migrant” sentraal tot die historiese proses stel, eerder as ondergeskik daaraan. Vir dié doel gebruik ek die teoretiese lense van Pierre Bourdieu, Arjun Appadurai en Tara Yosso om aan te voer dat die jeugdige Afrika-migrante in die studie nie passiewe ontvangers is wat deur die kragte van globalisering en migrasie rondgeslinger word nie, maar dat hulle aktiewe agente is wat hulle plaaslike werklikhede self kan vorm.

Deur individuele lewensverhale te koppel aan die vrae wat dit oor groter globale, maatskaplike en historiese kragte laat ontstaan, bied ek ŉ getemporaliseerde weergawe van die laat-moderne lewe, met inbegrip van die eietydse omstandighede wat jeugdige Afrika-migrante in die gesig staar namate hulle hul weg deur die stedelik-maatskaplike organisasie moet vind, asook van die daaglikse opvoedkundige uitdagings van hulle plaaslike skool. Verder lewer hierdie tesis ŉ bydrae deur die interne en eksterne hulpbronne te dokumenteer wat hierdie 20 jeugdige Afrika-migrante gebruik het om hulle te motiveer en te help om hulle skool- en maatskaplike lewe te rig namate hulle die toenemende onsekerhede van hulle nuwe, “uitlandse” ruimtes moes aandurf.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my mother for teaching me from a young age that I could achieve anything in life and to my father for his never ending words of encouragement.

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I offer my gratitude to those who helped me along this fascinating journey. I am especially grateful to the 20 African migrant youth who shared their lives and beautiful stories with me.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

DEDICATION ____ 4

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ____ 4

TABLE OF CONTENTS ____ 5

CHAPTER ONE ____ 10

Introduction 10

Approach to research........ 13

Methodological approach and methodology 15

Theorising inward and outward experiences at the intersection of the global and the personal 16

Globalisation, migration and the outward dimensions of the personal 16

Navigating the inward dimensions of the migratory experience 18

Significance of this research locally and globally 20

CHAPTER TWO: THEORISING INWARD AND OUTWARD EXPERIENCES AT THE INTERSECTION OF THE GLOBAL AND THE PERSONAL 23

Introduction 23

SECTION A: REPRODUCTION, CAPITALS, IMAGINATION AND ASPIRATION 24

PIERRE BOURDIEU 24

ARJUN APPADURAI........ 32

TARA YOSSO 34

Summary 38

SECTION B: THEORISING IDENTITY AND THE PERSONAL WITHIN MIGRATION 38

Deconstructing identity categories 38
Suggested ways of managing current identity confusions 45

Conclusion 48

CHAPTER THREE: DESCRIBING THE RESEARCH AND WRITING PROCESS 49

Introduction 49

Beginnings 49

The research site 51

Educators and learners 52
Subjects and languages 52
The school defined 53

The sample group 53

Selecting the sample group 53
The youth participants 54
The adult participants 60

Ethical considerations 60

More than ethical procedures 60
Ethical procedures and challenges 61
Institutional and departmental access and permission 62
Informed consent 62
Privacy, confidentiality, autonomy and respect 64
Beneficence and non-maleficence 65
Accuracy, truth and validity 67
Truth telling 67
Snapshots of reality 68

Interpretative methodology 69

Introduction 69
Challenges of conducting interpretative research 70

Research methods 71
Introduction 71
Using the various methods also as a way of gaining participants trust 72
Collecting data via processes of comfortability and trust 73
Document analysis 73
Diaries and writing 73
Individual interviews 74
Group interview/discussions and focus groups 75
Group workshops 75
Observation 77
Conclusion 78
CHAPTER FOUR: GLOBALISATION, MIGRATION, AND THE OUTWARD DIMENSIONS OF THE PERSONAL ____ 79
Introduction 79
Section A: Globalisation 80
The globalisation discourse 80
SECTION B: MIGRATION 85
The scale of migration worldwide 86
The numbers of "people of concern" 86
Nations, labour markets and migration 87
Migration and South Africa 89
SECTION C: LOCALISING THE GLOBAL 96
Introduction 96
The landscape of Mountain View High School 97
The colliding landscapes of African migrant and South African youth 100
Animating mistrust and fear 107
Conclusion 110

CHAPTER FIVE: NAVIGATING THE INWARD DIMENSIONS OF THE MIGRATORY EXPERIENCE ______ 112

Introduction 112

Section A: Navigating the identity formation process 114

Creating “imaginary homelands” 114

Forming one’s identity in “third spaces” 124

Forming their own “idioms of the transient” 129

Summary 129

SECTION B: NAVIGATING THEIR WAY THROUGH SCHOOL 131

Introduction 131

Expectations, aspirations, “group” impressions and local structural limitations 132

Navigation: the link between home habitus, capitals and school 136

Navigation: the role of motivation, aspirational capital and imagination 144

Navigation: motivation from religion 151

Navigation: friendship and kinship 155

Summary 163

Conclusion 163

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION ______ 164

Like a bulb splitting 165

Moving from near to far spaces 166

The elusive concept of home 166

Race and class reconsidered 168

Challenging discourses of race and ethnicity 168

Changing forms of class 170

The established social order and a challenged education system 173

Giving a platform to important voices 176

REFERENCES ______ 178

Primary Sources 178

Secondary sources 180

ADDENDA ____ 194

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

The thesis begins with the story of Jonatha, one of 20 participants who took part in this study. His story provides an insight into experiences that millions of migrants around the world who have left their homes, either voluntarily or involuntarily, in search of a better life elsewhere go through. Migration is a global phenomenon increasing in the world due to conflict and persecution resulting from destabilisation in the various home countries of the individuals.

Migratory patterns have been facilitated by the breakdown of the modern nation state, the increasing gap between the rich and the poor and the added onus on individuals in a globalising world to fend for themselves (Landau, 2010; UNHCR, 2010, 2003). They are further spurred on by the idea of possibility that has flowed to all corners of the globe. Appadurai (1996:34) notes that "more persons and groups these days deal with the realities of having to move or the fantasies of wanting to move". Migration, in that respect, can probably be described as "the quintessential experience of the [current] age" (Berger, 1984:55). The BBC News described this phenomenon in 2010 in the following way:

> Over the past 15 years, the number of people crossing borders in search of a better life has been rising steadily. At the start of the 21st Century, one in every 35 people is an international migrant. If they all lived in the same place, it would be the world's fifth most populated country (BBC News Online, 2010).

I met Jonatha at a World Refugee Day function in Observatory, Cape Town, in 2009 where he spoke about his experiences as a migrant and the challenges of living in South Africa. In a deep, melodic voice, he spoke of how he had travelled great distances before settling in Cape Town, as well as the difficulties that he faces on a daily basis after 10 years living in what he calls the "land of possibilities".

Jonatha is 18 years old and is in Grade 11 at Mountain View High School (MVHS) in Cape Town. He left Rwanda strapped to his mother's back when she and his father fled the genocide and violence in 1993. Travelling through the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Kenya, Tanzania, Malawi and Mozambique, it took them six years to get to South Africa. Although he has lived in South Africa for 10 years and says that he cannot remember his original home, Jonatha still does not feel as though he belongs in South Africa. He continues to call himself "a global citizen" (Interview 26:2). Jonatha writes:

"The war really messed me up big time. I saw many things that were not meant to be seen. I felt a struggle that makes poverty seem heavenly and I saw people that make pain feel so insignificant within my life. The war was cold and calculated. I have travelled so far and now this is my last stop. South Africa. But still I feel a longing for my home, just to know what the boys were thinking when they looked for cattle or to see what the valleys looked like on top of the family hill" (Jonatha's Diary:3).

Jonatha and his family arrived in Cape Town in 1999 and have lived in the Woodstock area since then. They chose South Africa as it was the safest possible option for them and because it was known as "the land of possibilities".

Jonatha lives with his mother, father and brother. His brother also attends MVHS and is in Grade 12. His father, who is an agricultural scientist, is currently working as a taxi driver and is also the pastor of a Congolese church near to his home. His mother is a teacher and works in the library at MVHS.

When Jonatha got to South Africa, he was held back two grades due to his haphazard access to education in the previous six years. He attended primary school in Woodstock and then started at MVHS in 2007. Despite his prior erratic education, he is a high achiever and received the top 2009 MVHS Grade 10 awards for life sciences and geography. Jonatha is a charismatic, well-mannered, well built boy who captures everyone's attention when he enters a room. He speaks eloquently and philosophically about life. He writes poetry and raps and likes to wear American-rapper styled clothing. He is deeply religious and calls God "his real home".

Jonatha's family do not plan to return to Rwanda, but they are looking for other options as, after 10 years of living here they still do not have residency. Jonatha says that refugees like him have so much to offer South Africa, but their offers are spurned. Moreover,

Jonatha and his family continue to worry about their safety and this shapes the way they engage with life on a daily basis. They have been victims of "xenophobic" violence more than once[1].

The reader will encounter inter woven into this thesis snippets of the lives and stories of a further 19 African migrant youth who have joined the increasing diaspora[2] of people around the world, stories which are at times harsh and sad. "African migrant" is a term I have used to encapsulate persons (refugees, asylum seekers or economic migrants)[3] who decide or who are forced to migrate from their home territory within Africa to another African territory for a variety of reasons, be it political, social or economic. According to the UNHCR (2010), South Africa receives the largest number of asylum seekers in the world, many of whom are children or youth. In the thesis, I focus on the stories of youth who bring quite different narratives and perspectives on migration to this work. I define the term "youth" as young persons between the ages of 12 and 25 years old.[4]

In Jonatha's story above, and in the stories of the other 19 youth, it becomes clear that as migrants navigate their way through local receiving spaces, these spaces mark them in

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[1] Jonatha's mother says that one day both of her boys came home and they had been beaten up on the train so badly on the train that she cried. Additionally, during the "xenophobic" violence of 2008 her husband's car was stolen (Interview 27:1). She noted that in August of 2010 her Rwandan neighbour was beaten to death on a train apparently because he could not speak isiXhosa.

[2] By diaspora I am referring to the movement of any people away from their home territory or country, not just a specific group of people, as it was first used to refer to Jewish Diaspora. Thus the term is only capitalized when referring to the Black Diaspora, but not to refer to the general movement of people around the world.

[3] 1. A *refugee* is a person who "owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality, and is unable to or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country" (According to the formal definition in article 1A of The 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees). The concept of a refugee was expanded by the Convention's 1967 Protocol and by regional conventions in Africa and Latin America to include persons who had fled war or other violence in their home country (UNHCR, N.d.).

2. An *asylum seeker* is a person who has left their country of origin, has applied for recognition as a refugee in another country, and is awaiting a decision on their application (UNHCR, N.d.).

3. According to the UNHCR (N.d.), an *economic migrant is a person who* makes a *conscious* choice to leave his/her country of origin and can return there without a problem. If things do not work out as they had hoped or if they get homesick, it is safe for them to return home. This term is debatable, as in the case of Zimbabweans in South Africa, it is not necessarily "safer" for them to return home. Furthermore, South Africa does not distinguish between refugees and economic migrants.

[4] Definitions of *youth* vary according to countries and cultures. According to the UNHCR (2003: 8), the term broadly refers to a stage of psychological and social development between childhood and adulthood. I use the UNHCR's (2003:8) definition of youth as people between the ages of 13 and 25.

particular ways, bringing into question factors of identity, culture, their social world, imagination and aspiration. Indeed, Norwicka writes:

> ...children of transnational identities are models of the individuals of late modernity, representing the reflexivity and flexibility of identity of the contemporary being. They are exposed to challenges of identity and belonging that neither their parents nor their uni-cultural peers have to struggle with in the same way (cited in Devine, 2009:524).

To understand these individuals of late modernity, the thesis sets out from the beginning to highlight the personal dimension that emerges from the intersection of global patterns of migration and local experiences. The thesis presents what Portes (1997) in the title of his article calls "globalization from below" - the act of giving voice to the everyday experiences of 20 migrant youth within the process of globalisation as they interact with and act back on the structures and forces around them and in so doing create their own histories.

More specifically, the reader will encounter how 20 African migrant youth experience schooling within Mountain View High School[5], as well as how they relate this to their everyday lives. In addition to giving voice to their experiences, the thesis will show how "contemporary beings", like Jonatha, apply "reflexivity and flexibility" to agentially navigate or manoeuvre their way through the local space.

Crucially for the thesis, the stories of the 20 migrant youth do not represent the stories of the wider migrant youth population at the school. The work is mainly an interpretative study of what the stories of the 20 participants reveal in relation to a bigger discussion of globalisation and migration.

The main purpose of focusing on the experiences and navigations of these 20 youths is to show locality as a lived experience in a globalising, deterritorialised world (Appadurai, 1996:52). Indeed through the various works of Arjan Appadurai, Tara Yosso and Pierre Bourdieu this thesis will show how migrants are not only socially and culturally constructed in the new spaces they come to inhabit but are also framed by their accumulated histories and capitals, knowledge, local contexts and ability to move.

Approach to research

Nadine Dolby conducted groundbreaking research in South Africa in 1996 when she documented the lives of youths at a school in Durban at the close of the 20th Century and

[5] Henceforth in the thesis I will refer to the pseudonym Mountain View High School simply as MVHS.

after the “crumbling” of apartheid. In the subsequent publication in 2001, *Constructing race: Youth, identity and popular culture in South Africa,* she wrote about her methodological concerns and noted that her “research embodies many of the tensions inherent to ethnographic work at the close of the twentieth (sic) century” (Dolby, 2001:120), a time of enormous change. Fourteen years later, I have written this study at an equally important time of international and local change and the methodological concerns and the thoughts that guide this thesis “embody [similar] tensions inherent to ethnographic work” in a 21st Century context. Themes of race, class and popular culture described in Dolby’s book remain crucially relevant to South African schools and the lives of the youth in this study. I will show, however, that increasingly some South African schools are dealing with the phenomenon of the “immigration line” (Back, 2007:31) which has made links between race and class identities much more complex.

The thesis is significant as it is written at a time when one could argue that we are all migrants, whether we actually move or whether our lives are “moved” by the impact of increasing “global flows”, and that this influences our imagination (See Appadurai, 1996). It therefore becomes even more urgent to “develop a frame of thinking that makes the migrant central, not ancillary, to historical process” (Carter cited in Rapport & Dawson, 1998:v).

Appadurai, the main theorist referred to in this thesis on issues of globalisation, increased migration and their effects on individuals worldwide, asserts that the importance of focusing on migrants presently is because of the different scapes – ethno, media, ideo and techno – that flow to all corners of the globe, influence the lives of individuals and the very idea of the nation state (Appadurai, 1996:33). He argues that in a situation where imagination has become a “social practice”, the task of “producing the local” and of families reproducing themselves culturally and socially has become ever more challenging for individuals of late modernity Appadurai (1996; 2002).

What this means for educational sociologists, anthropologists and ethnographers worldwide is threefold. First, it requires researchers to confront the above mentioned “brute facts about the twenty-first century (sic)” (Appadurai, 1996:48) and to approach their research in a different way. This new approach shifts the focus away from “anthropology of the far” to what Back (2007:9) calls “anthropology of the near”. In a rapidly changing, fluid world, where spaces are no longer bounded, investigating “near” spaces is critical to social

understanding, especially given the new and unique ways in which the production of the local, cultural and social reproduction and identity are occurring. Researching "near spaces", however, has its own challenges and requires researchers to re-evaluate the "tools" and methods that they use to gather data.

Secondly, what it also requires is for researchers to practice what Back (2007) calls "the art of listening". Chapter Three discusses how I practice "the art of listening" through interpretative voice work. Through an interpretative methodology, I stand in the shoes of the youth and conduct "anthropology of the near" to first understand how these African migrant youth experience life and schooling in South Africa, and then to understand how they navigate their way through their experiences.

The third requirement of sociology currently is to listen to and interpret what local voices have to say about global trends. Indeed, if Jonatha is marked by his local experiences, unpeeling the various layers of his physical and emotional ordeals reveals a particular story of the kind of world we live in. Chapter Three discusses how I perform what Back (2007:47) calls "global sociology" by listening intently to the youth and looking through their eyes.

The rest of this introductory chapter introduces the methodological thinking used to frame the study, the layout of the thesis, the main arguments that it makes and the significance thereof for local and international literature and local policy.

Methodological approach and methodology

Chapter Three introduces the reader to the research site, Mountain View High School (MVHS), and sketches short biographies of the learners in the sample group as a way of introducing the participants to the reader and of acknowledging that each participant has a unique identity and an equally important story to tell.

The chapter then moves to discuss the interpretative methodology used and the multiple interpretative methods used to gather data. Next to be discussed is the unique way that the interpretative research unfolded and the challenges that arose during the research process, for example the ethics of conducting interpretative research with a vulnerable community and issues of truth and triangulation.

Theorising inward and outward experiences at the intersection of the global and the personal

Jonatha's story highlights that when migrants move to new spaces, these spaces mark individuals in particular ways, bringing into question their identity, cultural and social worlds, dreams and aspirations. Chapter Two engages with the key theoretical frameworks that inform this study and animates the key arguments this study makes on how African migrant youth navigate this space and recreate their lives in South Africa. The purpose of this section is to theorise what knowing about the schooling experiences of African migrant youth and how they navigate their way through the schooling system in South Africa can contribute to the wider literature.

Section A of this chapter begins by engaging with three key theorists, namely Bourdieu, Yosso and Appadurai and grappling with their assertions that migration is socially and culturally constructed, as well as examining how the accumulated histories and capitals, knowledge, contexts, and mobilities of individuals play a role in informing their learning trajectories, imaginations and ultimate realities.

Section B of this chapter engages with theories on identity in global and mobile times. This is necessary, and highlighted by Jonatha's story, given that navigating schooling spaces and life in South Africa brings their core identities (home, ethnicity, race, class and gender) into question and requires much agency in grappling with this. I argue that it is through processes of "identification" that agency is lived out. In this thesis when I speak of identity I refer to Appadurai (2003:44) and Hall's (1997:47), concept of identification. Here I argue that as the African migrant youth inhabit and engage with various new spaces that frame their everyday lives, they are continually forming their identities. This section offers tools to analyse the processes African migrant youth continuously go through to create their identity, as well as the spaces from whence they "speak" their identity in order to navigate their way.

Globalisation, migration and the outward dimensions of the personal

Different theorists have characterized the past two centuries in particular ways. W.E.B. Du Bois (1989:29), for instance, commented famously in 1903 that the problem of the 20th

Century is the problem of the colour-line. Almost 90 years later, Hall (1993:361), mindful of Du Bois, remarked that diversity and the capacity to live with difference would mark the 21st Century. In this study, I, along with Back (2007:31) argue that it might be more accurate to say that the problem of “the twenty-first century (sic) will be the problem of the ‘immigration line’”.

Chapter Four elaborates on the concept of the “immigration line” by situating it within current literature on globalisation and international and local trends in migration. Section A describes how globalisation is not an external force operating behind the backs of individuals like Jonatha; rather it shows how the past, present and future lives of the migrant youth in this thesis are enmeshed in the processes of globalisation. Section B discusses one of the main consequences of globalisation, namely increased migration. It describes how the migration of families such as Jonatha’s is not a new phenomenon. What is new, however, is the pace at which such families are moving worldwide. Chapter Four also discusses trends in and consequences of migration worldwide and particularly in South Africa.

Both sending and receiving nations worldwide are experiencing challenges due to increasing migration. However, Sections B and C of Chapter Four discuss how it is the migrants, like Jonatha, who “are at the sharpened end of migration” (Back, 2007:43). Back (2007:27) writes about the effects of the “immigration line” in the UK and describes how in their risky desire to get to the UK, immigrants are literally “falling from the sky”. Migrants may not well fall through the South African skies, but due to their desire to get to South Africa, they, like Jonatha’s family, travel arduous paths to finally arrive there.

For many African migrants faced with problems in their home countries, “democratic, stable, prosperous” South Africa is seen as “the land of milk and honey”. However, as Jonatha’s story highlights, when migrants arrive there, their dreams begin to fade as they find that the grass is not much greener in South Africa (Crush & Frayne, 2010). Section B outlines how arriving in new spaces, migrants worldwide, and specifically the African migrants in this thesis, continue to experience risk and challenges. They are at the mercy of the literal “immigration line” which “demarcates those lives that are endowed with the gift of citizenship and those lives that can be cut short with silent impunity” (Back, 2007:31). Once having crossed the literal “immigration line”, migrants continue to experience

challenges in their host spaces, as other "lines" are drawn in front of them. This demands much bravery of the African migrant youth in this study, as Jonatha explains:

> Daily being a foreigner in South Africa I have to be brave, like when I am taking a train and going to a shop. I don't know if someone has something like bravery capsules, we have to take them every morning (Group Discussion 3:4).

Sections B and C of Chapter Four describe the local Cape Town terrain into which Jonatha's family and many other African migrant families have moved and where they now live. Moreover, in addition, it describes how migrants like Jonatha who are moving from "a developing country"[6] to South Africa (which in itself is a "developing" country) find it particularly difficult to "produce the local" (Appadurai, 2002a:46). This is because, within the host space, many South Africans and other migrants are already struggling to survive and are competing for resources within a world "where the riches are global and the misery local" (Bauman, 1998:74).

Navigating the inward dimensions of the migratory experience

Taking into consideration the "findings" of the previous chapters, Chapter Five discusses how the 20 African migrant youth in this study navigate their way through their lives and schooling experiences. I argue that they do this by constructing a "vehicle of navigation" for themselves by intentionally or unintentionally drawing on or leaving out certain aspects of their past, present and future histories, available capitals, knowledge and capacities of aspiration and imagination.

This shows that the African migrant youth are not passive recipients bombarded by the forces of globalisation and migration, but are agents in the process of globalisation and migration. I argue that although their vehicle of navigation may be formed and perpetuated by certain capitals (in Bourdieu's sense), they are equally formed through a process of improvisation and choice in a world of constant flux and challenge.

From the analysis of the data, key themes emerge as to how the African migrant youth construct their respective "vehicles". Section A of Chapter Five discusses how through living in a new host space the African migrant youths' identities are constantly questioned.

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[6] I acknowledge that the terms "developed" and "developing country" are contentious. However, as these terms are widely used in literature on development, migration and globalization, I use them in this thesis.

I argue that in creating a sense of self identity and a sense of home for themselves in South Africa, the African migrant youth are constantly going through processes of identification, recognition, negotiating or "making space" and imagination. Section A outlines how living in the migrant "third space" (Bhabha cited in Rutherford, 1990:211), in between one's place of origin and one's new space, requires the youth to constantly define themselves in terms of normative categories of home, nationality, race and class. In this way, the concept of "the immigration line" is manifested in a psychological, more personal form. Being seen as "the other" by South Africans and seeing themselves as different, it is the "otherness" of the African migrant that becomes the defining feature by which they live their lives.

The chapter discusses how living as migrants in this time of change and new spaces, where normative categories and previous notions of the nation state are challenged, leads the youth to perform what Dillabough and Kennelly (2010:7) call "self perfection" or self making". Here in the chapter I grapple with and discuss what is truth and what is imagined in the youths' lives.

Living far from "old familiar spaces" also means the youth practice what Dillabough and Kennelly (2010:7) refer to as "self governance". Section B of Chapter Five discusses how from their "identity" and "third space" the youth mobilise their available capitals, cultural knowledges, collective memory, aspirations and imagination (Bourdieu, 1986; Yosso, 2005; Appadurai, 1996, 2002, 2003) to create what I call their unique "vehicle of navigation" to manoeuvre their way through their life and schooling experiences in Cape Town.

Thus the thesis does not only focus on the challenges migrant youth experience within today's turbulence and disjuncture. Like Bash and Zezlina-Phillips, I argue that it is also possible that "creativity and enhancement of the human condition may emerge from sudden disruption of social order and breakdown of cultural norms" (Bash & Zezlina-Phillips, 2006:113-128). Indeed, living as migrants governed by the immigration line, negotiating new spaces and identities, the African migrant youth have to be strong and resilient in order to survive. In this thesis I conceptualise resilience as not something that is discovered but rather as a process of navigation and agency. Stanton-Salazar and Spina (cited in Yosso, 2005:80), argue that resilience has been recognized as "a set of inner resources, social competencies and cultural strategies that permit individuals to not only

survive, recover or even thrive after stressful events, but also to draw from the experience to enhance subsequent functioning." In order to "recover" from the affects of the immigration line and to navigate their way through new spaces and their schooling experiences, the African migrant youth construct unique "vehicles of navigation".

Significance of this research locally and globally

This thesis is significant for a number of reasons. First, much research has been conducted internationally into the lives of migrant youth and schooling and such research is increasing, as more and more schools in all corners of the globe are receiving an escalating number of migrant youth. However, although there exists an increasing amount of research into migration and South Africa (See the writing of Landau, 2009; Landau & Misago, 2009; Palmary, 2009; Masade, 2007) some of whose research will be outlined in the literature reviews in this thesis, not much research into migrant *youth* and *schooling* has been done in South Africa.

The exception to this is the work of Francis and Hemson (2008) who researched the experiences of inclusion and exclusion of migrant children in a Durban school.[7] Secondly, there is Hermanis, whose thesis forms part of an international study which describes the facilitative role of school management regarding the emergence of immigrant children at schools (See Hermanis, 2005). And third, Picard who writes about the experiences from the perspective of foreign students introduced into English classrooms in Johannesburg (See Picard, 2000). Taking the above lack of research into African migrant youth, there is a great need for research to be done into this field in South Africa and particularly within the Western Cape.[8]

This thesis thus contributes to international and local literature by giving voice to voices never heard before. Chapter Six concludes this thesis with an analysis of its main arguments and the significance thereof for both South African and international literature. The thesis shows how, besides the challenges that these 20 African migrant youth face in

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[7] This research has not been published.

[8] The Forced Migration Programme, which forms part of the University of Witwatersrand, is currently conducting the majority of research in the field of migration studies in South Africa. Their research predominantly focuses on Johannesburg.

Cape Town, they are able to create a unique space for themselves in society living as “the powerless, alongside the powerless”. The thesis thereby unsettles established notions of home, race, class and poverty. All of these categories are turned upside down in South Africa, where due to restrictive immigration policy migrants mainly live alongside the poorest of South Africans. In such a situation the onus is really on them to survive. The thesis also shows how “by tracing an imaginary line between a cluster of stars”, Jonatha and the other 19 African migrant youth are able to agentially create their unique vehicles of navigation to manoeuvre their way through their lives, schooling experiences and ultimately into the future. Lastly, the migrant youths’ stories of their experiences and navigations point to how various aspects of South African immigration policy, education policy and society in general intersect.

Importantly, the thesis is significant not only because of its contribution to local and international literature, but also because of its approach and methodology.

First, this thesis listens to and interprets the voices of the 20 African migrant youths, a method which is becoming ever more important in contemporary research. Many international studies write about migrant youth and their integration into their host society and schools. However, much of this research is written from the outsider perspective and follows a diagnostic approach. As Devine (2009:522) persuasively argues, while the rhetoric of inclusion and recognition can be found in many policy documents internationally and locally (including South African policy) “the reality of practices in schools suggests a surface treatment of cultural diversity and an absence of deep engagement with the perspectives of minority ethnic communities”. While there are some studies focusing on the minority ethnic learners’ perspectives on the curriculum and learning (See the writing of Archer & Francis; Chan; Sewell), studies of first-generation immigrant children’s *voices* in relation to schooling are rare.

This thesis joins the voice work (ethnographic, interpretative) that is increasing worldwide (See for example the work of Faas, 2009, 2010; Steinbach, 2009, 2010; Devine, 2009; Dlamini & Anucha, 2009; Pinson & Arnot, 2007; Bash & Zezlina-Phillips, 2006). In general, their work highlights the agency and navigations of refugee, asylum-seeker children and youth in their transition to the "host” society, and the tensions they experience in identity and belonging.

Secondly, this thesis provides a snapshot of 20 youth who embody both local and international trends in migration. Dillabough and Kennelly (2010:3-4) write that:

> regardless of space or temporality, young people are always the bearers of something which must necessarily exceed their own frontiers. To understand these frontiers and their excesses requires us to pay adequate attention to the temporal and spatial complexity which lies at the heart of narrative identity, and to accept that there are uneven degrees and scales of global change which impact on young people at the level of local experience.

By listening to and interpreting their voices and turning "towards the narrative accounts of young people themselves" researchers can offer a "temporalised comparative account of late-modern life that is able to incorporate the contemporary conditions that young people face as they navigate urban social arrangements", (Dillabough & Kennelly, 2010:4) which are "more than local and less than global" (Pinney cited in Dillabough & Kennelly, 2010:4).

In so doing the thesis links individual biographies to the questions they raise about larger global, social and historical forces. At a time when the "immigration line" has become the problem of the 21st Century (Back, 2007:12), through the voices of the 20 African migrant youth in this thesis I am able to conduct "global sociology" (Back, 200:47). I argue that the task of global sociology is to link the individual biographies and the questions they raise with larger global, social and historical forces (Back, 2007:4). Indeed, through this thesis I hope to adhere to the job of sociology of our time – "to point to those things that cannot be said" (Back, 2007:166). This is because, "it is in silence that inequitable relations and gross political complicities are hidden" (Back, 2007:166).

CHAPTER TWO: THEORISING INWARD AND OUTWARD EXPERIENCES AT THE INTERSECTION OF THE GLOBAL AND THE PERSONAL

Introduction

In this chapter I reveal the main theoretical spine of the thesis, which engages with both the outward (the nature of lived experience) and inward dimensions of human experiences at the global-local interchange. Notably, where I explore identified issues related to identity and self making I focus on and develop themes that resonated during the interview and data collection process, and that came out of my analysis thereof.

As the overall purpose of the thesis is to understand the ways in which African migrant youth navigate their educational and social experiences in a particular migratory location, I employ the theoretical contributions of Bourdieu, Yosso and Appadurai to provide the reader valuable hooks with which to engage debates in Chapter Five on the nature of living and engaging with new and challenging spaces. I also provide theoretical contributions on identity, identity making, and the kinds of personal choices and emphases that individuals make when they move.

Chapter Two is divided into two sections. Section A engages with the writing of the noted theorists whose work offers ways of understanding the local lived-experiences of migrants as they attempt to recreate lives in a different space. Starting with the writings of Bourdieu, especially his work on cultural and social reproduction and his concepts of field, habitus and capitals, I assert that the lives of individuals are not finitely shaped by structures and contexts but that they also act back on the fields that they inhabit. Bourdieu's writing points to how individuals (in my study, youth) draw on their respective habitus and capitals to navigate their way through their respective experiences.

I then explore Appadurai's theories on cultural reproduction in global and mobile times and suggest that his contributions can usefully be juxtaposed with Bourdieu's work in trying to understand in Chapter Five how the African migrant youth of the study navigate their way through social and schooling experiences. I also engage with some of the theoretical work of Appadurai in Chapter Four to tease out key links between globalisation and migration, and to show how physical space intersects with more intangible aspects of globalisation and immigration. However, I tone down theorising in Chapter Four in favour of painting a

broader canvas and background for the engagement and analysis of the stories of the 20 African migrant youth.

The final part of Section A engages Yosso's notion of community cultural wealth and her observation that communities have significant cultural assets that they resiliently draw on to fight off reproducing the inequality nexus noted by Bourdieu. Her contribution is particularly useful as it points to how aspects of human resilience, effort and improvisation could shape the various forms of social reproduction and the extent to which humans mobilise their various capitals, capacities and knowledge in navigating new spaces.

Section B engages with issues of identity and processes of identity making in spaces inhabited by new or migrating populations. I explore how individual identities are continually reshaped and reformed, both imaginatively and physically, by social and institutional experiences and by the kinds of identification mechanisms employed. I outline in Section B how aspects of home, nationality/ethnicity, race and class have begun to be deconstructed in our contemporary global world and suggest ways in which the (20) African migrant youth in the study could possibly be managing their "identity confusion". My main assertion in the section is that individuals "speak their identity" in very particular ways, leading to a variety of identity making processes.

SECTION A: REPRODUCTION, CAPITALS, IMAGINATION AND ASPIRATION

PIERRE BOURDIEU

Social reproduction, habitus, capitals and education

For Bourdieu, a key sociological concern that spans all his work and which is of particular relevance to this thesis, was to understand why the established social order invariably remained the same in modern and neo-liberal contexts. In grappling with this, Bourdieu wrote extensively on reproduction in society and in education specifically. As this thesis refers mainly to his writing on reproduction and its associated concepts (about which he began writing in the 1970s from a post-structuralist position), I highlight in the thesis Bourdieu's assertion that "social life must be understood in terms that do justice both to objective material, social, and cultural structures and to the constituting practices and experiences of individuals and groups" (Calhoun et al., 1993:3). In other words, individuals'

lives cannot be understood only by what happens to them, but in the light of what they do or according to their subjective practices in these situations. In his subsequent development of a related theory of cultural practice, Bourdieu developed three fundamental concepts - field, habitus and capital. These concepts form the basis of his reproduction theory.

Bourdieu's key concepts

Working with the notion that "the social world is accumulated history", Bourdieu (1986:15) observed that if people passed through life as perpetually "interchangeable particles" then certain processes had to be prevalent to hold these particles together. He subsequently developed the notions of capital and accumulation (as well as all its effects) to highlight how the social, cultural and material converge to shape individual realities.

Importantly for this study, Bourdieu's concepts offer key ways of understanding the kinds of capital and accumulation that individuals bring to particular situations and that influence how they navigate their subsequent decisions. Also, Bourdieu's analysis suggests ways to understand how these notions become enmeshed within individuals' "accumulated histories", and thereafter get mobilised to navigate particular personal paths. The sections below outline key aspects of Bourdieu's theorisation.

For the study, a key Bourdieuian assertion is that an individual's actions "cannot be understood fully except in relation to the social context in which the action occurs" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). To better understand the quite different kinds of social realities that individuals encounter, Bourdieu introduced the concepts of field and habitus.

Field

With regard to the concept of field, Bourdieu noted that the position of any particular agent is the result of the interaction between that agent's habitus and his or her place in a field of positions as defined by the distribution of the appropriate form of capital that he/she possesses (Calhoun et al., 1993:5).

According to Bourdieu (cited in Lingard & Christie, 2003:322), a field is "a structured social space, a force field which contains people who dominate and people who are dominated". Notably, Bourdieu observed that within such contained spaces enduring relationships of

inequality operate alongside struggles for the transformation (or preservation) of those spaces.

Applying the metaphor of a game to education, with given boundaries played on a field and governed by particular rules, Bourdieu observed that the trophy being fought for was qualifications, the expertise of the players was the capital being used, and that schools and universities were the referees that controlled the distribution and interplay of the various capitals. The latter did so by determining and legitimising particular knowledge (and associated processes) that were considered important for the reproduction and replication of dominant societies (Oakley & Pudsey cited in Tranter, 1994:6). Furthermore, schools and universities act as gate-keepers to such knowledge bases, often discriminating in favour of those who know how to play the game and to win the prize and excluding those that don't know or follow the rules (Tranter, 1994:6).

Habitus

The notion of habitus is central to Bourdieu's theory of practice. According to Lingard and Christie (2003:320) habitus is a sociological and not a psychological concept. Bourdieu saw social life as a mutually constituting interaction of structures, dispositions and actions whereby social structures and embodied knowledge of those structures produce long lasting orientations to action, which in turn are constitutive of social structures (Calhoun et al., 1993:4).

Lingard and Christie (2003:320) describe the habitus as "the way people internalise social structures and perceive the world – their unconscious schemes of perception – that embody extant historical structures". Habitus thus refers to "the acquired, socially constituted dispositions of social agents" and "to the way agents classify principles they use and the organizing principles of the actions that they undertake without consciously planning this" (Lingard & Christie, 2003:320).

Bourdieu's notion of habitus provides important ways of exploring the relationship between structure and agency in everyday social life. He noted that an individual's practice and action is never predetermined, but rather that it results from a process of improvisation that in turn is structured by cultural orientations, personal trajectories and the ability to play the game of social interaction (Calhoun et al., 1993:4).

Continuing with the metaphor of playing the game, Bourdieu noted that having a "sense of the game" is a key element of the "habitus" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:120) and that all individuals in this universe bring to the competition a form of power that defines their position in the field and, as a result, their strategies (Bourdieu, 1998:40-41).

In this respect, a strategy is not individual, rational choice but rather suitable action enacted within particular fields that are themselves places of struggle and which induce certain logics of practice (Lingard & Christie, 2003:325). A strategy thus involves "moves in the game" that are based on mastery of its logic and are acquired by experience. It stems from a "feel for the game" that is embodied and turned into "second nature" (Bourdieu, 1990:63) and this allows for action, guided by constraints as well as for improvisation, different levels of skill and choices to be made in particular situations. Strategy is the habitus in action (Lingard & Christie, 2003:326).

With regard to the broader arguments in the thesis, Bourdieu's assertion that despite possessing "open systems of dispositions" and having the possibility for improvisation, the reproduction of class differences and corresponding educational inequalities occur when the habitus of different individuals predispose them towards particular ways of behaving and responding, is of particular relevance (Reay, 2004:433). I utilise the argument that the habitus is both the product of individual history and the collective history of the family and that it is linked to aspects of class, race, and gender – which always have elements of indeterminacy and contingency. I emphasise the view that habitus is not merely a smooth incorporation of static social structures (Lingard & Christie, 2003:321) but is often "built upon contradiction, upon tension, even upon instability" (Bourdieu, 1990:116), mainly because social structures are themselves invariably contested. Bourdieu notes that the habitus of individuals is crucially shaped by the various capital such individuals possess and that they can utilise in shaping their individual life trajectories (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:133).

Capital

In the same way that economic capital is the currency of exchange within the economic field, social and cultural capital are powerful currencies that work in and across the relations of other fields (Bourdieu, 1986). The habitus of an individual is thus perpetuated

by the amount of economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital that such an individual possesses.

Thus, capital is “accumulated labour (in its materialized form or its “incorporated”, embodied form) that, when appropriated on a private basis by agents or groups of agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labour” (Bourdieu, 1986:15).

According to Bourdieu (1986:16), capital presents itself in four guises: First, it is visible as economic capital, which is instantly and directly exchangeable for money and may be institutionalised in the form of property rights.

Secondly, it presents as cultural capital, which “refers to embodied dispositions toward various cultural goods and practices” as well as to formal qualifications that work as a currency and access to a variety of cultural goods (Bourdieu cited in Lingard & Christie, 2003:324). Bourdieu identifies cultural capital as having three forms, namely the embodied, the objectified and the institutionalised. The embodied form refers to the long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body or “sets of meaning and modes of thinking”. The objectified form refers to cultural goods that individuals have access to (pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc). The institutionalised form refers to the educational/academic qualifications that confer on individuals particular characteristics and powers (Lamaison & Bourdieu cited in Devine, 2009:525).

The third guise of capital is social capital, which Bourdieu describes as “that form of capital linked to social networks and relationships” (Bourdieu cited in Lingard & Christie, 2003:324). It is measured by the amount and level of their network of connections. Social capital is perceived as “the sum of resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships or mutual acquaintance and recognition” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:119).

According to Bourdieu, social capital underpins the interchange between cultural and economic capital and must be continuously worked for. It is “the product of investment strategies, individual and collective, consciously or unconsciously aimed at establishing or reproducing the social relationships that are directly usable in the short or long term, and creates the conditions whereby such a relationship can become durable, sustainable, and institutionally guaranteed” (Bourdieu, 1986:22).

The last guise of capital is symbolic capital, namely when it – in whatever form, be it economic, cultural or social - becomes recognized as legitimate and powerful in a relationship of knowledge within a particular field, or when misrecognition and recognition presupposes the intervention of the habitus as a socially constituted cognitive capacity (Bourdieu cited in Lingard & Christie, 2003:324).

Crucially, economic capital is seen to lie at the root of all other types of capital (Bourdieu, 1986:24). Whereas different types of capital can potentially be derived from economic capital, this can only occur from the exertion of significant effort and power. Central to Bourdieu's concept of capital is its exchange value and the capacity for both social and cultural capital through solid investment of time and effort (Bourdieu, 1986:25) to be converted into economic capital (Devine, 2009:522). That explains, argues Bourdieu, why many parents believe that investment of time and effort in their children's education will result in more accrual of cultural capital and ultimately more economic power.

Emotional Capital

In this thesis I employ Diane Reay's concept of emotional capital as a way of emphasising the need for a more gendered and nuanced perspective. Extending Bourdieu's concept of capitals, Reay (2000:569) points to a (further) category called emotional capital that refers to "the emotional resources passed on from mother to child through processes of parental involvement". Drawing on Nowotny's development of the concept (where she further developed Bourdieu's theories), Reay (2000:572) notes that emotional capital can be seen as a variant of social capital but is mainly characteristic of the private rather than the public sphere. She asserts that emotional capital is generally confined within the bounds of affective relationships of family and friends and encompasses the emotional resources you hand on to those you care about. According to Nowotny (cited in Reay, 2000:572), emotional capital constitutes knowledge, contacts and relations, as well as access to emotionally valued skills and assets that hold within a social network characterised, at least partly, by affective ties.

Unlike Bourdieu's other forms of capital, which are invariably theorised in ungendered ways, Nowotny and Reay see emotional capital as a resource women have in greater abundance than men. Their key divergence from Bourdieu's work is that whereas he emphasised the crucial role of a mother's *time* in the upbringing of children and their

accumulation of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986:25), they highlight the important *emotional* role of mothers in the lives of their offspring.

Allatt (cited in Reay, 2000:572) describes emotional capital as “emotionally valued assets and skills, love and affection, expenditure of time, attention, care and concern”. Importantly for this study, emotional capital is seen as “a stock of emotional resources” (support, patience and commitment) that children draw on in particular households and contexts (Allatt cited in Reay, 2000:572)

The importance of social capital

The thesis focuses on the role that Bourdieu ascribes to social capital in the lives of individuals, especially youth, and the kinds of resources and networks that they call upon to navigate their experiences. Many of his ideas have been further developed by authors like Putnam (2000), Reay (2000), and Coleman (1990) - who have usefully and variously explored how issues of race, class, ethnicity and gender intersect with the social capital of individuals to shape how they are utilised in their everyday lives. Putnam, in particular, has made important contributions to our understanding of the quality of individuals’ social relationships and the conditions that create bonding networks between people. Emphasising the importance of reciprocity, trust and cooperation in such relationships, Putnam (2000) has shown how the concept of social capital can be differentiated according for its capacity for “bridging” or “bonding”. Putnam describes “bridging” as “outward looking and involves relationships and networks of trust and reciprocity between different groups and communities”, and “bonding” as “inward looking and involves relationships and networks of trust and reciprocity that reinforce bonds and connections within groups” (Reynolds, 2007:385).

A key concern with the above works, however, is that most discussions on the topic invariably portray youth as the receivers of social capital and subordinates in its formation and the ways in which it is activated (Holland, 2007:97). For example, Putnam (2000) in his work emphasises the importance of parental social capital and involvement on a child’s development and educational achievement, with little acknowledgment of the influence of their own networks and their ability to generate and use social capital. Coleman (1990) and Bourdieu (1986) have also similarly argued that social capital is important for children but their focus is mainly on “the family” and depicts children as passive and “as future

beneficiaries of their parents' social capital through the advantages of academic achievement" (Morrow cited in Holland et al., 2007:99). This limited acknowledgement of the role that individuals, and especially youth, play in the activation of their social capital needs to be confronted and is explored further in Chapter Five.

Bourdieu and education

Key to much of Bourdieu's work is his theorisation of inequality in society and the ways in which it gets reproduced from generation to generation. Bourdieu (1973, 1977) asserts that education systems play a crucial role in reproducing existing social relations. Education, according to him, is the mechanism "through which the values and relations that make up the social space are passed from one generation to the next" (Webb et al., 2002:105). Social and cultural reproduction takes place in two key ways. First, it takes place through the habitus of the individual and comes into being through inculcation in early childhood (a process associated with immersion in a particular socio-cultural milieu – the family and household). Through this, children acquire the culture capital associated with their habitus and this later guides their adult life and life outcome (Reed-Danahay, 2005:46).

Secondly, it is then reinforced via the habitus of educational institutions. Bourdieu and Passeron (1990:43-44) argue that on entering the education institution, youth are inculcated into a secondary habitus that involves what they call "pedagogic action" - which is a process of "symbolic violence" as it "proceeds in promoting certain 'doxa' (regimes of truth or forms of social orthodoxy) and consecrating positions and (life) styles" (Webb et al., 2002:118). Bourdieu argues that with such "doxa" at its core, the education institution surreptitiously communicates its habitus to individuals and this privileges the cultural capital (including world views, linguistic codes, certain types of knowledge, and material objects, such as books) of a particular social class - usually the dominant class (Reed-Danahay, 2005:47; Webb et al., 2002:118-119).

In this regard, children and youth take to school their acquired habitus and associated capitals, which are then acted upon by their experiences at school. Using the example of middle-class students, Bourdieu shows how the habitus and cultural capital of their middle-class backgrounds match with the unstated (cultural, linguistic, experiential, etc.) requirements and culture of schooling and how this privileges their schooling experience.

He notes that such students fit with the cultural assumptions and demands of the school, including language forms, due to early socialization experiences, through which they accrue essential cultural capital (Lingard & Christie, 2003:325).

Bourdieu asserts that inequality is reproduced in schools when schools “misrecognise” the link between the habitus of students from disadvantaged backgrounds and the habitus implicit in the curriculum and pedagogies of schooling (Bourdieu cited in Lingard & Christie, 2003:324), and sees this unease with the arbitrary cultural demands of schooling as indicative of a lack of “ability”. He refers to this as “symbolic violence”, given that the consequence of “misrecognition” is that the “thinkable” is distinguished from the “unthinkable” (Reed-Danahay, 2005:120) in terms of their aspirations and their awareness of the very restricted options available to them in terms of their own cultural trajectories (Reed-Danahay, 2005:120).

The importance of the link between economic and social capital and education is best exemplified, argues Bourdieu (1986:24), when the background of individuals and the educational institution they attend (along with its culture) are underpinned by the same level of economic capital. Linking this back to his theory of reproduction, Bourdieu asserts that (educational) institutions and the lives of individuals cannot be treated as isolated fields, but rather as overlapping fields that operate in other further fields - like the political one.

Chapter Five engages directly with how African migrant youth operate in, and navigate through, the political, the social, the institutional and the personal and further connects with Bourdieu’s theories. It explores the complex intersection of migrant agency, educational structures and individual habituses.

ARJUN APPADURAI

On reproduction, imagination and the capacity to aspire

While the work of Appadurai engages with similar issues of cultural and social reproduction in society, he argues that what the consequence of moving to and living in new spaces has on the lives of individuals is that their lives cannot be looked at as a given. Appadurai asserts that individuals have particular agencies in these new spaces linked first to their imaginations and secondly to what he calls “the capacity to aspire”. In the

thesis these two standpoints are particularly useful for understanding how people move and regroup in a deterritorialised world and how they reconstruct their histories and reconfigure their ethnicities in these new locations (Appadurai, 1996:48).

Moreover, Appadurai's (1996:54) caution that "standard cultural reproduction is now an endangered activity" has a particular bearing on the present study, as well as his challenge that contemporary ethnographers need to "unravel the nature of locality as a lived experience in a globalized world" (Appadurai, 1996:52).

Culture, cultural reproduction and imagination

In discussing the global movement of individuals from one country to another, Appadurai notes that current understandings of "moving" need to acknowledge that as family members move away from home, dynamics change and new settings and experiences become incorporated into existing understandings of knowledge and practice. Appadurai (1996:44) observes that because people's points of reference have changed, it is inevitable that the sort of transgenerational stability of knowledge that was presupposed for people's lives in most theories of enculturation can no longer be assumed. In such an atmosphere, he argues, "the invention of tradition can become slippery" and the claiming of certainty unachievable. For Appadurai (1996:44) "culture becomes less what Pierre Bourdieu would have called a habitus...and more an arena of conscious choice, justification and representation - the latter often to multiple and spatially dislocated audiences".

Appadurai emphasises that the production of locality and cultural reproduction are not easy processes. Although deterritorialised communities and displaced populations may enjoy the benefits of their new life, they have to "play out the desires and fantasies of these new ethnoscapes, while striving to reproduce the family-as-microcosm of culture" (Appadurai, 1996:45). In such spaces, as the shapes of culture appear less clearly drawn and understood, "the work of cultural reproduction becomes a daily hazard". Appadurai (1996:56) cautions that "where once improvisation was snatched out of the glacial undertows of habitus, habitus now has to be painstakingly reinforced in the face of life-worlds that are frequently in flux".

The capacity to aspire

The requirement to imagine during times when certainty is no longer assured, notes Appadurai, does not mean that forms of imagination and fantasy can make life better for individuals. Rather, he asserts, even in the "meanest and most hopeless of lives, the most brutal and dehumanising of circumstances, the harshest of lived inequalities are now open to the play of the imagination" (1996:54).

The key driver for being "able to imagine" is aspiration. Appadurai (2004:67) suggests that "aspirations are never simply individual. They are always formed in interaction and in the thick of social life". It is only in imagining beyond a tangible, experienced and engaged reality that individuals demonstrate a "capacity to aspire" (Appadurai, 2003:52). Moreover, in a world plagued by poverty yet fuelled by globalisation and a sense of possibility, this capacity is a "navigational" capability that is improved every time it is exercised (Appadurai, 2004:69). He believes that it is only by dragging the future into the present (placing futurity at the heart of thinking about culture) that contemporary society will be better able to "position and understand how people actually navigate their social spaces" (Appadurai, 2004:84).

I argue that a key requirement for understanding how individuals experience and live within change in different environments is the ability of communities to connect their individual aspirations to the "thickness of their social lives". I further argue that Yosso's theory of community cultural wealth contributes to how individuals navigate and challenge the previous "givenness of things" (Yosso, 2005:55). I assert that at such times improvisation, imagination, aspiration and alternative forms of capital coalesce in important ways.

TARA YOSSO

Forms of capital and community cultural wealth

Yosso (2005) asserts that although education can be a powerful instrument of change, it often simultaneously reproduces cycles of inequality that limit the agency of individuals. In this regard she observes that dominant groups invariably maintain power in society through forms of capital that ensure their social mobility while limiting the admission of others to the mere acquisition and learning thereof (Yosso, 2005:76).

Yosso (2005:70) notes that because dominant groups in society assume that "people of colour" lack the social and cultural capital required for social mobility, schools are invariably organised in ways that utilise these assumptions (lacking the necessary knowledge, social skills, abilities and cultural capital) to structure the experiences of "disadvantaged students".

Yosso says this imposes criteria on such students that are not often challenged or contradicted. She (2005:75) asserts that deficit theorizing positions disadvantaged (minority) students and their families in ways that indicate they are at fault for poor academic performance. This is because such theories posit that they enter school without the normative cultural knowledge and skills, and because their parents supposedly neither value nor support their children's education. Cultural capital in this respect takes a form which is not simply accrued by a middle class but refers to an accumulation of specific forms of knowledge, skills and abilities valued by all privileged groups in society.

Yosso notes that the main consequence of such deficit views is that schools are seen as merely needing to "fill up empty students" with forms of cultural knowledge considered valuable by dominant groups in society. A further consequence of the deficit view is that the dominant stance that students mainly need to conform and fit into an already "effective and equitable system" (Yosso, 2005:75) is reinforced.

Yosso posits an alternative concept – called community cultural wealth – to challenge and contradict the above deficit view (of the capitals of marginalised communities). Community cultural wealth emphasises six capitals – aspirational, linguistic, familial, social, navigational and resistant – that students acquire from their homes and communities. Yosso believes that these unacknowledged capitals are abundant in communities whose agency is traditionally limited, and asserts that these capitals need to be better understood and targeted if schooling processes are to be positively transformed (Yosso, 2005:75).

The sections that follow outline Yosso's six capitals to suggest ways in which individual students potentially mobilise their assets to navigate their ways through their various experiences within and outside school.

The six capitals of community cultural wealth

Aspirational capital “refers to the ability to maintain hopes and dreams for the future, even in the face of real and perceived barriers”. Yosso (2005:75) asserts that this resilience is seen in those who allow “themselves and their children to dream of possibilities beyond their present circumstances”. This form of cultural wealth draws on the work of Patricia Gándara (1982; 1995) whose writing builds a culture of possibility and points to “the creation of a history that would break the links between parents’ current occupational status and their children’s future academic attainment” (Gándara, 1995:55).

Linguistic capital emphasises the intellectual and social skills attained through communication experiences in more than one language and/or language style. Yosso (2005:78) states that disadvantaged students (or students of colour) invariably arrive at school with multiple language and communication skills. Moreover, they commonly have been raised within a storytelling tradition that includes listening to and recounting oral histories, parables, stories and proverbs. With this repertoire of storytelling - that includes aspects like memorization, attention to detail, dramatic pauses and rhythm and rhyme - students communicate with each other and their surroundings. Linguistic capital thus often includes the ability to communicate via visual art, music and poetry (e.g. hip-hop poetry and graffiti art).

Familial capital “refers to those cultural knowledges nurtured among familia (kin) that carry a sense of history, memory and cultural intuition” (Yosso, 2005:79). This kind of cultural wealth involves a commitment to community well being and expands the concept of family to include a broader understanding of kinship (for example aunts, uncles, grandparents and friends who might be considered part of the familia). According to Yosso (2005:79), students learn the importance of maintaining a healthy connection to community and its resources from such kinship ties.

Individuals, observes Yosso, model lessons of caring, coping and education (and manners and etiquette) that inform their emotional, moral, educational and occupational consciousness, which is fostered within and between families, as well as through sports, school, religious gatherings and other community settings. The isolation of individuals is minimalised when families become connected with each other around common issues and they realize that they are not alone in dealing with their problems (Yosso, 2005:79).

Social capital can be understood as networks of people and community resources. Such peer and social contacts provide both instrumental and emotional support to individuals to navigate through society's institutions. Furthermore, with regard to education, such networks often help to prepare a student for college. Yosso (2005:80) points out that individuals from disadvantaged communities often don't only use their social capital to gain access to education, but also pass on this information and resources (that they gain from such institutions) back to their communities and social networks. Yosso refers to such situations as "mutualistas" or "mutual aid societies".

Navigational capital refers to the particular skills "of manoeuvring through social institutions" and acknowledges individual agency within institutional constraints" (Yosso, 2005:80). Citing the example of students in the United States of America (USA), Yosso points out that students from disadvantaged communities (which she refers to as communities of colour) invariably develop ways of manoeuvring through institutions not created for them. At racially hostile university campuses, for instance, students develop strategies, like drawing on their self belief or focusing on achievement, to navigate their everyday experiences. Navigational capital is here closely linked to resilience. Stanton-Salazar and Spina (cited in Yosso, 2005:80) refer to resilience as "a set of inner resources, social competencies and cultural strategies that permit individuals to not only survive, recover or even thrive after stressful events, but also to draw from the experience to enhance subsequent functioning".

Resistant capital refers "to those knowledges and skills fostered through oppositional behaviour that challenges inequality" (Yosso, 2005:80). This form of cultural wealth is often grounded in the legacy of resistance to subordination shown in disadvantaged communities (and those "of colour"), and involves the maintenance and passing on of the various dimensions of community cultural wealth that provides the knowledge base of resistant capital.

The key goal for identifying and documenting the above forms of community cultural wealth, notes Yosso (2005), is that once the enormous assets abundant within communities are acknowledged, individuals from disadvantaged communities can more easily be empowered and the forms of education provided to them transformed.

Summary

Highlighting the broader theoretical contributions of Bourdieu, Appadurai, and Yosso, provides the key ways with which I will engage with the lived experiences of individuals that enter new and challenging spaces. More specifically, their broader writings and frameworks offer me with important ways of analysing and understanding (in Chapter Five) the lived experiences of African migrant youth and how they navigate their way through schooling in unknown environments. In Section B, I theorise about the connection between processes of identity making, space and the more personal identity decisions of those that choose to move.

SECTION B: THEORISING IDENTITY AND THE PERSONAL WITHIN MIGRATION

In the current global environment, forms of modernity are such that individuals, particularly youth, find it difficult to chart clear or straightforward pathways for their everyday lives. Furlong and Cartmel (cited in Soudien, 2007:6) use the metaphor of a train to describe how young people in the past experienced growing up together; namely, all moving together in one carriage from one place to the other. They juxtapose this with the contemporary era where the individual car is a metaphor for individuals making their lonesome ways through the "density of modernity". Erikson (1968:212) suggests that in exercising agency in such situations, individuals continuously confront significant identity confusion. The sections below analyse what some of this identity confusion may entail for individuals that move in a fluid, global world, especially those moving from the familiar to the unknown.

Deconstructing identity categories

My argument is that the traditional categories that are used to frame and describe the modern individual living in global times - namely home, nationality, race, and class – are no longer helpful in defining such individuals and need to be deconstructed. Using data collected in the research project, I provide alternative ways of thinking (or frameworks) about the experiences and the identity confusions of those that encounter the unknown as they move through time and space.

Home, belonging and identity

In recent times, the processes of globalisation and migration have begun to erode previous conceptions of individuals as members of fixed and separate societies and cultures, and have also destabilised previous links between cultural identity, belonging and home. David Harvey in unsettling the notion of place as bounded, settled and coherent, refers to this change as the "time-space compression" (cited in Easthope, 2004:129), while Massey suggests that notions of "place" in contemporary society need to be seen as complex processes rather than a "single identity with unproblematic boundaries" (cited in Easthope, 2004:129). Edward Said developed the concepts of liminality and marginality as a way of rethinking recent changes in the link between identity and place (cited in Bash & Zezlina-Philips, 2006:116).

At the more personal level, conventional understandings of the "home" as fixed and centred have been challenged (Rapport & Dawson, 1998:21). In a situation where people that move from one place to another, this has led to them increasingly constructing identities "that cut across fixed notions of belonging" (Dwyer cited in Erhkamp, 2005:347). Rapport and Dawson (1998:7) note that such individuals (euphemistically referred to as "global citizens") invariably possess "very mobile and pluri-local identities".

It is for the reasons noted above that I refer to the "home" in this thesis as "the centre of the world – not in the geographical sense, but in an ontological sense...the place from which the world can be founded" (Berger, 1984:55-56). Back (2005:40) writes that "young people make the city a home precisely through producing a kind of phenomenology of home" that centres them with a firm sense of "place in the world". As such, the home can no longer be regarded as a simple dwelling but rather "an untold story of a life being lived" (Berger, 1984:64). Understandings of "home" then become uniquely contingent on the particular experiences and location of each individual.

Masade (2007:109) identifies two key processes that individuals use to define their individual understandings of "home" and to renegotiate their realities (Erhkamp, 2005:341), namely translation and tradition (see also Hall, 1992; Bhabha, 1994). He notes that the first reaction to being displaced resists assimilation as the person tries "to retrieve a coherent and authentic but lost self", or what Appadurai (1996:17) calls "knee-jerk localism". This usually occurs when individuals experience significant hostility from the

host society into which they are moving or settling. It can also occur due to them experiencing the new host community as completely different to what they know. In such a situation they “resist transplantation” through a process of self exclusion and the creation of “an imaginary homeland” (Landau, 2009:205).

Masade (2007:109) refers to a second process of self definition as one of “translation” – where individuals welcome change and the realisation that their identities need to embrace processes of difference. In such cases, identity transformations often depend on the willingness of host communities to accept the “outsider”. However, as Bhabha (cited in Rutherford, 1990:211) cautions, translation does not necessarily mean that individuals that move to new spaces easily assimilate into host communities. Bhabha suggests that individuals create “a third space” (or hybrid space) between their understanding of “home” and the new host society informed by a process of identification with and through the object of “otherness”. He notes that “the importance of hybridity is (then) not to be able to trace two original moments from which the third emerges”. “Hybridity to me is rather ‘the third space’ which enables other positions to emerge” (cited in Rutherford, 1990:211). This piecing together of different aspects of old and new selves, as individuals move from one place to another, is often referred to in the literature as transmigration and translocation (See Smith, 2005; Erhkamp, 2005).

This understanding of home and identity is used in Chapter Five to discuss how individuals living in such a new “third space” create what Landau (2009:205) calls “their own idioms of the transient” – whereby they create a sense of home and belonging for themselves through processes of transmigrancy, through the creation of “imaginary homelands” or by “living within the global imaginary” (Appadurai, 1996, 2002; Landau, 2009; Dlamini & Anucha, 2009).

Nationality, ethnicity and identity

Changes in “home” and “identity” cannot be understood outside of changes in forms of ethnicity, nationality and notions of race in the contemporary world. Stuart Hall (1997) and Appadurai (1996) note that because of current forms of globalisation and changing notions of home, the relationship between national cultural identity and the nation-state is fast disappearing. They argue that this is spurred on by the modern means of cultural production that permeate all corners of the globe, thus creating a global mass culture.

With the era of nation states in decline, Hall (1997a:26-27) suggests that individuals either learn to adapt to their new social and physical spaces, or they return to “some form of the local” by calling up a very defensive and hazardous form of (previous) national identity (this is discussed at the end of Section B in Chapter Four).

In moving away from “home” and quotidian interactions with nationality and ethnicity, Bauman (cited in Allan, 2006:345) argues that people live in complex, unpredictable systems. He notes that groups are formed or reformed through “unguided self formation” and that people join or leave groups in such situations mainly due to the choice of the individual members – rather than by being guided by a central or binding value system (Allan, 2006:344-345).

The “calling into being” of such groups, notes Bauman, leads to forms of “tribal politics and the creation of neo-tribes”. He asserts that when groups latch onto “substitutes” in the absence of firm, objective societal guides, the substitutes are often symbolic rather than socially or culturally grounded. “Neo-tribes” thus exist solely as “imagined communities” and, unlike pre-modern tribes, exist mainly in symbolic form through the commitment of the individual “members” to the idea of a particular identity. The forms of neo-tribes are then perpetuated through repetitive and imaginative performances of symbolic rituals and exist only so long as such rituals are performed (Allan, 2006:345). “Neo-tribes are, in other words, the vehicles (and imaginary sediments) of individual self-definition” (Bauman, 1992:137).

Hall (1997a:36) notes that individuals similarly speak to different forms of self making (at times of change) through a language of race and ethnicity, as is discussed below.

Race, ethnicity and identity

> All around me the white man, above the sky tears at its navel, the earth rasps under my feet, and there is a white song, a white song. All this whiteness that burns me...I sit down at the fire and become aware of my uniform. I had not seen it. It is indeed ugly. I stop there, for who can tell me what beauty is? (Fanon, 1967:86)

In the contemporary global world, as people move from fixed places both physically and psychologically, understandings and debates of race have become increasingly complex. In a world that has traditionally and dominantly “sung a white song”, the extent of global migration has brought into question the influence of race and ethnicity on identity making processes in new spaces.

While it is increasingly asserted in popular discourses that the concept of race has been erased in the 21st Century, many critics suggest that historical and political constructs of race and ethnicity are so deeply infused into identity making processes that it no longer needs a physical or finite Fanonian (as expressed in the above opening quote) form to exist.

Banton (cited in Dolby, 2001:10) observes that the concept of "race" originally emerged from an emphasis on lineage within a philosophical and theological paradigm that traced all humans to God, and to a scientifically grounded category that conceptualized race as biology. Alongside this ran a discourse of "new racism", or what Fanon (1967) called "cultural racism", that postulated different races as representative of separate cultures that could be compared and rated according how "civilized" they were – (using European standards of measure.)

Hall (1996:3) argues that the concept of race was *constructed* over time within discourse, to the extent that racialised identities are "not a matter of what is true, but what is made to be true" (Hall cited in Dolby, 2001:9). Foucault's (cited in Hall, 1996:2) concept of "regimes of truth" is useful in focusing attention not on "a theory of the subject, but rather a theory of discursive practice".

Thus, while "racial subjectivities" may seem for some to be "coalitional, contingent and performative" (Visweswaran cited Clarke & Thomas, 2006:2), Hall reminds us that "black is not a question of pigmentation, but is a historical, political category and cultural category about which people have to make sense at specific times in history" (Hall, 1997b:53). He notes, however, that while "people's histories may be in the past" and yet seemingly "inscribed in their skins", it is often "not because of their skins that they are black in their heads".

Dolby (2001:9) points to how racial subjectivities in the contemporary period involve the mobilisation of available cultural meanings and identities both from the history of individuals and their local terrains as well as from the practices that present themselves within the public space that they inhabit. Dolby (2001:9) notes that individuals often "internalise these meanings in an attempt to stabilise both (themselves) and the surrounding world".

My thesis suggests that the concept of race in the contemporary world has taken on a particular form, mainly in relation to notions of similarity and difference. It argues that new frames of identification are being used to give meaning to identities in new spaces. It asserts that in many disjunctive spaces (into which migrants increasingly move), the co-ordinates of the powerful in relation to the subordinate are invariably used to chart particular pathways for different individuals, often based on previous notions of racial or ethnic selves. Chapter Five discusses how although in new spaces constructs of race continue to inform the ways in which individuals develop their senses of self, traditional power notions of the ordinate and subordinate are often brought into question in these disjunctive spaces.

Class and Identity

Social class, as evident in the work of Karl Marx and Max Weber, was viewed as something static and stable that keeps people "in their place" in society. Hall (1997b:45) notes that class, as an organising indicator of social position, has "organised our understanding of the main grid and group relations between social groups" and has linked individuals to material life (through the economy) in ways that crucially relate them to each other. Bourdieu (1984) asserts that currently it is rather in the dispositions of individuals (their tastes and aesthetic desires) – internalised from an early age – that notions of social class are formally grounded. These dispositions depict their individual status and give them particular forms of access to "desirable" or "undesirable" groups.

Bourdieu (1984:69) notes that differences in the cultural capital of individuals mark important differences between the classes since it is in what they regard as "good" and "excellent" in their worlds that signal particular relations with dominant classes in society.

"Doing class"

In the contemporary world, levels of social class are exceedingly tenuous and unstable given that moving from one space to another can easily reduce or increase the opportunities and choices of individuals and groups. Crompton (cited in Ball, 2006:7) and Bourdieu (1987:13) suggest in this regard that not only do previous definitions of social class need to be much more flexible but they also need to reflect how "class (actually) gets done". Social boundaries in the current environment, explains Bourdieu (1987:13), should

thus be thought of as “imaginary planes” or “like flames whose edges are in constant movement”, oscillating around a particular line or surface.

Ball (2006:8) suggests that individuals in such situations achieve their class positions via forms of mobility that are both contingent and strategically dependent on their access to assets and different forms of capital. In that respect, “real world classes are constantly being constructed around us”, and “people are constantly doing class” (Connell cited in Ball, 2006:8). Social class, Ball (2006) observes, is realised and struggled over in the daily lives of families and institutions, and in the consumptive decisions that they make at moments of crisis, contradiction and desire. “Doing class” is thus mostly about knowing how to react at such defining moments.

Notably, social class is not the same everywhere, and is closely tied to the social and physical location of individuals. In Bourdieu’s words, “social agents, and also things insofar as they are appropriated by them and therefore constituted as properties, are situated in a place in social space”. Ball (2006:7) reflects that “we know ourselves and relate to others from where we belong, or sometimes out of a sense of not belonging, of feeling out of place”.

Schooling and Class

In much of the literature, schools have been seen as “classed spaces” and sites of cultural, social and class reproduction (Bourdieu, 1986). This implies that learners either enter schools with particular capitals and dispositions - that they bring with them from their home (habitus) and that match the requirements and doxa of the school – or they don’t, and thus feel distinctly uncomfortable at school (Ball, 2006:7; Soudien 2007:1).

The thesis highlights how new and complex forms of “class” lead families to choose schools for their children and siblings based not only on their economic capital and cultural dispositions, but also on the unpredictable spaces that they inhabit and in relation to aspects of desire (imagination), location, and belonging (citizen status). Chapter Five shows how African migrant youth “do class” in South Africa and how many of their previous middle class habituses assist them in navigating their way through their schooling experiences. I also show how their location within a particular social hierarchy often limits their social mobility and life choices, irrespective of their capacity to aspire, the assets they have or their previous links to particular social positions.

The above sections discussed how traditional identity categories have become deconstructed in today's changing world, often causing individuals to experience "an identity confusion". The following section discusses ways of managing current identity confusions.

Suggested ways of managing current identity confusions

The sections below contain the argument that identity-making must not be understood in essentialist ways and that identities exist in constant forms of metamorphosis (Hall 1997b; Appadurai 1996, 2002). I suggest that individuals develop key identity making strategies when they move to new spaces which they use in particular ways to navigate their experiences. This often involves framing their identities in relation to five things, namely processes of identification, forms of space, aspects of difference and particular forms of popular culture (using the frames of imagination, contingency and aspiration). Each of these is explored below.

Forming identity through identification

Hall (1997b:47) says that identities are never complete. Rather, "identity connotes a process of identification – by saying that this here is the same as that, or we are the same together in this respect" (1997b:47). Appadurai (2003:44) prefers the term "identification", arguing that whereas identity suggests something formed and stable, identification involves a process where individuals can engage with a "menu of possibilities in the work of the imagination" and feel compelled in some cases to try out new possibilities (Appadurai, 2003:44).

Hall (1996:4) explains that within processes of identification, individuals use "the resources of history, language and culture in the process of becoming". Closely related to this, Appadurai (1996:44) explains that individuals manoeuvre their new settings and experiences into existing repertoires of knowledge and practice while at the same time also deciding which aspects to leave out.

Forming identity in relation to space

De Certeau (1984) and Lefebvre (1991) argue that individuals' lives can be read in light of constructions of self in their daily encounters with specific lived spaces. De Certeau's

argument is that individuals use cities for constructing who they are, thus producing a particular sense of identity. In the South African context, Fataar (2009:3) uses the theory of De Certeau and Lefebvre to offer insights into how, in forming their identities, youth "walk" through the landscapes that they inhabit and "draw on a repertoire of internal and external resources". Fataar (2009:3) asserts that it is the joining of these internal psychological resources and the material opportunities of the external environment "which points the way for their subjective becoming". Fataar (2009:3) concludes that youth form their identities through "making space", "representing space" or "living space".

In engaging with issues of identity and space, Appadurai (2003:46) writes about how increased movement, whether it is local or international, impacts on what he calls "the production of the locality". He outlines various aspects regarding the production of locality in a changing world. First, he states that the production of locality has much to do with the imagination as a "social practice". Appadurai (1996:53; 2002b:34) notes in this regard that the imagination is actually "a collective tool for the transformation of the real (and) for the creation of multiple horizons of possibility".

Secondly, Appadurai (2003:46) asserts that the local cannot be defined by reproductive logics but should rather also make room for "projects, for visions and for wishes" in the lives of individuals. This is what Erhkamp (2005:341) calls "a negotiated reality". Within such production Appadurai suggests that physical spaces have a dual relationship – they form part of the condition of its production and they also form an important part in the object of that production.

Appadurai (2003:46) explains that when individuals produce the local, this is a reminder that even "the most obvious mechanical forms of social order, that seem to function without design, contingency or intentionality, but simply by the force of routine – what we used to call habit – involve large amounts of deliberate attention, effort, labor" and imagination of what is possible. Appadurai (2003:47) observes that that the temporary quality of physical spaces within the current shifting world has a particular disarming effect on individuals to the extent that individuals often strive to produce a sense of continuity in the face of the temporariness of things. He (2003:47) refers to this struggle as "the illusion of permanence".

Chapter Five asserts that forming identity in particular spaces is a two-way process, as space is often both amorphous and rigid. I utilise writing about imagination and space-making that posits it as a matter of working between the representation of space, what Back calls "the conceived" space and the spaces of representation, "the lived space" (Lefebvre, 1991).

Forming identity through difference

Bash and Zezlina-Phillips (2006:117-118) argue that even in a contemporary world where notions of home have changed, "the construction of boundaries between the self and the other" remains fundamental to the formation of "a stable and indeed bounded identity". They note that this is even more pertinent in the experiences of those individuals that have crossed "spatial boundaries" and "lost their place in the world" (Bash & Zezlina-Phillips, 2006:117). This section explains how migrants are increasingly forming their identities through difference.

In exploring how identity is shaped by notions of difference, Appadurai (2002b:45) explains that individuals often take meaning from other cultures, not only by contrast but also by conversion. He notes that "culture is the dimension of social life and the collective identity in which the material conditions of actors, of subjects and agents, are constantly transformed by the work of the imagination, especially in infusing their lives and their new social contexts with alternative forms of meaning, value, and belief" (Appadurai, 2002b:45). Difference in that respect "is not tied up to static spatialized communities, or accumulation of capitals in Bourdieu's sense," but with flows and linkages with each other. Hall (1997a:21-22) describes such forms of identity as a "structured representation that only really achieves its position through the narrow eye of the negative [or the other]".

Forming identity through popular culture and the imagination

Around the world, forms of popular culture and the media have a huge impact on the identity formation of individuals. Appadurai (1996:53) describes the role of the media within the imagination of individuals as presenting "a rich, ever-changing store of future possible lives". In that regard the media has influenced not only those that have moved to new localities but also those that have remained in their home environments. In a world where the traditional categorisations by which people used to define themselves have

become blurred, the media has offered individuals novel categories by which to define themselves. Appadurai (1996:53) reminds us that while social life in the past was mainly inert and limited by tradition, individuals in the current world have begun to see themselves quite differently through the myriad of possible lives opened to them by different forms of the mass media. In that sense, fantasy has become a formal social practice and has reshaped how societies see and form themselves.

Chapter Five explores how popular culture and forms of imagination frame the ways in which individuals living in new spaces interact with others, their new locations and their individual desires.

Conclusion

Section B of Chapter Two has pointed to how those individuals that move across space in a global world encounter their new locations and their created senses of self. Such individuals struggle on a daily basis with how their changing identities connect with their senses of belonging and home, their class backgrounds and the variety of race and ethnic markers that voice who they are and want to be. In such scenarios, their identification processes invariably include forms of contingency, imagination and improvisation, all developed within contested spaces.

The following chapter describes the research and writing process that was involved in this study.

CHAPTER THREE: DESCRIBING THE RESEARCH AND WRITING PROCESS

Introduction

I outlined in the introductory chapter my overall approach to the thesis and explained how I have gone about and thought about the project from the beginning. This chapter begins by describing the research site and the sample group used in the study. It is written in largely an explanatory way and includes writing from my research field notes. The chapter then shifts to the more academic issues of ethical concerns and methodological paradigms used in the thesis. This includes a discussion of the methods used to collect data and to then interpret them as well as issues of truth and validity that arose during the research process. I conclude the chapter with an explanation of the layout and flow of the thesis.

I locate the methodology section as Chapter Three for a variety of reasons, namely to introduce the reader to the research site and the participants, especially since their voices are tightly interwoven with the text in the next two chapters. Secondly, I do so to outline my personal positioning in the overall study and seek to start off with some reflections of my research encounters with the institution and the learners. Third, I discuss key methodological concerns here to indicate crucial research decisions that I initially took in the study; decisions that directly impacted on how I theorised the subsequent piece. Last, I provide the methodology chapter as Chapter Three so as not to disturb the flow of the storyline later on.

Beginnings

I first visited Mountain View High School (MVHS) in early January 2009 when I went to meet the principal to request permission to conduct research at the school. I had chosen the school by purposive sampling due to it having a high African migrant learner population (20% of the school – 200 learners). On the afternoon of the meeting, I sat in my car for 10 minutes at the entrance waiting for the caretaker to come and open the barbed wire gates. Feeling conspicuous as one of the only white people in the neighbourhood, my heart beat loudly in my chest and I continuously looked over my shoulder at the people walking past. Behind me trucks sped by loudly, churning up dirt and rubbish, which had blown across the road from the vacant lot across the street from the school. Entering the school premises, my first thought was that the school was so different from the privileged private

schools at which I was used to teaching. It was a stark government building with exposed brick walls, cracked tiles and classrooms with green chalk boards. Yet the school also had a jovial atmosphere, and when I entered I was greeted by music coming from the hall where some of the learners were doing ballroom dancing. I met with the principal and he gave me permission to do research at the school. My journey thus began.

On subsequent visits to the school, I used to sit in my car and watch African and coloured[9] learners amble into school every morning. It often felt like I was sitting in the middle of an apartheid museum - where an area that used to be for "whites only" during apartheid and a school that catered for white working-class children was now mainly populated by communities and learners who readily defined themselves as African and coloured. Things have changed substantially since the apartheid period though. Mrs Colly, a school administrator who has worked at the school for 30 years and has lived in the neighbouring coloured suburb all her life, was later to tell me that the road on which the school stands used to be a "really smart" road during apartheid and was populated by mainly white working-class people. She noted that she had never felt comfortable walking down the road as a child, but that this had changed over time (Interview 33:1). "In about 1986 things started changing", she observed, "White people started moving out and then coloured people started buying into the area. But then the coloureds started selling as the refugees started coming in (in the late 1990s)" (Mrs Colly, Interview 33:1).

Nonetheless, even though the corridors of Mountain View High School are quite different today, with echoes of isiXhosa, French, Afrikaans or Shona voices, one can still eerily hear the voices of the white children who attended the school almost 90 years before and one can readily see the markings of the school's past on the various signs and the structure of the facility. Signs stuck up long ago read "Silence in the building/Stilte in die gebou!" and the small classrooms, which were meant to seat 25 learners are now crammed to capacity with twice that number. I wondered how teaching and learning could take place in such crowded, noisy classrooms but at the same time marvelled at the fact that this school was better off than many of the other disadvantaged schools in South Africa.

[9] I am aware that racial categorisation cannot be used without clarification, especially in a country like South Africa that has a deep history of discrimination due to racial categorisation. In this thesis I use the categories defined in the South Africa National Census to refer to the South African individuals in the thesis. I use to term African to refer to people otherwise knows as "black". I also use the terms coloured and white to refer to those people who fit these categories.

The research site

Mountain View High School is a fascinating research site, situated as it is in an area that reflects Cape Town's rich and complex history. A key aspect of the site was that it suited the theme of my research, namely an area that has been caught up in a process of constant change over many decades, in sync with various processes of modernity. In that regard, the site was originally situated in what was deemed a white group area under apartheid and served white learners. In the 1980s the responsibility for the school was shifted to the House of Representatives and thereafter designated to cater for coloured learners (Mr Botholomeuw, Interview 40:5). After 1994, due to a variety of initiatives and strategies, the school attracted a large proportion of African learners from township areas such as Khayelitsha and Gugulethu, to the extent that the majority of learners at the school presently can be defined as African.

MVHS has not always been in its present buildings. In the 1980s the school, which only taught standard 7 and 8 learners, was established to cater for the increasing number of coloured learners in the area. It remained a junior secondary school until 1991. In 1991 the principal applied to occupy the then empty MVHS building. The school moved to its present site in January 1992, and had its first grade 11 intake in 1993. The school did not have enough learners to fill all the grades however and in 1994 the principal "canvassed" for learners in the townships. That is how it received a lot of what Miss Huysamer, an educator at MVHS easily refers to as, "black learners" (Interview 42:3-4). Subsequently, the school changed dramatically from being a coloured school to having a 70% African learner population.

The school faces various challenges due to its locality. First, Miss Huysamer (Interview 42:3) observed that because the school is in an industrial area, it does not attract many learners from an immediate community. Further challenges are educational and administrative. In order to cater for the large numbers of learners, the school currently occupies both the original and current buildings - with both facilities in a state of serious disrepair. Notwithstanding these challenges, the school does have generally good facilities which add to its attraction (two computer rooms, a consumer studies room and two laboratories). Both campuses have a tuck shop where the children receive lunch on a daily basis from the Peninsula School Feeding Scheme (Dias, 2009).

Educators and learners

In 2009 there were 33 educators (3 African and 30 coloured), which remained the same in 2010 although the proportion of African educators increased (5 African educators). In both 2009 and 2010 there were approximately 1 000 learners enrolled at the school. As noted previously, the school has a rich diversity of learners with, important for this study, about 20% African migrant learners. These learners originate from different countries (including the DRC, Congo-Brazzaville, Zimbabwe, Burundi, Rwanda and Malawi). The learners come from various areas ranging from Khayelitsha, Parow, Milnerton to Woodstock. The majority of the learners come from considerably economically-deprived areas of Cape Town.

Subjects and languages

Given that later discussions will focus on key aspects of language and its role in shaping learner identities and relationships, it is notable that institutional offerings at the school further contribute to the complexity (and segregatory aspects) of language at the school. English is the Language of Teaching and Learning. Furthermore, the school prescribes English as the compulsory Home Language, of which every learner has to achieve a 50% pass rate. As First Additional Languages, Afrikaans or isiXhosa is both offered. However, due to there being few available educators to teach isiXhosa, a very small number of learners may choose the subject. More disconcertingly, whereas many African migrant or coloured learners may want to learn isiXhosa, only isiXhosa-speaking learners are allowed to take the subject. The same logic applies to the teaching of French at the school. Because French-speaking learners are exempt from learning Afrikaans from grade 10, only such learners are allowed to take the subject French (offered to them by an educator from the UNHCR). Non-French speaking African migrants may take another subject from grade 10 to replace Afrikaans. However, the only replacement subject offered to them is history. All other learners at the school have to take Afrikaans as their First Additional Language.

Notably, African migrant learners must take the subject Afrikaans in grade 8 and 9 although they do not have to pass it. If they choose to continue with Afrikaans until grade 12 though, they run the risk of failing the subject and if they fail another subject, they basically fail the grade.

The school defined

In 2009 MVHS experienced numerous managerial, social and educational crises, highlighted by the matriculation pass rate dropping to 35%.[10] This led to the school being defined by the Western Cape Education Department (WCED) as a National Strategy for Learner Attainment School (NSLA) facility. An NSLA School is a school that fails to attain a minimum matriculation pass rate of 60% and is then closely monitored by provincial officials to insert, where necessary, intervention structures to "remedy" the situation (Attwell, 2007). In addition to the low matriculation pass rate, three other grades at the school - 9, 10 and 11 – attained very low pass rates in 2009 - 44%, 43%, and 37%[11] respectively. Such is the disillusionment of MVHS staff members that one educator, Mr Merel, retorted that "the school's results are so bad they are going to have to get a brand new category for us!" (Interview 38:13).

The sample group

Selecting the sample group

Once I had permission to access the school database, I selected 20 African migrant learners to take part in the research. My sampling strategy was purposive to give rise to the most important information about "the phenomenon of interest" (Merriam, 2002:20). I chose learners from across grades 8 to 11, and not grade 12 as they would be focused on their final exams and would also not be available for the study in 2010. The initial targeted group comprised a balance of participants from different nationalities to be in proportion with the nationalities in the school. It also comprised a balance of age and gender. By targeting a particular group and knowing that it does not represent the wider population, I conducted non-probability sampling. The sample simply represented itself and I did not "wish to generalize its findings beyond the sample in question" (Cohen et al., 2001:102).

As the main site is one where a variety of African migrant learners attend school, this study utilised the institution as a case study both as an organising tool by which to contextualise learner experiences and lived realities in a specific locality, and to be able to generate

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[10] Information gathered from school documents.

[11] Information gathered from school documents.

questions that were common to all the study participants (Lichtman, 2006:74). Furthermore, the case study is an intrinsic one (Stake, 2005:445), namely a study undertaken because one wants a fundamental understanding of a particular case or its "thick description". It is not undertaken because the case represents other cases or because it represents a particular trait or problem, but instead because "in all its particularity and ordinariness this case itself is of interest" (Stake, 2005:445).

The youth participants

The manner in which I met the sample group is discussed in the ethics section of this chapter. Provided below is a brief biography of each participant. It is beyond the scope of this chapter to provide a life history of each participant. I am therefore providing short biographies as a way of introducing the participants to the reader and as a way of acknowledging that each participant has a unique identity and equally important story to tell.

I provide the biographies of the participants in the methodology chapter because the narrative of the thesis is built around them. This provides readers with a reference and access point to which they can constantly return, especially when additional snippets of the participants' lives get introduced over the course of the thesis. The biographies below describe the participants in the present tense and capture their stories as in 2009 (in other words, as they experienced life during my field work from July to December 2009). The biographies are compiled from information from each participant's questionnaires, individual interviews and diaries and my observation of them. Pseudonyms have been used to protect their identities.

Alice

Alice is 15 years old and is one of the top achievers in Grade 10. She is a quiet, religious girl who always conducts herself in a dignified manner. She is from Zimbabwe and is deeply proud of her country, which she left at the end of 2008 because of the country's economic and educational problems. Her mother was also in danger as she was a member of the opposition party – the MDC. In Zimbabwe, Alice's family lived comfortable lives as members of an upwardly mobile middle class. Alice and her family presently live in one room in a house with three other refugee families.

Cara

Cara is 17 years old and is in Grade 11. She was elected as head girl of MVHS for 2010 and is popular with both South African and African migrant learners. She is very hard working and works late into the night on her schoolwork. Cara's family left Malawi because of political problems and they cannot return as they will be persecuted. They arrived in South Africa in 1999, stayed in Johannesburg until 2005 and then moved to Cape Town. Cara's family was financially well-off in Malawi, owning their own house. They presently rent two rooms on the top floor of a building in an economically-impoverished area. Cara does all of the housework as her mother, who Cara sees only once or twice a year, is the main breadwinner and mostly travels outside South Africa as a trader. Cara plans to study fashion design in 2011.

Claudene

Claudene is 14 years old and is in Grade 9. She is a petite, quiet, religious girl who is popular and knows what she wants in life: to be a successful journalist. Claudene arrived in South Africa in 2007, joining her mother who had arrived in South Africa four years earlier to escape the violence and poverty in the Eastern DRC. Claudene's mother and step father hate living in South Africa and they are trying to be resettled in another country. They have been in South Africa for almost eight years but still have Refugee Status, which limits their ability to obtain work. Additionally, they worry about their children's' safety on a daily basis.

Agnes and Dorothy

Agnes and Dorothy are orphaned cousins who were brought up by their grandmother in rural Kigali. Agnes is 16 years old and is in Grade 11 while Dorothy is 16 years old and in Grade 9. Their uncle brought them to South Africa so that they could be educated. The girls are extremely dependant on each other and have a hard life in South Africa as they are treated like the "servants" in their uncle's house. They did not speak a word of English when they arrived in South Africa and have both struggled immensely at school. Dorothy has however passed each of her grades, while Agnes failed Grade 9 twice.

Francise

Francise is 17 years old and is in Grade 10. Her family left the DRC because of war and lack of opportunities. Her mother had always dreamed of living in South Africa. They travelled for about a year to get to Cape Town, first staying in Zambia and then in a refugee camp in Namibia. Unable to speak English when she first arrived in South Africa, Francise had to work hard at school. Francise looks after her younger brothers and sisters after school, as her mother works late every day. Francise is deeply religious and sings in a Congolese Lutheran church choir. She wishes to stay in South Africa for a long time - until she finishes school and then goes to university to study medicine.

Frank

Frank is 15 years old and is in Grade 10. He is a hardworking, religious boy who is popular with both South African and African migrant learners. Frank's guardians[12] left him and his older brother in Zimbabwe for a year, while they came to find better opportunities in Cape Town. Life was hard for Frank and his brother on their own in Zimbabwe as there was not much food or electricity. When Frank and his brother arrived in South Africa, their guardians resided in Wellington but had to flee the area due to the "xenophobic" violence in 2008. Frank comes from an educated family. His father is a lecturer of mathematics at the Cape Peninsula University of Technology (CPUT) and his brother is currently studying business there.

Gedeon

Gedeon is 15 years old and is in Grade 10. His family arrived in South Africa in 2005 because his mother wanted to offer her children a better life than what she could in the DRC or Zambia. Gedeon is a happy-go-lucky person, whose enthusiasm and charm touches everyone he meets. He is well mannered, reads voraciously and writes beautiful stories. He thinks that "life is a gift" and that smiling and laughter is essential. Gedeon is deeply religious and wishes to be a pastor when he finishes school.

Godwill

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[12] I have used the term guardian(s) to refer to the person/people caring for the youth. This is because many of the participant youth do not live with their biological parents in South Africa. Rather they live with aunts, brothers or sisters who care for them.

Godwill is 14 years old and is in Grade 8. His mother left Zimbabwe in 2009 in search of a better life for her family in South Africa. Godwill and his two sisters travelled to Cape Town a few months later. Godwill finds living in South Africa difficult, as in Zimbabwe his family lived in a big house, whereas they presently live in a very small flat. Also, his life is restricted in South Africa, as his mother fears for his safety. Godwill is a hard working, driven boy who knows who he is and what he wants. He is deeply religious and also loves playing soccer with his African migrant friends.

Husseni

Husseni is 21 and is in Grade 11. He is the only Muslim in the sample group. Husseni's father arrived in South Africa in 2001 as there were no jobs in Burundi and he had heard that there were a lot of opportunities in SA. After three years of struggling to find work, he sent for his family to join him in Cape Town. Husseni did not speak any English when he arrived in South Africa and this caused him great anxiety when he began school. Husseni loves rap and the American culture and is friends with both South Africans and African migrants. He did well at school in the beginning, but his marks have slowly declined over the years to the point where he failed grade 11 in 2009.

Jean-Paul

Jean-Paul is 17 years old and is in Grade 10. He comes from the DRC, but before arriving in SA he moved back and forth between the DRC and Burundi due to continued violence in the region. Jean-Paul's family arrived in South Africa in search of a better and safer life and he missed a year of education on his long journey to South Africa. Thus when he first started school in Johannesburg he failed twice. However, Jean-Paul is extremely resilient and since then he has done very well academically. He is currently one of the top learners in Grade 10 and dreams of being a successful businessman one day. Jean-Paul loves to write and perform rap with his close friends, Philippe and Paul.

John

John is 17 years old and is in Grade 10. His mother left Zimbabwe in 2007 in search of peace and opportunity elsewhere. A year later, John and his two sisters joined her in Cape Town. John's family has not found much peace in South Africa though. His mother is the sole breadwinner in the family and earns very little. John and his family live in a shack in

Dunoon, where they have been attacked on numerous occasions and consequently they do not leave their shack very often and are terrified when they do. This causes John much stress and led to him failing grade 10 in 2009.

Jonatha

Jonatha is 17 years old and is in Grade 10. His family left Rwanda due to the genocide in 1992. They travelled through many countries before finally settling in Cape Town in 1999. Jonatha is a charismatic, philosophical boy who comes from a well educated family. Jonatha is extremely driven and is one of the top achievers in grade 10. He enjoys writing and performing raps and is involved in various extra mural community activities.

Kenneth

Kenneth is 16 years old and is in Grade 10. His family arrived in South Africa in 2009 in search of a better life, as in Zimbabwe the wages are low and health care and education are poor. When Kenneth first arrived in South Africa life was very hard as his guardians could not find work. They lived in a shack in Khayelitsha, which was a big change from living in their own big house in Zimbabwe. Kenneth notes that he is always in trouble with his mother who regards him as mischievous. He currently lives with his brother and according to Kenneth he has fallen in with “the wrong crowd”. Kenneth failed Grade 10 in 2009.

Olivia

Olivia is 16 years old and is in Grade 10. She left the DRC in 2004 as there were little opportunities for her there. Being an illegitimate child, she decided to start a new life for herself in South Africa. She travelled alone for a year and stayed with strangers in Namibia for six months. She finally arrived in South Africa in 2005 and moved in with her aunt. Olivia initially struggled at school, as she had missed almost two years of education and did not speak English when she arrived in South Africa. Despite this, at the start of the study she was achieving at school. However, in late 2009 Olivia found out that she had failed grade 10. Olivia is good friends with Francise and spends every afternoon after school at Francise’s house. Olivia notes that two things keep her going, namely her belief in God and the belief that she was brought into the world for a purpose and not by some mistake.

Orellia

Orellia is 16 years old and is in Grade 9. She is a beautiful, tall feisty girl who was one of the models at the MVHS Mini Winter festival. Orellia's family fled the DRC in 2006 due to political unrest, where her father was killed and her mother badly injured. They travelled for a long, difficult year until they finally arrived in Cape Town in 2007. Her mother remains unable to work due to her injury and so Orellia's brother and sister support the family. Orellia missed a year of education on her way to South Africa and entered into Grade 8 at MVHS at the age of 16 unable to speak a word of English. It was a great challenge for her to pass, but due to her determination she did. She braids hair at a salon in Bellville to contribute towards her family's income.

Patrice

Patrice is 17 years old and is in Grade 11. His father left the DRC in 2006 and sent for him to join him in 2007 in the hope of him getting a better education than was possible in the DRC. Patrice is a quiet boy who has found living in South Africa very challenging. He does not trust anyone and left his father's home to live at a church in Philippi because he says his step-mother mistreated him. Patrice plans to study accounting in 2011.

Paul

Paul is 15 years old and is in Grade 10. He is a tall boy with a dazzling smile, but he has not always been happy. Both his guardians were killed in the DRC when he was nine and he then had to live with the extended family. Eventually he travelled to South Africa with his aunt and presently lives with his brother. Paul missed a year of schooling due to his travels to South Africa. He started school in the middle of 2007 unable to speak a word of English, but has not failed once. Paul is extremely religious and attributes his resilience to Jesus. Paul is very close to Jean-Paul and Philippe and they provide him with the "family" he needs.

Philippe

Philippe is 18 years old and is in Grade 10. His family left the DRC when he was very young due to persecution related to their political affiliation. They lived in a refugee camp in Tanzania for three years. Philippe and his two brothers then left their family in the camp and were constantly on the move for the next six years travelling through Malawi and

Mozambique until they arrived in South Africa. Philippe only started school (in South Africa) when he was 13 and has thus struggled immensely. Despite being "better off" than his family in Tanzania, Philippe notes that their desire to live peaceful, safe existences doesn't seem possible. They have been victims of violent abuse in South Africa and are in the process of getting resettled by the UNHCR to another country. Philippe loves music and works closely with Jean-Paul writing and recording raps. His dream is to finish school and to then study sound engineering.

Rose

Rose is 17 years old and is one of the top Grade 11 learners at MVHS, despite only learning English for three months when she arrived in South Africa at the end of 2008. She originates from Congo-Brazzaville and describes her family as well educated, being mainly made up of teachers. She was sent to South Africa for a better education and to learn English. Rose lives with her uncle, aunt and cousin. Rose is a very proud, hardworking girl who surrounds herself with what she calls "good friends". Rose plans to study engineering at UCT in 2011.

The adult participants

Importantly for the study the voices of the 20 participants were not the only subjects that were consulted in the development of the thesis narrative. I consulted with and interviewed the guardians of 12 participants, 12 educators, as well as 1 school administrator. The purpose of doing so was to develop a wider source base from which to create the main story line.

Ethical considerations

More than ethical procedures

Burgess (1989:1) writes that it is difficult for researchers to deny that ethical, moral and political questions do not surround their day-to-day experience of education research. In this regard, the issue of ethics is a fundamental part of research and should be evaluated thoroughly, especially when the participants are as vulnerable as those described above. This not only involves the researcher learning about the particular ethical procedures to follow (outlined below), but also to think carefully about his/her research and participants.

First, the approach the researcher takes is about intrinsically respecting research participants. This is crucial when working with youth, as the researcher invariably comes from a position of adulthood. The researcher thus needs to listen attentively to “the agendas” of youth and participate with them in the research process, both in goals and methods (Hood et al., 1996:118).

With regards to respect, Levinas (cited in Back, 2007:8; Christians, 2005:150) talks about “the panoramic exposition of being” and notes that through dialogical encounters, participant and researcher create life together and foster one another’s moral obligation to the research. Thus, “when one turns to the face of the other, one not only sees flesh and blood, but a third party also arrives – namely the whole of humanity” (Christians, 2005:150). In other words, research ethics require the researcher to always respect the other (and indeed humanity) not only before the study begins but also during the study and after it has been completed.

Back further cautions that ethical research is more than simply being about respect, but also about listening to participants and developing what he refers to as “the art of listening”. Back (2007:7) explains that we live in a contemporary world the culture of which speaks rather than listens and that only when researchers really listen to their informants will they begin to contribute meaningfully to the craft of social research.

Ethical procedures and challenges

Each stage of the research process may give rise to specific ethical challenges (Cohen et al., 2001:49). This study involved numerous ethical considerations that needed attention, none more than the deeply vulnerable community that could be endangered by my study. This made the research process particularly precarious and required me to plan every aspect very carefully. The determinations and considerations to each ethical challenge are explained in the sections below along with how they shaped the various ways in which I conducted the study.

Christians (2005:144) puts forward guidelines for directing ethical research - informed consent, deception, privacy, confidentiality and accuracy (referred to in this section as truth and validity). Terre Blanche et al. (2006:241) describe the following guidelines that should be followed to ensure the research is ethical – autonomy and respect, non-maleficence and beneficence.

The section begins with a description of the procedure I followed to gain permission to work with the research participants. It then describes the ethical procedures I followed when carrying out my research, taking heed of Christian's and Terre Blanche's guidelines. The guidelines are explained in the sections below.

Institutional and departmental access and permission

Any research process and work with youth under the age of 18 requires engaging with a number of (necessary) gatekeepers to ensure that the youth are not exploited or their voices abused (Hood et al., 1996:121). Moreover, researchers cannot expect access to research locations as a matter of right (Cohen et al., 2001:53).

In terms of unfolding the research process, a plan was initially submitted to my supervisor and the ethical considerations therein discussed. I thereafter arranged and met with the principal of the identified school and explained my research plan to him. The principal agreed to the research and gave me the go ahead to approach the provincial education authority for permission to access the school. I then requested and received formal ethical clearance from the Western Cape Education Department (WCED) (Addendum A). Upon receiving the letter from the WCED, I requested formal written permission from the relevant school and its governing body (Addendum B). With these two letters and a clear outline of my research and the planned process I was then able to approach Stellenbosch University's Ethics Committee and apply for permission to conduct the research. All the concerned bodies granted me permission to do the research at MVHS.

Informed consent

Doing social research involves getting informed consent from the participants. In emphasising informed consent, the social science code of ethics uniformly opposes deception. As I am researching youth, I had to follow particular steps and procedures to gain permission to work with them.

This began with the process of getting informed consent from the youths' guardians as well as from the participants themselves. Mahon et al. (1996:150) note in this regard that children are quite capable of deciding whether or not they wish to be involved in research and observe that often guardians took such decisions without the consent of their children. For this reason, I made sure that I received consent from both parties during the process.

The second process involved meeting the participants and their guardians and informing them about the project and its goals, ensuring that their consent was based of full and open information. Christians (2005:144) and Cohen et al. (2001:51) note that research participants have the right to be informed about the nature and all consequences of research in which they are involved. This includes "voluntarism" where subjects agree voluntarily to participate and are told that they may participate in or withdraw from the research at any time.

The third process involved meeting with participants and their guardians and informing them of the various processes and their attached rights. For my study I identified 20 potential participants from the school database and approached each of them about attending an information (group) meeting about the project. I wanted the process to be as open as possible and for them to know beforehand that there would be no pressure or coercion for them to participate.

At the first meeting with the youth, I explained who I was and the nature of the research I wanted to conduct, with its benefits and risks. I asked if they would like to participate and to those who provisionally volunteered I gave invitations for their guardians to come and meet me the following week. The following week I met with their guardians and went through the same procedure to receive voluntary participation. I then presented them with the consent document (in French and English) (Addendum C) and explained its contents. I asked them to take the forms home and consider my request.

When we met the following week, 11 participants came with the necessary documents signed by their guardians. (I subsequently made copies thereof and returned the signed forms to the consenting guardians). I did not follow up on the other invitees as I had to respect their right not to participate. At the meeting, I presented the participants with consent forms, explained the contents in French and English, and received their signatures. Both they and I received a copy of the document (Addendum D).

As the sample group was smaller than I had anticipated, I needed to invite more participants to the project. Coincidently, at the time I was invited to help facilitate a round table discussion held at the Methodist Church in Observatory on World Refugee Day. The advantage of attending the session was that I met 15 learners from MVHS that had not attended my information session and who were quite keen to meet and hear more about

the project. I subsequently followed the same above processes with them and their guardians. Of the 15 new participants I invited to participate, 10 became participants. As the research proceeded, one of these participants withdrew and my sample group settled at 20 participants. The initial purposive sampling to create a balance of gender, nationality, grades and age, no longer applied.

Privacy, confidentiality, autonomy and respect

Privacy refers to how individuals or groups are given the right to decide for themselves what they seek to do, and the "when" and "where", "in what circumstances", and "to what extent" their personal opinions or information is to be communicated or withheld from others (Cohen et al., 2001:61). The above categories required deep ethical consideration in this study.

First, learners cannot feel endangered or excluded by the research. To ensure this, I chose a secluded, quiet venue at the school at which to meet the participant youth. We agreed on Friday afternoons as the best time as the rest of the school would have left because school closes early on Fridays. Furthermore, this ensured that they would then not get home too late.

Secondly, non-participant observation requires deep consideration (Cohen et al., 2001). During the study I constantly grappled with when was it ethically correct to observe the intimacies of participants and when was it correct to use data when they were not necessarily aware that they were being observed.

Third, the participants had the right to decide if I could record them on my dictaphone. Initially they would not let me record them, but as the research process unfolded, the participants gave me permission. After the meetings the recordings were downloaded onto my laptop and deleted from the dictaphone. The laptop is password protected. Transcripts were kept in a locked cupboard in my home.

Fourth, in terms of confidentiality and autonomy, codes of ethics demand that researchers protect people's identities and those of the research locations (Christians, 2005:145). Confidentiality is vital to safeguard against unwanted exposure. All personal data and the ultimate presentation of data was concealed and made public only behind a screen of anonymity. For anonymity purposes, pseudonyms for the schools and participants are

used. I explained this to the learners and the guardians to assure them how the material gathered from our interviews, their writing/narratives and my observations would be kept confidential.

Finally, confidentiality and objectivity (not getting involved in the lives of the research participants) are crucial cornerstones of social research. However, in my study I encountered two events that challenged how I conformed to these rules. The first issue was the extent to which researchers adhere to issues of confidentiality when learners may be in potential danger. The second issue was the limits to which researchers get involved in the lives of their participants. In the first instance I was challenged by a situation where a mother was forcing a youth to fast for religious reasons for two weeks by eating nothing at all, even in the evenings. The second issue emerged when I found out that one participant could barely read or see in front of her, which was seriously impacting on her school performance. Her guardians could not afford to get her eyes tested or buy her spectacles. In the second issue I resolved the problem by linking her to an optometrist (who had agreed to assist her for free), but I was seriously challenged by the first and it remained unresolved.

Beneficence and non-maleficence

Beneficence means that the researcher is obliged to attempt to maximise the benefits that the research will afford to the participant in the research study (Terre Blanche, 2006:241). In obtaining informed consent from the participants and their guardians, I explained how the research would be of benefit to them. The research methods also involved activities that were creative and fun and thus beneficial to the participants.

Non-maleficence means that researchers are required at all times to secure the well-being of their subjects and to ensure that no harm befalls the research participant as a direct or indirect consequence of the research (Terre Blanche, 2006:241). While there are many similarities with issues of privacy and confidentiality discussed above, non-maleficence comes with a number of further additional challenges. It operates at both physical and psychological levels and I had to ensure that the participants were not in any way compromised, endangered or excluded as a result of my research.

First, securing the well-being of a participant is not an easy process. The researcher has to secure a venue where participants are comfortable and feel able to communicate.

Secondly, researchers can never really know what is happening in the heads of participants, or anticipate the various traumatic experiences that participants may previously have suffered. In the interview process they were telling me about past and very personal experiences and for many of them this was the very first time they were sharing such information. Besides the ethical requirement to listen carefully and thoughtfully to what they were saying and honouring the opportunity they were affording me, I had to also be fully aware of the dangers that speaking about their pasts and experiences posed to them at the emotional and psychological levels. In that regard, I had to ensure that processes were in place that should participants have needed to speak to someone about the resultant anguish, that there was someone lined up to fulfil this function. I contacted a counsellor and set up a process whereby those youth that needed further assistance or counselling could go and talk to her. I told the participant youth about the counsellor and how they could contact her and offered to assist them in calling the woman if they so needed. I also reminded them that they could also speak to me if that is what they preferred. After the research process had finished, I regularly returned to the school to check on the youth and see if any of them needed further assistance or counselling.

Third, I had to distinguish between what was shared for research purposes and when a participant simply wanted someone to listen. In the latter case, I could not use the information and in the former I could. This applied to interviews with my 20 learner participants and their guardians.

Fourth, in conducting research it is often assumed that helping vulnerable participants is good. However, in some situations helping participants can actually be detrimental as it may change the relationship and expectations between the participant and the researcher. It can also often harm the "objectivity" of the researcher and lead to certain things not being captured correctly or truthfully.

Fifth, the ways in which data and subsequent analysis are presented textually has to always be approached with extreme caution. Finch (cited in Cohen et al., 2001:67) warns in this regard that there are times in qualitative research (that focuses on social policy issues) that findings can actually worsen the situation of the target population in some way.

Lastly, the issue of "distancing" can be deeply traumatic at the end of the research process. After having worked with participants for a long period, it was always going to be difficult to say goodbye without feeling pain and giving them pain. Terminating the process, however, is necessary and as researcher, I had to ensure that I oversaw the process smoothly and said goodbye in respectful and appreciative ways that conformed to ethical codes.

Accuracy, truth and validity

Christians (2005:145) writes that "ensuring that data are accurate is a cardinal principle in social science codes. Fabrications, fraudulent materials, omissions and contrivances are both non-scientific and unethical". There were two key challenges that emerged in my research with regards to accuracy, namely truth and validity. First, I invariably asked myself whether what the youth were telling me in their interviews, diaries and workshops was truth or if it was imagined. Secondly, I grappled with how to present a particular reality of the participants when it is actually a "snapshot in time".

Truth telling

Back (2007:164) writes that "many people have questioned the validity of data produced in interviews precisely on the grounds that it cannot be assumed that the accounts corresponds to the truth outside of the truth telling". Throughout the research process I was aware that the stories told to me could be fabricated and that the participants could be acting in particular ways based on who I am (a South African, white, adult, female teacher with accesses to resources). To this end I relied on Back's (2007:164) advice to simply treat interviews, written accounts and "acts" as "moral tales that are interesting regardless of whether they are lies or simply wrong". Without suggesting that the words of participant are "lies" or "acts", Back (2007:164) asserts that "the shape of a lie reveals something interesting about the teller's moral universe".

Similarly, Dillabough and Kennelly (2010:4) assert that in showing how youth narratives encode and recode human time they (the authors) heartily embraced the idea that the story of youth selfhood operated between truth and fiction, myth and legend, and between the objective and the subjective. They note in this regard that "the story of being young (invariably) forms the object of representation rather than the identity of the young person".

The study argues that living in a "third space" (discussed in detail in Chapter Five) in South Africa makes it often impossible to get to the youths' "truth" – given that these truths are constantly being remade in relation to processes of recognition and space making. My challenge in relation to issues of truth and validity was less about uncovering whether participants were telling the truth and more about understanding what this said about their respective places in human time and location. I argue that the manner in which participants presented themselves to me was in itself an attempt to create a secure space or reality for themselves at an uncertain time in their lives. In the latter regard, I was fully aware that their truth making processes were probably shaped as much by my subjectivity and by what they (the 20 participants) felt they could, or wanted to, say to me as an outsider with my particular identity.

A further dilemma (related to issues of truth and validity) in the study was that it emerged that all the participants ended up being resilient go-getters who presented themselves as the "better" learners at the school - both in relation to academic achievement and overall personal qualities. Here I was concerned, first, that my research processes constructed them in particular ways to seem resilient and successful and secondly that I had somehow sampled a resilient group. However, in the former regard the fact that the sample group ended up being more resilient, motivated and approval driven could be as a result of "volunteer bias"[13] (Meltzoff, 1997:56-58). In the second regard, due to the invitation process I had followed I could not have intentionally selected resilient participants.

In the end, given that the objective of the study was to understand their lived realities (which included understanding the processes that made these youth resilient), I realised that these were in fact not weaknesses in the study but were in accord with the qualitative research approach that I had chosen.

Snapshots of reality

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[13] The idea that the group were perhaps the more resilient African migrant learners at the school was confirmed (to some extent) at a teleconference-discussion that I was invited to in May 2010. The discussion on 'Violence in our Communities' was set up by a Cape Town radio station and took place between learners from MVHS and those at an American school. I went along interested to hear what youth at MVHS had to say - unaware of which MVHS learners was partaking. I was thus quite surprised to find at least half of my participant group attendant and then increasingly impressed with their individual (eloquent and quite philosophical) contributions. In fact it was this episode that reminded me that my sample may have been skewed towards the resilient learners.

My second challenge with regard to truth and validity was in presenting a certain reality of the participants that I got to know over the course of a year. Due to the fact that the research and writing process took place over two years, I was aware that youth identities would change in the course of the process. Back (2007:153) states that “we cannot write about societies as if they hold still while we sketch them”. Indeed, what I wrote were snapshots of the lives of youths at a particular moment in time. Back (2007) furthermore asserts that researchers write “against time” as they try to capture an outline of an existence that is itself fleeting.

Early statements from the youth sometimes contradicted what they said or how they acted later on in the study. Nevertheless, in my study I do not claim that what is presented is anything but snapshots of life at a particular moment in the lives of the 20 African migrant youth.

Interpretative methodology

Introduction

In order to understand the migrant youths' lives at the intersection of the local and the global, I chose to employ particular approaches that attempt to make the migrant youth central, not ancillary, to historical processes (as noted in Chapter One). According to Law and Urry (cited in Back, 2007:164) social research needs to create or enact the society that it claims to reflect. Because “the globalizing world is complex, elusive, ephemeral and unpredictable” (Law & Urry cited in Back, 2007:164), I required a methodology that lent itself to these processes. Back (2007:164) notes in this regard that “in order to engage with the capriciousness and volatility of social life, the sociological toolkit needs to be expanded to meet the complexity of the task at hand”. For that reason (which I explore below) I have employed a qualitative, interpretative methodology in this thesis.

Although a considerable amount of time was spent in the field getting to know the participants and immersing myself in their lives – a largely ethnographic approach – I was more influenced by interpretative rather than ethnographic methodology. Interpretative methodology aims to tell the story from the participants’ point of view and to understand and interpret their subjective experience (Connole, 1993:22). Furthermore, in contrast to naturalistic ethnographic methodology that seeks to uncover or discover a reality “situated in the emic perspective of the research participants” (Dolby, 2001:120), I assert that the

migrant youths' worlds were not as much discovered as *created* in the text that I wrote (Denzin, 1995:9). Last, where interpretative methodology differs from ethnographic voice work is that the aim was not only to give voice to the youths' experiences, but to understand and interpret what they were saying about their position in the world.

In conducting interpretive research, I was the primary instrument of data collection and analysis (Connole, 1993:22). Furthermore, I adhered to the main characteristic of interpretative methodologies, which is to locate "the process of the creation of textuality in the interstice between myself and others" (Dolby, 2001:120). The creation of text through interpretation is not an easy process and gave rise to various challenges in the research and writing process.

Challenges of conducting interpretative research

The greatest challenge of interpretative research is that researchers have to always be reflexive of the powerful positions they have to create certain realities. Connole (1993:22) cautions that ontologically, as an interpretative researcher, one has to be aware that the stories, realities and truths one could tell could be multiple (Connole, 1993:22).

In this study the aim was to write what Geertz (1973:6) calls "a thick description" of the African migrant youths' experiences and how they navigate these experiences. Back (2007:21) notes that "thick descriptions of life are always interpretative and do not merely attempt to mirror a simple, obdurable reality. They are selective and discerning but also require imagination and creativity".

In grappling with developing a "thick description" three key challenges arose in my attempt to "really listen" to the voices of the youth and not to fall into the trap of constructing a reality for them. My first challenge was to create a text, while always keeping my participants in mind and not losing their voices. With this in mind, after conducting fieldwork I transcribed the interviews and group meetings and then sat down with all the data that I had gathered. Merriam (2002:26) recommends that researchers submerge and engage themselves in the qualitative data over a long period of time to ensure the validity of their studies. I then read through the data carefully, coding it thematically. I kept my "interlocutors" in mind and next to me, by sticking their names on the wall in my office. In this way, this offered "a corrective to the liberties (we) sociologists are prone to take with (participants') lives" (Back 2007:151). In order not to construct realities for the participants,

I also paid particular attention to what Back (2007:12) calls “both the insights and the blindness” in my analysis of the data, as one often writes about what ones sees, but not about what one does not see.

The second challenge was that I was standing in 20 pairs of shoes simultaneously and looking through 20 pairs of eyes. What I saw, heard and read was multifaceted and consequently generated a large amount of data. I had to be discerning in taking a position at the interstice between the various participants, the data and myself to create a narrative. Moreover, to write a narrative meant paying “truth the courtesy of serious effort without reducing the enigmatic and shifting nature of social existence to caricature and stereotype” (Back, 2007:153). Here, my main concern was that in my quest to develop a narrative I would be losing out on some of the complexities and nuances of individual stories. In the end, I chose an approach suggested by Ortner (2003:7), namely to treat the African migrant youth stories as “pieces of a larger puzzle” that when fitted together provided a vibrant narrative of youth living at the intersection of the local and the global.

The third challenge was how to develop a narrative that painted a picture that was vibrant and dependable and “rang true” with both the participants and the reader. In qualitative, interpretative research this is vital, as one does not have the same triangulation checks for validity and reliability that one has in quantitative research (Merriam, 2002:26-27). To address this challenge, Back (2007:17) suggests that “quotation is not portraiture and it is the task of sociological writing to bring to life the people we work with and listen to”. Therefore, in the text of the thesis the reader will encounter a variety of direct quotations from diaries, interviews and workshops that are placed together in building the narrative, and not as mere portraiture. The voices are quoted to bring to the reader powerful feelings of pain, pleasure and shame (Ortner, 2003:7) and to invite the reader to participate in the making of meaning, rather than simply being subject to it.

Research methods

Introduction

My thesis employs a variety of research methods. Initially, the primary method of data collection was interviewing. However, upon meeting the participants in 2009 I realised that some of them were quite comfortable being interviewed, while others were not. I attributed this to social positioning (different age, gender, race, class, relationship), as highlighted by

Hood et al. (1996:123), and therefore adapted to use multiple research methods to collect the data. This also better fitted my endeavour to work *with* the participants and not *on* them (Thomson, 2008:7).

I subsequently confirmed during the research fieldwork that some participants responded more positively when interviewed individually while others felt more comfortable in my presence when in the supportive company of their peers. I discovered that group discussions and creative workshops seemed to create environments in which most participants thrived, given that it involved them equally in the research process.

My reason to use more creative research methods was confirmed by Dillabough and Kennelly (2010:57) who assert that, until recently, sociology of education and related methods have been preoccupied with creating narratives through the means of language or the “spoken word”, “leaving behind its commitment to draw upon the image and even writing to better understand the social life world of young people”. They note that while spoken-word research is an important aspect of youth research, it can also be quite “banal and paralysing” if it does not move researchers beyond the “traumas and reproductions of essential categories of youth selfhood in late-modernity”.

In the light of above, I chose to use various methods to add to the “thick description” Geertz (1973:6) of the overall story and to “generatively undo” (Lather cited in Dillabough & Kennelly, 2010:57) the more traditional research methods utilised in youth studies. For that purpose, I included in my methodological approach what Dillabough and Kennelly (2010:57) refer to as “the symbolic” (the visual, the archive, and the narrative account).

The methods employed in the thesis therefore include: Document analysis; diaries and writing; individual interviews, group discussions/workshops and focus groups and observation.

Using the various methods also as a way of gaining participants trust

It took a long time during the fieldwork to gain the trust of participants and to get them to open up. Furthermore, working with a vulnerable group, I had to work slowly and carefully. From initial interviews I discovered that by using art, drama, writing and speaking, I was able to both generate valuable data and actively include the participants in the research

process. These activities also assisted significantly in my gaining their trust. I expand on this below.

Collecting data via processes of comfortability and trust

In initial meetings with participants, the aim was to get to know each other and to test preconceptions. At the first meeting, I requested participants to fill out a questionnaire to generate some biographical data (which I personally collected), using both open and closed ended questions and provided in both English and French (Addendum E). In the following meeting, my goal was to get them to draw mind-maps about themselves. To facilitate this process, I spent the beginning of the meeting conducting icebreaker activities such as having them complete statements like “my favourite singer is…” that they pulled out of a hat. From the above two activities, my goal was to generate information about each of the participants - which I could subsequently follow up on and verify during individual interviews.

Document analysis

I applied and received permission from the principal to access the school’s database and files. Subsequently, throughout the research process I conducted document analysis both to triangulate biographical details supplied by participants and develop demographic information about the school, its learners, its context, and its environment. Once the interviews were completed, I was further able to consult the school database for the past results of learners in order to check and validate what each African migrant learner claimed about achievement at the school. Notably, given that claims about achievement constituted a very small part of their various stories, the main purpose of checking on what they claimed was to get some sense of being able to “trust the data”. In this regard, I liaised with the school deputy principal and other senior staff members to only extract relevant and publicly-available statistical and documented information.

Diaries and writing

In initial discussions with the 20 participants, a lively general debate about school and living in South Africa was generated. This made me realise that I would be able to learn substantially more from the “thoughts” of individual participants about the ways in which they engaged and thought about particular issues related to their everyday schooling and their lives. I came up with the idea of giving each of them their own diaries to cover topics

that they would normally find difficult to talk about. I asked them to take daily notes about particular thought processes and activities related to school life and their migrant status, providing them with particular questions (Addendum F) with which to organise their writing. All participants kept a diary from July to September 2009, including things like raps, poems and reflections. Alaszewski (2006:26) notes in this respect that diary writing is a very useful tool when developing life stories about individuals, as "ethnographers can use diaries to gain privileged access to the lives of the individuals and the communities they are studying".

While this served as a useful tool by which to understand the experiences of the informants, I was aware of the shortcomings of using diaries. First, I was conscious of the dangers of individuals keeping a diary. I reminded participants constantly not to share what they wrote and to always keep their diaries in a safe place.

Secondly, diary writing is also greatly dependent on relationships of trust and confidentiality between participant and researcher because the participants' are documenting personal information, and then trusting the researcher not to misuse the information. I therefore asked the participants to keep diaries after we had got to know each other and established a feeling of trust among us.

Lastly, Pimlott (cited in Alaszewski, 2006:24) writes that:

> diaries tell the truth, the partial truth, and much more besides the truth...In them, you seek and often find – an atmosphere, a sense of mood of the moment, which could not be acquired in any other way. They should never, ever, be taken as the last word. But as raw material as reconstruction of the past…

In the thesis, the diaries assisted immeasurably to add to the rich life history of each participant and to offer insights into the unique lives of each migrant youth. However, I was well aware of the difficulties of triangulating what the participants wrote and thus did not take what they wrote "as the last word".

Individual interviews

I conducted in-depth individual interviews with each participant in the sample group. The interviews were all semi-structured with predetermined interview protocols (Addendum G). I did, however, tailor the order of the questions in relation to what was most fitting to different interviews. Cohen et al. (2001:273) suggest that question wording can always be

changed in such situations as long as explanations are given. They note that questions can also be omitted or added if required.

The main goal of the interviews was to generate a conversation with the participants. The interviews were thus two-person conversations initiated by the interviewer for the specific purpose of developing information and insights focused by the research objectives of systematic description, prediction or explanation (Cohen el al., 2001:269). Notwithstanding this endeavour to develop a conversation, I was also well aware of my position of power in the process of constructing realities for each of them. I thus undertook not to lead participants in any way to particular responses and consciously sat through the long silences to allow the participants to open up slowly.

In order to build a deeper picture of what the participants were telling me, I further interviewed 12 of the participants' guardians, 12 educators and one school administrator (Addenda H, I and J). Their voices are not central to the story, but serve to add substance to it. I have written permission from each of the participants to use text from their interviews in this thesis.

Group interview/discussions and focus groups

In the thesis I refer to the conversations generated with participants at group meetings or workshops as "group discussions". This is because they combine what Cohen et al. (2001) label as group interviews and focus group interviews. Cohen et al. (2001:288) note that group interviews actively involve both interviewer and group in a backwards and forwards interaction, while focus group interviews rely on groups separately discussing topics supplied by the researcher and then reporting back on their discussions. In all group discussions (whether as group interviews or focus group interviews) I engaged with the inherent dangers attached to learners sharing information with each other and the possible misuse and abuse of such information (for example issues of confidentiality and vulnerability). I regularly reminded participants about the very particular rules attached to group discussions and, at particular times, wilfully steered discussions to prevent conflict or to protect the vulnerability of certain individuals.

Group workshops

In developing alternative ways of engaging participants and getting to know each of them better, I developed two group workshops during August 2009 that involved them in

creative and fun activities. I also wanted to tease out, or grapple with, key elements of their emerging stories. In the first workshop, my goal was to explore participant identities and find out more about their life histories in a creative way. I asked a priest, who is also a poet and self-development worker, to facilitate the workshop.

Workshop 1: Trees and storytelling

The first workshop involved four activities:

1. Tree of Life

In the first activity, participants sat in groups of four and were given an A3-size piece of paper and coloured pens. The concept of the Tree of Life (Addendum K) was explained to them and then they spent about half an hour drawing them. We then sat together and they had a chance to explain their trees to the group. Their explanations revealed much about their roots and where they come from, the role of religion in their lives, the importance of family and mentors and their achievements and dreams.

2. Storytelling

The topic of the storytelling activity was the issue of bravery. The priest/storyteller related the story of Jonny Possum, (a possum) who had to go to the dark side of the river to collect berries for his mother (Addendum L). The story detailed his fearful journey and how he eventually overcame his fear. After the story, we discussed what the story meant to the participants linked as it was to themes of bravery, courage, navigational and familial capital. After the workshop, we asked the participants to go home and reflect on the story and its relevance to their lives.

3. The story of Amataratsu

The third activity also involved storytelling. The storyteller read them the story of Amataratsu (Addendum M). The story is basically about a Goddess, who is upset by the way her community is acting and subsequently goes into her cave to hide away. The purpose of telling the story was to generate discussions about fear, anger and sadness.

4. Cave poem

In the fourth activity the participants talked about what the Amataratsu story meant to them. We discussed what “going into one’s cave” entailed. We then set about writing a

collaborative poem using three catchphrases, namely, “I go into my cave when...”; “I stay in my cave until...” and “I come out of my cave when...”. The participants were asked to complete the statements aloud in groups and we then worked jointly and wrote a poem together (Addendum N).

Workshop 2: Bravery and resilience workshop

The purpose of the second workshop was to follow-up on the first by expanding on ideas of bravery and resilience. We began the workshop by discussing in a group the significance of the Jonny Possum story in each participant’s life and how and when the participants, like Jonny, had to be brave. This discussion provided great insight into their life histories and the sociological and educational challenges they face both within and out of school.

After the discussion, we talked about what constitutes resilience, after which participants split up in groups of four to develop mind maps on A3-size paper- indicating what makes them resilient. Thereafter we sat in a group, discussed their mind maps and then opened the floor to a general discussion on resilience and their lives.

Notably, both workshops provided me, the researcher, with valuable insights (captured in creative, enjoyable ways) about the participants as well as about myself, where many of my previous preconceptions were largely jettisoned. (Preconceptions that living as African migrant youth in South Africa is challenging due to the socio-economic situation in which the youth live and the discrimination they face on a daily basis)

Observation

Observational data is invariably attractive as it allows the researcher “to gather ‘live’ data from ‘live’ situations” (Cohen et al., 2001:305). The other advantages of observation are that it allows the researcher to discover things that participants might not talk about freely in interview situations (Cohen et al., 2001:305). A further advantage is that it allows the researcher to engage with the case study in relation to its context or the environment in which it is embedded.

The key disadvantage is that observations struggle with regard to issues of validity and reliability. This is because observers have to make inferences, interpretations and

judgments and it is never easy for them to separate their individual realities and preconceptions from what is being observed.

In the study, I employed the technique of observation in very careful ways, mainly because I was working with a deeply vulnerable community. I could, for example, not enter classrooms to observe the ways in which participants engaged with other learners as this would betray their identities to non-participants. However, I did get to observe many of them in both structured environments and non-structured situations like school assemblies and school festivals. This added significant richness to the observational data that I had already collected (via observations notes) from group and individual meetings and home visits.

Conclusion

This chapter described the research and writing processes I used in conducting “global sociology” in order to listen to and interpret the voices of the 20 African migrant youth and to comment on their lived experiences and navigations at the intersection of the local and the global. Introduced to the reader in the chapter are, first the research site and the research participants. Then the chapter outlines the ethical considerations and procedures that the researcher adhered to; the interpretative methodology that the thesis follows and the multiple methods the researcher employed to gather data. Furthermore, it outlines the various methodological challenges with which the thesis engages.

Chapter Four engages with issues of globalisation, migration and the localisation of space. It explores, more specifically the concept of the global immigration line that frames the social and educational lives of migrants in host spaces at both the physical and the personal (emotional) levels.

CHAPTER FOUR: GLOBALISATION, MIGRATION, AND THE OUTWARD DIMENSIONS OF THE PERSONAL

Introduction

The main aim of the thesis is to tell the personal story of how the social and educational lives of 20 African migrant youth get shaped at the intersection of global patterns of moving and local experiences of living. I argue that the nature of all lived human experiences (especially when people move) is that it includes both outward and inward dimensions.

For that reason, Chapters Four and Five explore quite different aspects of how youth encounter the migratory experience and the ways in which physical space and time intersect with other more intangible aspects of globalisation and migration. I focus in Chapter Four on the key links between globalisation and migration and the ways in which these processes shape institutional and physical personal space. In Chapter Five, I further explore how African migrant youth think about this space in the school and make key decisions about their navigations and their lives.

Chapter Four explores, more specifically, the concept of the global immigration line that frames the educational and social lives of migrants in host spaces at both the physical and the personal (emotional) levels. I do so via three distinct sections.

Section A suggests that globalisation is not an external force operating behind the backs of individuals (such the study's 20 participants). Utilising Appadurai's theorisation of "scapes", Section A reveals how the past, present, and future lives of migrants are firmly enmeshed within processes of globalisation. Section B discusses one of the main consequences of globalisation – increased migration worldwide - and maps the history of migration to and within South Africa. While the migration of families (like those of the study's participants) to South Africa is not a new phenomenon, Section B observes the new pace at which families and communities are moving worldwide, and the consequences this has had for both sending and receiving nations. Section C of the chapter moves to the very personal 'globalisation' experience of migrants (in this case African migrant youth) who, it is argued, are "at the sharpened end of migration" (Back, 2007:43). The section also engages with a local schooling space (MVHS) in Cape Town to discuss how globalisation intersects with

the experiences of the children of migrants (African migrant youth) at the school level, as well as with their lives outside of the schooling context.

Section A: Globalisation

> I am at the MVHS Mini Winter Festival, surrounded by noise, laughter and youth. The speakers are booming kwaito music and the South African learners are dancing and gyrating to the familiar beat, dressed in their urban-based kwaito clothes. I see some Congolese boys, Jean-Paul, Paul and Philippe, standing on the fringe of the crowd dressed in baggy jeans, bright new sneakers and basketball caps. They are not dancing, but are practising their rap and the moves that they will shortly perform on stage. On my right is a teen dressed in traditional Congolese dress. She tells me with pride that she will be participating in the Miss Mountain View pageant later on and is wearing this dress so people will know where she is from. Different languages fill the air and different nationalities share the stage. I remind myself how special this moment is, witnessing the coming together and vibrancy of different African and urban cultures and traditions (Researcher field notes, 20 August 2009).

These reflections highlight how different nationalities, popular-culture tastes and cultural traditions grapple for space to exist within South Africa both nationally and locally. The moment reflects how globalisation has reached the most local spaces of the globe and how different individuals are inextricably involved in various processes of globalisation. For the study, sharper definition is needed of how globalisation is broadly understood, as well as what globalisation may mean to the lives and experiences of the African migrant youth participants in the study.

The globalisation discourse

Bauman (1998:1) reminds us that the term globalisation was hardly used in the late 1980s by laymen or academics. Yet now, "it is on everybody's lips; a fad word fast running turning into a shibboleth, a magic incantation, a pass-key meant to unlock the gates to all present and future mysteries". Globalisation is currently such a vast and complex topic that it is constructed differently in different disciplines, and definitions depend on the practice and field being investigated.

Although there is no single agreed upon definition, Christie (2007:44-45) points out that the term globalisation generally includes five basic aspects. First, it denotes the idea of the inclusion of many different and varied countries in an interconnected global system. Secondly, it signals how goods, ideas, images, money and people move across the world at great speeds and volume. Third, it emphasises the role of new information and communication technologies in changing the world. Fourth, it illustrates the operation of a single economy operating across the globe, namely a capitalist economy, using mainly a

single time unit. Last, it highlights the extent to which social, economic, cultural, and economic change have been shaped by forces such as international trade and the dropping of a variety of trade barriers (Christie 2007:44-45).

The meaning and implications of globalisation have been widely debated both politically and academically. Supporters of globalisation portray it as an irresistible force or a harbinger of global modernity that has the potential to bring about economic prosperity and liberal democracy across the world (Smith, 2005:236). Opponents of globalisation argue that while in its current form it may bring benefits to some, for most it excludes usually the poor and usually increasing their marginalization (Bauman, 1998:3). Similarly, Giddens (2000:33) notes that globalisation has created “a world of winners and losers, a few on the fast track to prosperity, the majority condemned to a life of misery and despair”. However, what neither supporters nor opponents of globalisation sufficiently acknowledge, is how globalisation affects the lives of people - like the rapper boys Jean-Paul, Paul and Philippe - who have joined the millions of world inhabitants that have had to move in search of a better life.

In this regard, Christie (2007:49) notes that many explanations and theories of globalisation have limited value for understanding local experiences and that “given the power of global forces, it is easy to slip into structuralist narratives, where ‘the net’ and ‘the market’ and ‘the image’ seem to have a life of their own, and human agency disappears from the picture”. She suggests that while in such a situation “it is often difficult to work against the logic of dominant discourses to find alternative meanings”, it is nonetheless important to analyse them “to find their cracks and spaces, and to explore relationships of power – which are often masked within the discourses themselves” (Christie 2007:50).

By giving voice to the unheard youth who invariably fall into “the cracks and the spaces” of the globalisation discourse, this thesis seeks to provide voice and meaning to how processes of globalisation intersect with the past, present and future lives of African migrant youth. Framed from the field of education, my focus on globalization does not only look “from above”, but also looks at “globalization from below” (Portes, 1997), at the personal dimension that emerges from this intersection of the global and the local (See also the writing of Castells, 1996; Bauman, 1992; Giddens, 2000; Hall, 1989, 1997a&b.

Appadurai and globalisation

Appadurai, as with Portes, focuses on “globalization from below”. His theories have provided thought-provoking views of globalisation, which have opened up different lenses from which to view migration studies and the experiences of migrants worldwide. While Appadurai’s works extensively explore modernity, change and the consequences thereof for normative views on the nation state, it is his work on the impact of globalisation on culture, class, choice and individual agency that is most pertinent for this thesis.

In 1996, during a time that Appadurai calls “high globalization”, he noted that current changes in the world were so momentous and complex that existing discourses on economy, culture and politics could no longer sufficiently explain them (cited in Christie, 2007:52). He added that due to increased migration and the changing nature of nation states and their people, the ways that both the forces of migration and the media work create new resources for the world of the imagination as a social practice. He argued that culture, media, and transitional diasporas were mutually structuring forces in a world of change that challenged the future of the nation-state and complicated the production of lived communities and localities - often in ways that emphasise what Bauman (2000) refers to as a world of “liquid modernity”.

Unlike most authors in the late 1980s who viewed “the local as an inert canvas upon which global or other forces produced changes” and was “acted upon”, Appadurai sought to unsettle this idea and show that any form of local spatial life is “as much a process and a project as anything else” (Appadurai, 2002b:33). He asserted that in such spaces marginalised people were not simply victims of their circumstances, but had vision, purpose, imagination and agency (Christie, 2007:54). He was concerned about academic discourses that did not focus on the marginalised and poor or that did not challenge neoliberal versions of the impact of globalisation enough. He called for the development of theory and research that specifically looked at those living in the globalised everyday, especially in ways that supported them and opened up other forms of meaning making for them (Appadurai 1996:52; Christie 2007:54).

That said, Appadurai’s work has been challenged for being too optimistic and idealistic. Many question how global trends could be shifted from “above to below” (Christie, 2007:54). For example, in a neoliberal world where focus in placed on the economics of

nations, capital gain and individualisation, how can the poor and the marginalised become active role players?

Despite such arguments, I argue that Appadurai's theories have particular relevance at a time of rapid and expanded migration worldwide, which has further implications for how individuals live their lives in local spaces. I suggest that Appadurai's work provides a useful canvas on which to conceptualise the consequences of globalisation and migration in South Africa. Moreover, I assert that an examination of "how the local and the self" are produced at the intersection of the global and the local (Appadurai, 2003:46), can reveal quite new and imaginative forms of being.

To explain how such imaginative forms of being are formed in today's globalising world, Appadurai (1996:33) suggests that we should visualise global flows to explain the movement of people, ideas, technology and media (for example those that cross boundaries with great speed and at great volume) as if these boundaries were not there at all. Appadurai views the world as overlapping "scapes" which have fluid and irregular shapes entering all corners of the globe from Kinshasa to Cape Town. These scapes bring people, like the South African and African migrant youth at the MVHS Mini Winter festival (as highlighted in this chapter's introductory quote to Section A) together into complex and changing interactions. Appadurai introduces five (land) scapes to describe global flows and the implication on what is held as static and true - the ethnoscapes, mediascapes, ideoscapes, technoscapes and finanscapes. The first three of these are pertinent to this study and are defined below.

Flows and scapes

Ethnoscapes are the landscape of people who make up the world in which we live. These are people, like the African migrant youth in this thesis, who are living in global times, like tourists, immigrants, refugees and exiles. Appadurai argues (1996:34) that these moving groups and individuals constitute an essential feature of the world and appear to affect the politics of and between nations to a level never reached before.

The subsequent two scapes - mediascapes and ideoscapes – are dealt with together, as they are closely related and refer to the landscapes of ideas and images dispersed across the world through electronic means to private homes, public outlets, shanty towns and

even remote rural areas (Appadurai, 1996:35). Mediascapes are image-centred, narrative based accounts of strips of reality transformed from scripts into a visual product that people internalise. Appadurai (1996:36) states that these scripts can and do get broken up into “complex sets of metaphors by which people live (Lakoff & Johnson cited in Appadurai, 1996:36) as they help to constitute the narrative of the other and proto-narratives of possible lives, fantasies that could become prolegomena to the desire for acquisition and movement” (Appadurai, 1996:36). This thesis partly attempts to show how the African migrants in the study were and still are influenced by the mediascapes and ideoscapes that Appadurai describes.

As the vignette from the Winter Mini Festival shows, the ideas and images related to mediascapes and ideoscapes permeate the lives of young people in the form of popular culture for example in the lives of Jean-Paul and Philippe. However, the youth are not only on the receiving end of such flows. In contrast, evident from the learners’ preoccupation with fashion and their involvement in popular music, the learners are actively involved in the creation of the dynamics of globalisation by inserting their alternative forms of dress and music. Dolby (2001:13) explains that “identity can be understood as a constant process of formation and change that occurs within a global/local matrix and that is both formed by and expresses structures of power”.

In addition to ideoscapes being the sum of a number of images, they often have to do with the politics and the ideologies of states and the counter ideologies of movements trying to challenge state power (Appadurai, 1996:36). These ideoscapes are composed of elements of Enlightenment-inspired world views, which are made up of a chain of ideas, terms and images such as freedom, welfare, rights and democracy. Appadurai (1996:37) argues that the challenge increased migration poses to nation-states is that as more and more people enter foreign lands, the “Enlightenment-inspired world views” of that state are influenced and challenged by the new arrivals. He (1996:37) furthermore argues that “the fluidity of ideoscapes is (further) complicated by the growing diasporas of intellectuals who continuously inject new meaning-streams into the discourse of democracy in different parts of the world”. For South Africa, such a view poses a number of challenges to how democracy is defined and lived out and how this shapes the ways in which the needs of immigrants are addressed.

I have used these three scapes in the following chapters to show how processes of globalisation are interwoven in the present, past and future lives of migrants and how they allow the 20 youth participants in this study to "paint their own canvasses". The following section outlines one consequence of worldwide processes of globalisation, namely increased migration.

SECTION B: MIGRATION

> Jean-Paul (DRC): I left my home because of war. They were killing people in the streets. Everywhere you walked there were dead bodies.
>
> Paul (DRC): We didn't had a choice, the rebels break into my house and they take everything that they needed and they chase us away.
>
> Orellia (DRC): They killed my father and our family was next.
>
> Agnes (Rwanda): Both our parents were killed and the soldiers kept asking us who we belonged to.
>
> Dorothy (Rwanda): There was no food. We had no clothes.
>
> Gedeon (Zambia): I don't know why we left. Life was hard.
>
> Alice (Zimbabwe): My parents supported the opposition and we had to leave.
>
> Frank (Zimbabwe): The teachers never came to school. We ate buns for a year and had no electricity.
>
> Francis (DRC): There was no healthcare. We had to walk for miles to fetch water.
>
> Rose (Congo-Brazzaville): Even if you finished school, you would have no future.
>
> Olivia (DRC): I was a mistake and no one wanted me. I came in search of a new life.[14]

Internationally, migrants move for various reasons. According to Kok et al. (2006:5) three types of international migration are identified, namely labour mobility (economic migrants), refugee movements and more permanent migration. Most of the African migrants in this study are viewed as refugees and asylum seekers in the receiving country (South Africa) due to war and persecution in their home countries, although some migrated there as economic migrants escaping the growing poverty in their regions. In the thesis I use the encapsulating term - African migrants – to refer to the variety of migration types noted above, but acknowledge that most of the study's participants predominantly occupy refugee status in the receiving country (South Africa). Most of the study's participants fall

[14] Extrapolated from the diaries and completed questionnaires of the various participants.

into a category that the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) refers to as “people of concern”. This category includes refugees, returnees, stateless persons and internally displaced persons (UNHCR, 2007a:5).

The scale of migration worldwide

All over the world, stories about migrants – legal and illegal – appear almost daily in the news. Yet migration is not a new phenomenon - with people having been on the move since the beginning of time in search of better, more fertile land or opportunities. The practice of granting asylum to people fleeing persecution in foreign lands is perhaps one of the earliest hallmarks of an emerging civilisation, references to which have been found in various texts written 3500 years ago. In many instances these were not only for political reasons but also for economic reasons (UNHCR, 2007a:5).

What is clearly novel about migration in the contemporary era, however, is the sheer scale of it worldwide. The International Organisation for Migration (IOM) reports that while migrants (people born in a country other than the one in which they are residing) in 1965 represented 2% of the world population, by 2001 this number had increased to 3%. In sheer numbers there were an estimated 175-million migrants in 2001 as compared to 75-million migrants in 1965 (Kok et al., 2006:2). Projections by the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) suggest that by 2050 this number will have grown to 230-million foreign-born migrants worldwide (BBC Online, 2010).

The numbers of “people of concern”

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) reported in 2010 that some 43.3-million people worldwide had migrated by the end of 2009 due to political conflict, persecution or poverty and that this had been the highest number of migrations since the mid-1990s. This number included 15.2-million refugees and 27.1-million internally displaced persons (UNHCR, 2010a:2).

Four aspects of these international migratory patterns hold particular relevance for this thesis. First, 80% of refugees in the world presently (8.3-million) are hosted by developing countries; with 49 of the least developed countries providing asylum to 1.9-million refugees (UNHCR, 2010a:6). Pakistan host the largest number of refugees worldwide (1.7-million), followed by the 1.1-million refugees in the Islamic Republic of Iran (UNHCR, 2010a:1). In sub-Saharan Africa, the number of refugees at the end of 2009 was 2.1-million though this

number has steadily declined from 3.4-million over the past nine years due to processes of naturalization and repatriation (UNHCR, 2010a:6).

Secondly, based on the data available for 8.8-million refugees, the UNHCR estimated at the end of 2009 that more than half of the world's refugees resided in urban areas and less than one third in camps. For sub-Saharan Africa, however, six out of every 10 refugees reside in camps (UNHCR, 2010a:6).

Third, at the local regional level, according to the UNHCR (2010b), South Africa received more asylum seekers than any other country in the world in 2007 (53 400 new asylum claims), a number that increased dramatically to 207 200 registered asylum applications in 2008. The majority of applications were from Zimbabwe (122 600), Malawi (18 160), and Ethiopia (11 350), as well as from other African countries and from Bangladesh, China, India and Pakistan. These numbers must be seen alongside the 43 500 refugees that are currently recognized by the South African Government mainly from Burundi, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) and Somalia (UNHCR, 2010b).

Fourth, both worldwide and in developing countries like South Africa, children normally comprise significant proportions of refugee and asylum seeker populations. According to the UNHCR's June 2010 Report, 41% of refugees and asylum seekers were children below 18 years of age (UNHCR, 2010a:1). According to information gleaned from the National Immigration Information System (NIIS) in South Africa, a total of 8 499 'minors' were registered as asylum seekers while a further 5 582 'minors' were granted refugee status in the period between January 2008 and May 2010 (DHA, 2010:2).

This suggest that not only do developing countries like South Africa have large numbers of migrants entering the country annually, but that migrants are invariably refugees and asylum seekers (which implies they are desperately poor and deeply vulnerable), that a sizeable proportion of migrants are children, and that migrants in sub-Saharan Africa invariably reside in the poorer sections of the host locations. Notably, as highlighted below, migratory patterns are shaped by political, economic and social processes that impact on individual migrants in quite distinct ways.

Nations, labour markets and migration

Cross et al. (2006:4) note that in the 21st Century governments worldwide have identified migration as perhaps their foremost challenge and priority. This stems predominantly "from

fears of the destabilising consequences of human flows", particularly with regard to "the increasing number of migrants flowing from developing to developed nations" (Cross et al., 2006:4). For this reason, relevant government ministers worldwide meet regularly to discuss migratory patterns and their effects on sending and receiving nations, focusing on issues like the number of job-seekers that are being added to already-saturated labour-markets, the loss of skills (the brain drain) from developing countries and the pressures put on housing and public service provisions in receiving countries.

Adepoju (2006:26) notes that while migration worldwide is invariably "a response to structural disequilibria between and within sectors of an economy, or between countries" in given regions, deepening and widening inequality in incomes and opportunities within and between nations alongside dramatic increases in the number of people experiencing poverty and hardship, have dramatically added to the demand on people to migrate. Lekogo (2006:209) posits that perhaps the most severe consequence of globalisation, and resultant patterns of migration, has been the extent to which weaker nation states have collapsed almost completely and been unable to fulfil key state functions and provide local state subjects with key services such as medical health care, education and other needed public infrastructures.

Adepoju (2006:26) asserts that in a world where the onus is increasingly on individuals to survive without any help from their (nation) states, people invariably choose to move elsewhere in search of better opportunities or safety. Why people migrate can thus be found both in "the political, economic and social characteristics obtaining in countries of origin" (Lekogo, 2006:209) and in social patterns (individualisation) associated with globalisation.

It could be argued that migration in such an environment is inevitably "nothing but a safety valve that relieves the pressure off a problem – such as unemployment – without actually solving the problem" (Ellerman cited in Kok et al., 2006:7) and that such migrations leave behind (in sending countries) a variety of intractable problems. These include situations where "the middle poor" migrate in search of better opportunities leaving behind the destitute who do not have the means or skills to develop their areas and so become even poorer (Cross et al., 2006:6); where migrants send back remittances to families in their home countries - causing forms of dependence that leave families in inert and enslaved positions (Kok et al., 2006:5); and where families in sending countries often expect migrant

siblings to return once they have improved their situations and wait in vain for this leading to inertia around trying to improve their local conditions and ultimately leading to dependencies on Aid agencies to assist them.

Migration and South Africa

With regard to migratory patterns to South Africa from the rest of Africa, it should be noted that after African decolonisation the main trend was for inhabitants of previous colonies to migrate to the lands of their colonial powers. For example, Francophone Africans migrated mainly to France or Belgium, while Anglophone Africans migrated mainly to the United Kingdom and Australia. However, such migratory patterns over time became increasingly restrictive and expensive as ex-colonial powers like France and other western countries, tightened their immigration laws and policed their borders more rigorously. In Africa, this led to increased numbers of people migrating within Africa, with South Africa as a top destination. Lekogo (2006:211-212) identifies as key pull factors South Africa's dynamic and growing economy with a strong currency comparable to most African countries; academic and health infrastructures in South Africa are comparable to Europe's; relatively stable schools and tertiary institutions compared to those in many African countries struck by financial crises; democratic processes and a strong constitution that protects the rights of inhabitants; as well as quite liberal policies toward asylum seekers and refugees in the kinds of services they can access. This is perhaps best exemplified by the poem below that was written collaboratively by the participants of the study.

> South Africa!
> Dreams of a better future
> Land of possibilities
> Peaceful place
> No more war
> We came here in search of a better life
> Country of Mandela
> Here you can finished school and get a job
> Less corruption than my country
> We did not have money to go to another country
> America was our first choice but South Africa is closer
> This is the richest country in Africa
> If you can speak English, you can do anything
> The education here is powerful.

The history of migration to and within South Africa

The meshing of patterns of globalization and migration for a country like South Africa is not a new reality. Manzo (cited in Dolby, 2001:10) suggests that South Africa's position within a world political economy goes back more than 400 years:

> The territorial space that is called South Africa has long been articulated within a global political economy that has shaped its internal politics since 1652 when Jan Van Riebeeck established his outpost of the Dutch East India Company at the Cape of Good Hope. The social whole within which South African subjectivities have been constituted is the global political economy, not the domestic state (Dolby, 2001:10).

Within current discourses in South Africa, the issue of immigration (especially illegal migration) is often represented as a new and problematic phenomenon. Yet migration has for centuries been a fundamental and ongoing aspect of social life and development, modernisation and industrialisation in South Africa. Nuttall (2009:24) notes that South Africa can in fact be "characterised as a country born out of processes of mobility, the boundaries of which have constantly been reinvented over time through war, dislocation, and dispossession". Examples include Khoikhoi nomadic herders that moved across the Cape (as early as 500 AD) (See Boonzaier et al., 1997; Penn, 2006); the movement of Africans for purposes of trade with the East; migrations due to increased colonisation (See Worden, 2007; Penn, 2006); events like the Mfecane ('the great scattering') that led to large numbers of indigenous inhabitants settling elsewhere like Botswana, Mozambique and Zimbabwe (See Richner, 2004); and the trekking north of settlements emanating from original Dutch colonisation (See Penn, 2006).

Wentzel and Tlabela (2006:74) assert that by the start of the 20th Century extensive migration patterns had emerged across the Southern African region, but that much of these patterns had come to centre mostly on labour possibilities and around locations of industrial activity (like mining). Notably, a key characteristic of such migratory patterns was the exploitation of the availability of labour.

Thahane (cited in Adepoju, 2006:39) notes that by the middle of the 20th Century migratory patterns framed by labour demands took on a particular form in South Africa as the apartheid regime "systematically attempted to programme the source and composition of immigration (both white and African) into the country, while concurrently shaping internal migration configurations through the influx control system". Instead of encouraging the establishment of a permanent indigenous labour force, the apartheid government, in

tandem with the requirements of high capital after 1948, seemed to prefer a temporary and changing migrant labour force. This preference was ostensibly framed by the desire to minimize labour costs and welfare expenses and to increase profit margins. From 1948 under apartheid a particular form of a contract labour system came to shape the lives and experiences of both labourers recruited by employment agencies from Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Malawi, Mozambique and Zimbabwe (Adepoju, 2006:39) and seasonal (illegal) migrants from Lesotho, Zimbabwe and Mozambique that worked on farms in the provinces now known as Mpumalanga, the Free State and Limpopo Province (Crush & Tshitereke cited in Adepoju, 2006:39). A key aspect of this form of contract labour was that foreign workers were denied permanent rights to work or take up residence in South Africa (Wentzel & Tlabela, 2006:71; Adepoju, 2006:39).

This aspect of migrant labour became more pronounced in the 1970s because of economic decline in the region. In this period, the apartheid state entrenched and exacerbated the system of migrant labour and segregation and sought to ensure that Africans, whether South African or foreign, only resided temporarily in urban and industrial areas. Urban areas were deemed to belong to the white population and all African populations (other than those that already permanently resided there) were regarded as temporary labourers that needed to return to their "home spaces" once their labour was expended (Wentzel & Tlabela, 2006:76). Alongside this process, the apartheid government promulgated the *Group Areas Act* in *1950* to regulate, control and socially engineer non-white (African, coloured and Indian) populations that had already settled residentially in such urban areas. This led to urban spaces taking on a particular form that "spoke back" to the people that entered its environs and that sought to settle there (Bickford-Smith, 2001; Field, 2001a, 2001b). Indeed, "apartheid's social engineering did and still does work to fix spaces (like Cape Town – my insertion) that are difficult to break down in the present" (Nuttall, 2009:19). This development and its consequences are further explored in Section C where I discuss how migratory patterns and the contexts of local spaces come together to frame a particular reality for people entering such spaces.

The main consequence of the above processes was that "legal" migration from beyond South Africa's borders into its urban localities decreased significantly from the 1970s (Wentzel & Tlabela, 2006:74). This is not to say that such migrations did not occur in this period but rather that two kinds of migratory groups emerged thereafter. Those (the first group) that gained legal access to employment on the mines via recruitment agencies

were given a “professional” status and prolonged access to employment in South Africa. The second group entered South Africa after the 1970s, mainly through informal routes and lived predominantly survivalist existences (Wentzel & Tlabela, 2006:74-77). This trend continued until the 1990s when the labour market and economic needs of the region grew in ways that made the exclusion of migrants from outside the borders of South Africa increasingly untenable and unproductive.

Wentzel and Tlabela (2006:76) note that changes in migratory trends began as early as the late 1980s with an increasing brain-drain of skilled and professional migrants from the Southern African region to South Africa (mainly from Zimbabwe and Botswana) and that it increased rapidly after 1994. Given the challenges of a globalising economic environment, there was a dire need after 1994 to encourage migration into South Africa. In this respect, Dwyer (cited in Lekogo, 2006:207) asserts that when South Africa initially opened its borders, the economic criterion was large numbers of educated and skilled professionals being encouraged to move from other African countries to South Africa. Crucially, the discourses that framed these spurts in migration patterns have continued to benefit the economic aspects and have fundamentally shaped the experiences of all African migrants – irrespective of whether they were part of documented, undocumented or informal migration processes.

Gordon (2010:3) cautions that for the majority of the migrants, most of whom entered South Africa “illegally” from the late 1990s, migration was characterised by more than simply livelihood concerns. This was particularly evident in the case of migrants that entered South Africa from 2000 via the informal trade route corridors set up to supply scarce goods and staple foods to Zimbabwe. Gordon (2010:3) - citing UNHCR statistics notes that more than 3-million Zimbabweans were displaced in the SADC region during the period 2000 to 2008. As a result, in 2009, the South African government invoked a three-month work permit process for Zimbabwean migrants to formalise the large number of them arriving and leaving South Africa. It was also visible in the large number of refugees and asylum seekers that sought refuge in South Africa from the mid-1990s (this is discussed in a section below).

South Africa’s response to increasing immigration

Despite the above, Crush (cited in Gordon, 2010:5) argues that South Africa can be characterised as a “fortress” dedicated to barring the gates against “foreign invaders”.

Gordon (2010:5) argues that this is particularly evident in the new policies that seek to control and regulate the movement of people and labour across the nation's borders; policies that are characterised by "ambiguities, contradictions and confusing doublespeak". Gordon (2010:5-6) suggests that within these processes there is an embedded fear of immigrants and immigration.

Perberdy (2008:147) concurs and argues that "since 1994 immigration policy has been mostly exclusionary, based on a strong national, protectionist and territorial vision". Perberdy (2008:147) observes that "with the exception of refugees and asylum seekers – and since 2002, 'extraordinary skilled immigrants and migrants', the new legislation and regulations have (simply) built higher and stronger barriers for legal immigrants".

Perberdy's above observation should not be read to imply that asylum seekers and refugees have had an easier time in South Africa. Wentzel and Tlabela (2006:81) note that while in 1996 South Africa became a signatory of both the 1951 United Nations Convention on Refugees and the 1969 Organization of African Unity Convention regarding the protection and treatment of asylum seekers and refugees, which led to the South African parliament passing the *Refugees Act (Act No, 135)* in 1998, the lives of refugees and asylum seekers in South Africa remain as constrained and curbed as other immigrants (legal and illegal) or those skilled foreigners who wish to work in South Africa.

Given the above, it is ironic that migration, a key and encouraged effect of global economic social benefit, is regarded as an obstacle to local economic growth and social development at this time. It is evident in the decline in the number of temporary work permits issued and the amount of people granted permanent residency that migration into South Africa has become a particularly vexed issue (Gordon, 2010:8) and has challenged government officials, local employers, and ordinary citizens alike.

Employers, for example, find it difficult to employ people from abroad in formal ways. The knock-on effect of this paradox is that migrants (many with formal qualifications and high levels of expertise) that could contribute to the South African economy have mainly entered the informal economy. Various studies show that the majority of migrant workers find employment in sectors with low security, poor working conditions, low wages and lack of unionisation or labour organisation (Gordon, 2010:8).[15] Such forms of demoralisation

[15] For the current study it was found that a number of the guardians of the African migrant youth participants had high levels of expertise and skills. From questionnaires completed by participants in the study, it was

and mortification[16] are exacerbated by arduous processes of refugee registration and asylum seeker applications. Migrants can only work and stay in South Africa if they regularly apply for temporary work permits and thus have to endure long queues and bureaucratic processes four or five times a year at various department of home affairs (DHA) offices (some spend significantly more of their time applying for such permits). For the majority of applicants that enter South Africa on a refugee status (even though many of them have resided in South Africa for 10-15 years), getting permanent residence is regarded as a near impossibility. One unaccompanied African migrant youth participant who went to a DHA office reflected that:

> I went to Home Affairs at 4am and came back home at 4pm without any papers. It was winter. South Africa showed me the true face of it! I will never forget that day (Olivia's Diary:4).

Violence and migration in South Africa

While asylum seekers and refugees struggle to overcome the challenges and obstacles associated with the official processes attached to their migratory status in South Africa, what has made matters significantly worse is that they encounter on a daily basis significant resistance and conflict from South African residents living in the impoverished areas into which they, as migrants, have entered. This was perhaps best exemplified by the "xenophobic" violence that swept over the South African landscape in 2008. One African migrant youth participant's mother described one such experience in the following way:

> In the morning one Xhosa man came and said that these people should go. As early as six o'clock, we woke up and we heard, 'We don't want these people here, they must go back to their own places. We don't like them.' And my husband had gone to work already and I was in the room with my kids and I was scared but I was watching the TV and seeing what was happening in Johannesburg and I was scared. I was thinking if I could put my kid on my back and run. That's what those other people were doing. I was thinking that maybe they would come in here and kill me. But fortunately enough the police were just moving up and down. When I opened the window, I could see them, as our house was on the main road and I could see them.

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found that many guardians were qualified electricians, statisticians, agricultural scientists, educators, artists and business professionals, yet were employed as security guards, taxi drivers, pastors, waiters or informal traders.

[16] An article in a Cape Town weekly newspaper entitled "*Turning away engineers, while theatre nurses sell mangoes"* characterised in 2009 the treatment meted out to many refugees with key skills as "undignified", noting that "the gates are agape for gangsters, pimps, washerwomen and gardeners. But teachers, nuclear physicists, nurses and engineers are shunned. Those who deserve to be barred are freely allowed to enter South Africa, while those whom we should embrace find the path to legal settlement a minefield" (Weekend Argus, 28 November 2009:27)

> Then I got out and I stopped the police and they said that they could take you to the police station and then they took us to the police station (Frank's mother, Interview 7:1).

According to a report by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) (2008:14), 50 people died in such incidents in 2008, and thousands of migrants were displaced and left homeless and penniless. More disconcertingly, similar violence against African migrants in South Africa resurfaced in November 2009 in De Doorns in the Western Cape, when 2 500 Zimbabwean migrants, working as seasonal farm workers, were chased from the town's informal settlements by local farm workers who "went on the rampage, tearing down homes and accusing the migrants of stealing their jobs (Prince, 2009:1)".

The fear of physical harm is not all the migrants have had to be concerned about. They are also unendingly worried that their hard-earned monies will be taken and their only material possessions destroyed - which would have dire consequences for their very existence and continued sustenance in South Africa. In 2008, such widespread looting and robbery characterised attacks in the main urban settlements of Gauteng and the Western Cape. Below I conceptualise why South Africans seem to regard themselves as "under siege" by African migrants, leading them to act violently as noted above.

A nation under siege

The HSRC (2008:45) notes that due to a range of socio-economic challenges for South Africans living in an environment of abject poverty and poor delivery in the late 2000s, it was inevitable that the "foreign national" would become the nearest "other" against whom a myriad of unresolved social tensions could be expressed (Appadurai, 2006). In engaging "with the agony of the social" (Nuttall 2009:18) and living within a nexus of poverty, unemployment and crime, the competition for access to state resources and available jobs, became particularly onerous and combative in the late 2000s, and was invariably expressed in violent ways.

Appadurai (2006) offers interesting insights into this "darker side of globalisation". He notes that "uncertainty" can lead to extreme anxiety about the relationship of individuals to state resources and can often drive projects like ethnic cleansing in ways that are both "vivisectionist and verifactionist in their procedures" (Appadurai 2006:5). He notes that in the former (vivisectionist), fear of the uncertain is often expressed in the "dismembering of the suspect body and the body under suspicion", while in the latter (verifactionist), doubts about who are the "we", the "they", and the "us" are invariably expressed in media

representations, cultural styles and people movements that lead to particular forms of authority being exerted (Appadurai 2006:47). Appadurai (2006) thus cautions that violence and the fear of violence can "create a deathly form of certainty" and that it can become a cruel way of drawing (immigration) lines between residents and those coming from the outside. He notes that:

> That part of the effort to slow down the whirl of the global and its seeming largeness of reach is by holding it still, and making it small, in the body of the violated minor. Such violence is about trying to get rid of the emergent and the uncertain, one name for which is globalisation (Appadurai 2006:47-48).

Section C below explores the ways in which the key discourses of globalisation and migration (noted above) are expressed in the local terrain and in the schooling and daily lives of the children of African migrants.

SECTION C: LOCALISING THE GLOBAL

Introduction

This section moves to the more personal "globalisation" experience of migrants (in the case of the study African migrant youth) who suffer the sharpened consequences of their (guardians) decisions to move from their home countries within a particular localised environment. The section explores a specific social and schooling space (MVHS) within which to locate observations about the life and school experiences of the children of migrants (African migrant youth), as well as some of the life forms of the immigration line in such spaces.

The purpose of the section is to do what Bourdieu and Wacquant in 1992 professed for researchers, namely to contextualise "the particular backgrounds of the players in the field" and to conceptually engage with the contexts in which they navigate their (migratory) experiences. Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) assert that any understanding of the actions of research participants requires that the contexts in which they operate and their unique historical social and cultural background are always considered. By providing voice and meaning to "the migratory experience" within and in relation to a particular context (a school in Cape Town), the main goal is to show the process that underpins the ways in which some of the local spatial life forms of the children of (African) migrants are lived. In this regard I utilise one of Appadurai's five (land) scapes (discussed in section A) – namely ethnoscapes – to illustrate how local processes mesh with global flows to shape the

experiences of the above noted youth. In doing so I also employ the actual voices (of participants in the study) to articulate and animate the ways in which these processes play themselves out.

The landscape of Mountain View High School

Appadurai (1996) refers to an ethnoscape as the landscape of people that constitute what our current global world is made up of. This section starts by describing the people and the various dynamics that make up the local landscape of the school. I then chart this on the Cape Town terrain in which (African) migrants “paint their canvasses”.

It is notable, first, that since 1994 the main learner inhabitants of the school that lies at the heart of the study have essentially come from the African population, and particularly from those areas defined as living in informal settlements. An educator at the school notes that because MVHS was previously a “whites-only school” under apartheid, African guardians living in the townships believed that after 1994 the institution would provide their children with a better life trajectory than other schools in their immediate vicinities. Large numbers of African learners thus travelled great distances daily to attend the noted school. After 2002, this African population became further augmented by an increasing number of African migrant learners (Mrs Colly, Interview 33:3) who were apparently attracted to the school due its low school fees, the proximity to where many of them (African migrants) lived, and the school’s reputation for accepting African migrant learners. From interviews with one local African migrant youth and one guardian it was noted that:

> The High School is a good school because lots of foreigners are schooling there and so for the first time it is going to be easy there, as you have got a lot of friends you can speak to for the first time and they can teach you what is going on there. It is a little bit easier now for the newcomers (Rose’s uncle, Interview 9:3).
>
> There are also many people from our own belief and religion. There are many Zimbabweans that ask, 'Where do you really come from in your rural area or urban area?' So it’s really good for me (Frank, Interview 6:3).

In 2009, over 90% of the school’s learner population could be described as African, albeit a mixture of South African and foreign nationals.

A further shaping dynamic of the school is that the “ex-white” school was transferred to the House of Representatives in the 1980s (that then oversaw the needs of the coloured population in South Africa under the Tri-cameral Parliament system). This meant that prior to 1994 the school serviced for a number of years the needs of predominantly coloured

learners who lived in adjoining areas. Between 1994 and 2010 this number declined from 30% in 1994 to about 5% in 2010.[17]

The reason for mentioning the above institutional history is that notwithstanding the coloured learner migration away from the school from 1994, the educator cohort of the school remained overwhelmingly coloured as defined under apartheid. All in all, this meant that the make-up of the variety of school populations at MVHS provides a particularly challenging and interesting dynamic of the ways in which the ethnoscape is framed in the above noted localised setting.

Secondly, in terms of their socio-economic background, the majority of African and coloured learners at the local school can be described as poor and largely indigent. Educators at the local school note that the majority of learners at the school live in the poorer areas of Cape Town and come from predominantly working-class homes where their guardians earn low incomes and have low levels of education (Mrs Colly, Interview 33:3; Mrs Daniels, Interview 39:4-5; Mr Safradien, Interview 34:2).

In that regard, the socio-economic status of African migrant learners at the school does not differ much from their South African counterparts. However, herein lies an interesting dynamic, namely that for many African migrant learners their current circumstances are often significantly different to those they experienced in their home environments. One African migrant learner noted that, “In Zimbabwe I slept in my own bedroom because our house was big [and] we had four bedrooms. Here in South Africa all four of our family members stay in one small flat” (Godwill’s Diary:2).

Such housing arrangements are unlikely to change, as the nature of the immigration line in South Africa and the legal status of African migrants (discussed in Section B) is such that job prospects for them will continue to be poor and social mobility unlikely. From interviews with the 20 African migrant youth in the study, it was found that the average African migrant family lives in either a two-bedroomed flat catering for between six to eight people, or they all live in one bedroom of a family member or friend. Invariably, African migrant families reside in urban spaces or suburbs and tend to avoid staying in possibly cheaper

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[17] Information gained from school documents.

accommodation in informal settlements due mainly to the dangers and discrimination they experience there. Most African migrant families in Cape Town tend to live in areas such as Muizenberg, Wynberg, Parow, Salt River, Woodstock, Brooklyn and Bellville that have large migrant populations.

A further paradoxical dynamic with regard to the socio-economic status of the African migrant families interviewed in this study is that they are forced to live in low socio-economic areas even though most of the guardians of African migrant learners have been educated beyond grade 12, many of them are professionally qualified and few of them are currently unemployed[18]. Given their challenging life circumstances, many guardians noted that they were willing to do any form of work in order to bring money and food into their homes. One African migrant learner described the situation in the following way:

> We work, even though these jobs foreigners get is not compared to his qualifications. That's why I don't understand why African South Africans hate other African foreigners. For what? For us taking the security jobs? Is this a job for someone who is really educated? I don't think so and they shouldn't think so, because security jobs isn't for human beings who have potential. Foreigners work as parking guards because we don't have - to expect in order to survive in this world, especially in South Africa, without jobs you'll be homeless and we as foreigners we wouldn't let that happen to us. As for South Africans, they should do so, instead of being lazy or trying to kill us (Husseni's Diary:35).

Crucially, because the majority of South African and African migrant families are struggling, this invariably means that they cannot afford to pay school fees or invest in any form of extra capital either in the local school or in extra classes for their children. Conditions at the school are described as being so dire that an educator claimed that "there is little difference between this school and many of the schools in informal settlements from where most of our learners come. We struggle as much with dilapidated buildings, lack of textbooks and no money to run the school or support extra-curricular activities. The only difference I suppose is the urban location and ex-white status of the school (Mr Safradien, Interview 34:2)".

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[18] This information was derived from the school database

It is ironic that in 2009 the school was categorised by provincial authorities as a quintile 4 school[19] based on (it would seem) its urban location and its previous status as an ex-white school.[20]

A final aspect of the ethnoscape (population and physical landscape) of the study concerns the isolated location of the school. Three key points need highlighting. One, given that the majority of learners travel great distances to get to school every day, large numbers of learners arrive late at school. This has huge disciplinary and timetabling implications for the school (Mrs Huysamer, Interview 42:3). Two, guardians invariably do not attend school meetings or activities nor are they involved in the running of the school. This has implications for quorums being satisfied at school governing body meetings and for extra-curricular activities being arranged and attended (Mrs Huysamer, Interview 42:4-5). Three, given that learners have to travel great distances home they cannot stay after school for extra-curricular activities, extra learning support or even detention. This ensures, according to one educator, that the school has "no heart" to drive it (Mr Merel, Interview 38:2).

The above characteristics of the ethnoscape engage in distinctive ways at MVHS. In the section below I explore the different ways in which a variety of ethnoscapes collide and shape the various kinds of learner experiences and interactions at the local school.

The colliding landscapes of African migrant and South African youth

Section B showed that a key consequence of globalisation and consequent migration in the 21st Century has been the destabilising effect it has often had on both the sending and receiving locations. As migrants move from their home countries, they take with them not only their labour power and limited capital, but also their key skills, knowledge and expertise - which they then supposedly offer to their new hosts. More importantly for this study, migrants also carry with them their anxieties, concerns and dreams. In this regard, migrants often interact with inhabitants of receiving countries not only in physical ways (greetings, conversation and through trade) but in ways that reveal particular dispositions

[19] Schools in South Africa are graded in quintiles - with quintile 1 being the poorest and quintile 5 the wealthiest (Attwell, 2009)

[20] As it was closed for a number of years and then reopened, it was never classified as a Model C school.

and approaches to life. This section draws out four themes to highlight these non-physical interactions that come with global flows to show some of the transient effects of the global-local interchange. These relate to some of the costs of the breakdown of the nation state in Africa and the individualising dynamic of subsequent migrations, the impact of war and hardship on the lives of individuals, some of the institutional after-effects of decolonisation and the position of the predominant "fortress mentality" of receiving countries in the thoughts of some African migrant youth.

I suggest that in mediating their "new spaces", migrants interact with inhabitants of receiving countries in ways that seem to reveal particular dispositions. These are manifested by their children (African migrant youth) in the non-visible temperaments and hesitations that they often take with them into the local school (that mostly come from their individual socio-historical backgrounds), the ways in which they engage with their schooling (what I refer to as their cultures of learning and discipline) and the fears, anxieties and feelings of mistrust that animate their actions and responses within the school.

Individualisation and the past socio-historical experiences of African migrant youth

Under globalisation, a deepening and widening inequality in income and opportunity within and between nations across the world alongside a dramatic increase in the number of people experiencing poverty and hardship has led to many people migrating in search of greener pastures or simply for survival. Bauman (1998:2) notes in this regard that while immobility is currently not a realistic option in the face of such challenges, the freedom to move remains both "a scarce and unequally distributed commodity". This essentially means that only some can migrate, with the rest continuing to be fixed to their localities. "It is a predicament", notes Bauman (1998:2), that "is neither pleasurable nor endurable in a world in which the 'globals' set the tone and compose the rules of the life-game".

Cross et al. (2006:6) suggest that in such a situation it is often only the "middle poor" that have some of the monies and networks (barely) needed to move. These "middle poor" are invariably educated up to a certain point, have some social capital that they are able to barter with and have key attributes like drive and resilience to assist them as they traverse across treacherous migratory terrains. Cross et al. (2006:6) caution however that such

migrating communities (and individuals within them) are also extremely fragile and, as Cassity and Gow (2005:50) note, often live on the very periphery of financial, social and psychological safety

With the African migrant youth at MVHS in Cape Town, there can be little doubt that many of the youth enter the school locales with a variety of past psychological, sociological and educational experiences. One of the participant youth in Cassity and Gow's (2005:51) article asserts in this regard that ''It (would be) difficult to concentrate on studies when your mind is not at peace and filled with bad memories. You need peace in your heart before you can study".

Similarly, one of the participants in this study, Paul, from the DRC, noted for example that the death and loss of his guardians at age nine had had an enormous impact on his approach to his impending challenges, especially when he left his home country. "It used to affect my school work a lot," observed Paul, "and I could not focus on my school work. But it is better now since I accepted Jesus into my life (Interview 19:2)".

Another participant from the DRC, Patrice, questioned the decision by his father to call for him to join him in South Africa in the light of his (new) stepmother mistreating him. "It makes me feel really sad and bad and I start thinking of my mother and her no longer being there for me. Why did I come here only to meet an obstacle like this? (Interview 20:3)".

Orphans Agnes and Dorothy, from Kigali, spoke about their hardships in coming to South Africa and the tight constraints of living (a form of imprisonment) with their uncle and aunt. Having to constantly show their gratefulness for their care, Agnes and Dorothy are apparently expected to do all the housework in a home of 10 people, which leaves little time for homework or even further classes over weekends (Interview 45:1). A last example, Philippe, also from the DRC, spent seven years in a variety of refugee camps in Tanzania, Malawi, and Mozambique before coming to South Africa. This affected the level and amount of education he received at vital stages of his learning process (See Wilkinson 2002; Cassity & Gow 2005). Philippe noted that:

> I started (school in South Africa) when I was 13 and my first year was in grade 4. I was not like a normal child that starts in grade R or grade 1 and is taught there how to read and write. That's why I have a difficulty with my education. Because if I had to start school at grade R or 1 and to get those methods how to read and write, I would be almost finished with my schooling now (Interview 17:2).

A further issue that affected the approaches and psyches of a large number of the African migrant youth participants when they arrived in South Africa was their inability to speak English. In a group discussion, Jean-Paul described this experience in the following way:

> The first time that I had to step into a South African school, my English was not very good and there were a lot of obstacles that I had to face. Besides jumping the fence to come to South Africa, that was one of the hardest things I had to go through (Group discussion 3:1).

The examples above illustrate that the act of moving is not simply about physical mobility but also involves a form of emotional translocation. In that regard, they indicate some of the internal turmoil and apprehension that the various youth carry with them into the school and into their social contexts. In the next subsection I explore some of the physical encounters that some of the African migrant youth experienced in their interchange with local terrains.

Daily encounters with trauma and abuse

Both South African and African migrant learners live within very challenging social circumstances in their various communities in Cape Town. Most of them are daily victims of violence and abuse and have to negotiate terrains in which alcohol, drug abuse and gangsterism is clearly visible. Inevitably, youth carry these daily experiences or encounters into the school and into the ways they make sense of the everyday. Jonatha explained:

> Daily, being a foreigner in South Africa, I have to be brave, like when I am taking a train and going to a shop. I don't know if someone has something like bravery capsules, because we have to take them every morning, especially if you are not from South Africa (Group discussion 3:4).

Philippe noted that in the townships he was always aware wherever he went that "anything can happen to you anytime anywhere" (Interview 17:2). In this regard, his close friend, Jean-Paul, shared the rap song below that he wrote about his "hood" experiences (Rap song 1:1).

> Yo niggas wane sell
> Yo niggas wane stash
> Nigga before you know it
> The window is rolling down
> The AK rolling out
> Niggas get sprayed
> Yo think it a joke
> Nigga try my hood
> Nigga if you ain't the real style my nigga
> You won't last a day in my hood

> Niggas get shot at each and every minute
> But niggas never quit it
> We try na get that paper
> Niggas we aint stopping (come on)

Notably, not all youth can handle the "streets" or have the necessary know-how to negotiate their ways to school. John (Interview 28:4) told me, crying:

> I don't know what to do, mam. When the teachers ask me something in class, I can't answer. My mind is just blank. It's too stressful at home. I can't work. I live in a shack and there is always noise. I can't learn. I tried to go to the library once but there was this guy on the way who jumped me and wanted to stab me. I ran (long silence). So now I don't go out. Even on the weekend I stay inside. In Zimbabwe it was nice. I had friends and we used to play, but now I am afraid.

Alongside many of these dangers that are a reality for most youth in South Africa and invariably cause them to arrive at school traumatised and unable to concentrate, African migrant youth also struggle with "anti-foreigner" sentiments and abuse on a daily basis. Orellia and Claudene relate that they were often physically assaulted on the train on the way to school "because they were foreigners". This led to many African migrant youth travelling together and leaving school in groups - looking for safety in numbers. Moreover, such abuse was not confined to the outskirts of school. Godwill explained how fellow South African learners attacked him close to school for speaking in Shona:

> I was on my way from school to the train station. There were some South African learners from school walking in front of us. We were talking in Shona with my sister and they thought we were talking about them, so they threw sand at us. I don't like that day, because they made my sister cry (Godwill's Diary:7).

Implications for the school

The above highlights the level of social dysfunction that impacts on a daily basis on the lives and experiences of youth. Learners bring with them into school much trauma, broken education, social anxiety and deep grief that both they and those they interact with have to constantly negotiate. This is not helped by conditions within the school, such as overcrowded classrooms, low levels of learning, physical infrastructures breaking down or the constant other physical and emotional challenges within the school perimeters. While educators may want to assist many of the learners to deal with the traumas they experience on a daily basis, they are neither social workers nor psychologists and do not have the necessary expertise to be able to help in meaningful ways. This often leads to learners carrying around much of their turmoil and disquiet. I argue that this is an integral part of their everyday ethnoscape (In Chapter Five, I further examine how learners call

upon a variety of coping and meaning-making mechanisms to make sense of their experiences.)

In the section below I explore the viewpoints of African migrant learners about schooling and learning at MVHS. I tease out issues that they regard as important to their everyday experience and to what extent this is informed by their migratory experience.

Cultures of learning

An educator at MVHS, Mr Safradien, noted in an interview that "most foreign learners are better academic achievers than the South African learners we have here". He explained that "in all the time that I have been teaching, they (foreign learners) have been slotted in at the top of the learners in my class. This is so because they have a good control over themselves in terms of their behaviour and attitude and willingness to do things and progress. They have their sights set on achievement" (Interview 34:5-6).

This insight not only indicates the positioning of many African migrant youth within the school, but also highlights two key issues that seem to inform daily interactions between African migrant youth and South African youth at the school, namely perceptions of learning cultures and discipline and respect.

Many African migrant learners related in their respective interviews their disquiet and disdain about what they perceived as South African learner laziness and lack of drive, as well as how ill-disciplined they felt South African learners were. This sentiment is best characterised by Cara, who claimed that:

> MVHS is a very nice school as well as [having nice] teachers. It's just the children. The one problem that I see with the school is the children as most of them come from the townships. There is nothing wrong with that, but their attitude towards their school work is very low. They don't have that high spirit of motivating each other. Unlike in Jo'burg where I was at school, you would hear a child saying in class, 'I am going to beat you.' And when you hear those kinds of words, you say, 'No! I am going to do better.' Unlike here if you say that they will say, 'Who are you trying to show off in front of?' When they fail, they find it funny and I don't see what's funny about that. Like if you have 1 out of 100 they find it funny and make jokes (Interview 18:3-4).

Frank (Interview 6:4) further noted that:

> I think all foreigners have the upper hand on the South Africans. But some of them are just like the South Africans and not good. But most of them are good. I can just say that foreigners have a better education than the South Africans. It's because we work harder than South Africans. They come with their cell phones to school and they play music and it is affects their education.

Yet, Frank noted, it was “not good to remind people about this at the school”. He observed that because “South African learners were jealous about African migrant learners doing well academically”, that he and his fellow migrant friends “had learnt to keep quiet and mind our own business. Nobody in our class will show each other their report. So we don’t show them our reports and then they won’t know anything about it” (Interview 6:5).

This situation causes significant angst and apprehension amongst learners as it is further informed by a belief among African migrant learners that the standard of education in South Africa is significantly lower than that in their home countries. Husseni noted in his interview that:

> Lots of people who come from North Africa are very clever and smart. They study hard and they study lots of things before and when they come here its easy. They see stuff they have seen before. They have already seen the stuff in primary school here in high school and so it’s a repeat. So, foreigners are very clever. It is easier, easier (Interview 21:4).

Discipline and respect

Mr Safradien (Interview 34:5) claimed in his interview that “foreign learners are more in control of their behaviour” and that “they know their place and what they are here for, and they are towing the line”.

> I have never had a disciplinary problem with a foreign learner. There are problems with them here and there but in general I am happy with (such) children who come to this school (Interview 34:5).

Indeed, all African migrant learner participants in the study expressed concern about the quite different learning environment that they encountered at the school, especially when compared to their experiences of classrooms in their home countries. Many of the youth expressed shock at the lack of respect South African learners have for educators, whom they say would be regarded and treated as their guardians in their home countries. Godwill wrote in his diary:

> When I first got to school I was shocked to see school children smoke and the way they were answering the teachers. I was so shocked that I can’t even put how I felt into words (Godwill’s Diary:5).

The African migrant youths' supposedly “better behaviour” was not however wholly attributed to their personal attitudes to their educators (treating them as elders and parents). In this regard, participant youth noted that the overall discipline of their educators in their home countries was much harsher and stricter than that of educators at MVHS.

This previous experience of harsh levels of punishment seemed to be clearly marked in their memory and attitudes. Olivia exclaimed for example that “whereas at the school detention is used to punish late comers, in the DRC when you come late they say, “You are late! You have to clean the toilet! And then you have to clean the whole school” (Interview 2:7).

Philippe (Interview 17:4) was careful not to necessarily call for harsher disciplinary structures, but he did complain that undisciplined environments made learning that much more difficult:

> Learning in this school is quite difficult because in class there is a lot of noise going on and I can’t be that focused you understand. Because I am a slow learner and I started late, I have to hear everything when the teacher is explaining.

Many participants in the study asserted that this uneasiness about levels of discipline in the classroom and how to best regulate the class space affected the ways in which all learners interacted. This dread of the chaotic nature of indiscipline was often expressed in a fear of “becoming more South African”.

Animating mistrust and fear

Numerous international studies discuss the tense social relationship between migrant children and children of the host society into which they migrate (See Steinbach, 2010; Devine, 2009; Faas, 2008 and Wilkinson, 2005). Yet, different youth mediate this in quite different ways. Olivia (Interview 1:1) seemed to avoid thinking about the tension and tended to deflect this anxiety to schooling situations where things are worse. Olivia noted:

> Well. MVHS I think is a good school, hey. Because there is so much of racism, 'Oh you are a foreigner, don’t talk to me, blah blah!' We are cool now at school. There are some schools – wow! I know where it is not easy if you are a foreigner at the school.

Philippe, on the other hand, complained bitterly about how uneasy South African youth made him feel. He observed that:

> You do get those learners who treat you badly and call you names. I don’t know what’s wrong with the learners here really. I will be doing my own thing, minding my own business, and they will just start talking things about you and saying things sometimes. And I ask myself, what did I do wrong? I am sitting at my desk, trying to do my work and they start to talk about you. I don’t really understand what’s going on (Interview 17:7).

Although the above tension between the African migrant and South African learners rarely played itself out in physical confrontation, participant youth reflected that such attitudes led to deep mistrust and suspicion and kept the various youth groupings from active

interchange. Rose asserted that “people are not talking to each other at break and they are not mixed. Xhosas are talking in their part of school, Afrikaans [speakers] in their part and foreigners in their part” (Interview 8:7).

At the group discussion about the MVHS Winter Mini Festival, some fascinating comments emerged on the reasons for segregation and mistrust between the South African and African migrant learners. Cara begins the discussion:

> Cara: This is the problem with the foreigners. You guys just stick with the foreigners. But if I have a problem, it does not mean that I can only run to a foreigner. I can also go to a South African. Most of the time, when you are hanging in groups, 100% of your group is foreign. (Pointing at them)
>
> The boys: No, no, no...
>
> Cara: Who in your group is South African?
>
> Philippe: The guys I hang around with are my childhood friends. This guy is a Xhosa (points to Emmanuel, who has Burundian parents, but was born here). But I do have South African friends, but on the other side I don’t want to hang out with them, because you never know what they will do...
>
> Cara: You see what I mean?
>
> Philippe: You cannot trust them. You can play with a lion, and be friends with a lion, but one day that lion can eat you.
>
> Cara: Would a foreigner not do the same to you?
>
> Philippe: They may, but there would come a point that you would forgive each other.
>
> Cara: Why can’t you trust a South African?
>
> Philippe: Let’s cut to the chase. There will never be a thing where South Africans and non South Africans will be like this. (He knocks his hands together).
>
> Jonatha: The thing about one love. I do not see it existing. They say that apartheid is over, but the segregation is over in the sense that you don’t see it in the media anymore, but it is still alive (Group Discussion 4:9-10).

This extract highlights a number of issues surrounding segregation and mistrust that will be further explored in Chapter Five, for example, the youth not integrating due to their cultural and class differences. In Section C here, the main point being made is that the interchange between global and local is a deeply subjective one and is often framed by the myriad issues (within the ethnoscape) that youth encounter in local environments. Crucially, the above extract shows how the African migrant youth live unique migratory experiences endemic to migrating to a developing country, as opposed to a developed country like Canada. Indeed, many international studies (See Steinbach, 2010; Devine,

2009 & Dlamini and Anucha, 2009) note that a favoured response among migrating youth is to assimilate into the "better" host society culture as a way of mitigating the challenges with which they are often faced. In South Africa, this evidently seems far more difficult to manage given that migrating communities are often uncertain about which cultures they are meant to assimilate into and if they want to assimilate into them at all.

The above discussion about the festival later turned to the topic of language. Mentioned often in the discussion and in other participant youth interviews is that language is a crucial reason for the segregation and animosity between South African and African migrant learners and one of the factors that influences migrants' non assimilation into South African society. Phillippe's observation below is particularly applicable here:

> English is an international language, yes and we should all speak it. But the thing is, in order for the foreigners to be in the same league as the citizens, you need to speak Xhosa. If you speak English to the citizens, he or she is going to know that these guys are foreign. So, what's the use of learning English? (Group Discussion 4:12).

In South Africa, English as a first language enjoys a particular standing and represents particular challenges for all learners at MVHS. Yet, the predominant home and social environments in which African migrant learners move through daily require them to learn the "main indigenous language" as a way of integrating and surviving. This uncertainty is compounded at MVHS by both African migrant learners and South African learners struggling to negotiate these critical language dilemmas. Jean-Paul (Group Discussion 4:12) points out that "English is a foreign language not only to the foreigner, but also to South Africans" (90% of the school speak English as a second or third language), which leads to there not being a common language that learners can speak to each other with. An educator, Mr Botholomeuw (Interview 40:2), described the challenge in the following way:

> Our number one challenge at the school is the language. We used to have English and Afrikaans as mediums of instruction. Now we only have English as a medium of instruction and the learners that arrived here, even our local learners, they can't speak English. They don't have an idea of the English, so we struggle with that and then we have the foreigners. Some of the foreigners, they are extremely good, but then we do get the other foreigners that don't have English as a mother tongue or as an additional language and we struggle with that. And because of the language, there was a lack of communication and because of lack of communication, there is misunderstanding and it could lead to conflict.

This problem is manifested in the classroom with various learners speaking their various home languages and leads to further suspicion as learners often are not sure whether fellow learners are perhaps mocking them" (Orellia, Interview 10:5).

It then gets further exacerbated in the teaching that occurs since both educators and learners constantly code-switch between English, Afrikaans and isiXhosa. Orellia explains:

> Caroline: And what language do the teachers speak in the classroom?
>
> Orellia: If she is a coloured, she will speak Afrikaans with the learners. And if she is a Xhosa, she will speak Xhosa with the learners, especially LO (life orientation). The problem with that teacher is that she will only give the class in Xhosa and then she will only speak to the South African learners.
>
> Caroline: So does this happen a lot in other classes too?
>
> Orellia: Ja, since last year! Only Miss Daniels and Mr Botholomeuw spoke English in the class. I feel bad about it, as even when they are writing in the board, they are speaking Xhosa or Afrikaans. I sleep, I don't write because I don't understand what they are saying and I have to understand what she is saying before I write. She will explain in English, then Xhosa and then Afrikaans and I don't understand anything. I am a bit confused! And so I decide that I am not going to write and then I sleep (Interview 10:8).

In many cases isiXhosa and Afrikaans-speaking learners want isiXhosa and Afrikaans speaking educators to teach them in isiXhosa or Afrikaans respectively, a request to which many educators often accede and it makes life simpler for them. Orellia notes that when African migrant learners complain in such situations, other learners would respond with "Hey voetsek, you kwerekwere[21] (Orellia, Interview 10:8)". Jean-Paul explains:

> The thing about the languages and why people don't want to interact with a language such as in English is that you see you get a group of people - Xhosas, foreigner and coloured - and now it's like a competition. One person will want to show the other that they can speak a better English than him. So he will end up offending them in some sort of way. There will be some people and he will want to show that he can speak English and he will come with big words that you need a dictionary to understand. And he does not even know how to use it! (Everyone laughs) So, language is some kind of competition, you see (Group Discussion 4:12).

A further discussion about the role of languages and the (immigration) lines they draw on the landscape of the local school (MVHS) is further explored in Chapter Five.

Conclusion

Outlined in Section A and B of Chapter Four, is the fact that due to shifting global and national trends, more and more people, like the African migrant youth, are on the move in today's world. The chapter then outlined how arriving in a new local and national space, like South Africa, they then have to deal with various physical immigration lines and construct their realities.

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[21] "Amakwerekwere" is a derogatory term used by some South Africans to refer to "foreigners". It means, "those who speak in a unintelligible language".

Section C of this chapter has mapped the local environment in which the African migrant youth attend school on a daily basis and construct their realities. It provided a socioeconomic description of the school and the learners who attend the school.

Some of the African migrant learners' experiences within this space are similar to those faced by other migrant learners around the world. What emerges from this chapter, however, are the unique experiences and challenges that migrant learners face attending school as a migrant in a developing country such as South Africa. Importantly this chapter forms the foundation for the discussions in the following Chapter Five on how the African migrant youth navigate their way through their schooling experiences.

CHAPTER FIVE: NAVIGATING THE INWARD DIMENSIONS OF THE MIGRATORY EXPERIENCE

Introduction

This chapter focuses on the *inward* dimension of the human migratory experience at the global-local interchange and explores the ordeals and challenges that confronted 20 African migrant participants (in the study) as they moved across time and space. In particular, it highlights how the youth, through processes of identification and differentiation, form senses of "self" and "place" for themselves. I then identify the vehicles of capital that they use to do so.

For individuals like Jonatha, introduced in the first chapter, travelling through various African countries over a period of six years left him visibly traumatised by the complete physical and emotional dislocation that he had to undergo to find "a new home". He was further challenged not only by the context into which he moved, but also by crucial decisions that he (and his family) took to navigate his experiences and subsequent life.

Hall (1997b:52) recounts similar feelings of alienation when he first moved from Jamaica to England in the 1960s and highlights how this led to "the moment of the rediscovery of the search for roots". Hall observes that individuals that are blocked out and refused opportunities to develop separate identities or forms of identification within a majority nation, take up particular positions and stands anyway.

Bauman (1998) notes in this regard that "moving" involves a form of physical relocation from the "near" to the "far" as well as deep psychological and emotional translocations that shape how people (that move) experience their new environments. Bauman (1998:14) notes that:

> 'Near', close to hand, is primarily what is usual, familiar and known to the point of obviousness. Near is a space inside which one can feel at home; a space in which one seldom finds oneself at a loss, feels lost for words or uncertain how to act. 'Far away' on the other hand, is a space which one enters occasionally, if not at all, in which things happen which one cannot anticipate or comprehend, and would not know how to react to once they occur: a space containing things one knows little about...To find oneself in a 'far-away' space is an unnerving experience; 'venturing far away' means being beyond one's ken, out of place, inviting trouble and fearing harm.

Another study participant, Godwill, explained that "moving to South Africa has [had] its ups and downs. I had to get used to lots of changes, like seeing my mother pay rent and the learners disrespect the teachers. It has been difficult to get used to living where you can't

do anything. I find that if I mind my own business this will all be easy, but at times it's not that easy. I miss home and this bothers my learning. A wise man once said: there is no place like home" (Godwill's Diary:7). When pressed to further describe life in South Africa, the 14-year old Zimbabwean noted:

> Sometimes I am happy and sometimes I am not. In Zim I have lots of friends and I can go lots of places on my own. But here I have got limits. I can't go play soccer outside. I can't even go play soccer at the beach because my mom is scared that I might get stabbed or shot. Freedom here is limited (Interview 32:2).

From the above it is evident that Godwill struggles in his strange environment and that it has unnerved and displaced him to the extent that key aspects of his previous life have been questioned. I argue that to survive in such a new space, Godwill has learnt how to negotiate and navigate it in particular ways. My thesis suggests that "home" for individuals like Godwill represents more than just "a dwelling in another land" but rather a key vehicle through which life is actively lived. I argue that by compressing "time and space" (Harvey, 1996) African migrant youth construct identities that cut across fixed "notions of belonging" (Dwyer cited in Erhkamp, 2005:347) to inhabit a "third space" (Bhabha cited in Rutherford, 1990:211) within which different aspects of their new and old selves converge. Considering this Masade (2007:95) notes:

> ...nowhere is the juggling of identities more apparent than in the mind of the traveller, the exile or the migrant. Mixing and matching ideas and practices from different cultures, combining and recombining identities to suit whichever environment they find themselves in, becomes the reality of life.

This chapter further expands on these personal aspects of the migratory experience, specifically on how it informs and shapes the schooling and learning experience of the African migrant youth. The chapter is divided into two sections that discuss in different ways how the 20 African migrant youth in the study agentially and resiliently navigate their way through life and their schooling experiences. They do this, I argue, by constructing for themselves what I call vehicles of navigation that intentionally or unintentionally draw on or leave out certain aspects of their past, present and future selves, available capitals and capacities of aspiration and imagination.

Section A begins by discussing how youth depict aspects of their previous lives to form an "imaginary homeland" in relation to which they apply their imaginations and aspirations. I then explore the various processes of identification that they engage with in settling on new identity forms.

Section B argues that individuals mobilise particular cultural and social capitals as part of their navigations through their experiences and their identity forming processes. I discuss how the individual "vehicles" of the 20 youth at school and home are fuelled by aspects of cultural capital (for example, in the form of learning culture and collective memory) social capital (in the form of the community, religion, family and friends) and, lastly, aspirational capital (in the form of dreams and resilience).

Section A: Navigating the identity formation process

Creating "imaginary homelands"

It is evident from discussions with the 20 participants in the study, as well as with many of their guardians, that despite experiencing immense hardship in building new lives in South Africa and having to accept their location at the very periphery of society, that they would still choose to live in South Africa rather than return "home". However, by staying in a host country where they don't feel welcome, they invariably take up in-between, trans-local spaces that allow them to keep strong links to, and retain nostalgic feelings about, their home countries whilst engaging with processes of living new lives in different contexts. Salman Rushdie has described such a trans-local space as that of an "imaginary homeland". He notes that:

> It may be that writers in my position, exiles or emigrants or expatriates, are haunted by some sense of loss, some urge to reclaim, to look back, even at the risk of being mutated into pillars of salt. But if we look back, we must also do so in the knowledge - which gives rise to profound uncertainties – that our physical alienation from India almost inevitably means that we will not be capable of reclaiming precisely the thing that we lost; that we will, in short, create fictions, not actual cities or villages, but invisible ones, imaginary homelands, Indias of the mind (Rushdie 1991:1).

Dlamini and Anucha (2009:239) argue that the purpose of allegorically "returning to the homeland" in the creation of transnational identities is not simply a recollection and transposition of the homeland, its histories and ways of being and doing. Rather, it is about how to construct ways of becoming part of a diaspora, defined by the national boundaries and accepted local practices of the new spaces, yet framed in relation to (imagined) homelands. Thus, individuals that move often engage with identity formation processes, according to suggested categories of race, class, ethnicity and notions of home, in their new locations, whilst "haunted by some urge to reclaim what they have lost through moving". Identities accordingly come into being both from a "distancing" from the "near"

and the self-assertion of the “far” (Dlamini & Anucha, 2009:239). I note that migrants invariably draw on these memories, alongside capacities for imagination and aspiration, to create imaginary homelands, which propel their vehicles of navigation along respective “desire lines” (Shepherd & Murray, 2007:1).

Selecting memories

> They say that education is the great engine to personal development. It’s through education that the daughter of the peasant can become a doctor; that the son of a miner can become the head of a mine; that the child of a farmer can become the president of a great nation. It is what we make of what we have, not what we are given, that separates one person from another (Frank’s Diary:10).

When engaging with what Frank and the other migrant youth make of what “they have” to cope with their present and to propel themselves forward along their life paths, a key challenge was how to work with their memories and to capture the “authentic” essence of what they were trying to convey.

From their research in Canada, Dlamini and Anucha (2009:253) found that participants invariably represent memories of “home” in overly nostalgic ways despite having being displaced due to quite devastating reasons, e.g. war, genocide, extreme poverty. They note that the birthplaces of participants often represented “an idealized womb of nurturance and safety” (Massaquoi, 2004:143) in relation to which they tried to create or reclaim fictions of what was. Similarly, Massaquoi (2004:141), herself an African migrant reflecting on her personal experience of living in diaspora in Canada, notes that “for many of us our identity is based on a longing for the imagined home, the one that no longer exists, that many of us were too young to remember, that we have infrequently visited and the one which became frozen in time and romanticized at the moment of arrival”.

Massaquoi (2004:142) further suggests that:

> Due to physical distance we are often removed from the natural evolution of our countries of origin – the culture, the countries interplay with development and modernity – making it impossible to maintain cultural authenticity in the new home where we are now located. What we develop is cultural hybridity which is a combination of the frozen recollections of the home we left behind and our interactions with the one within which we currently exist.

Creating “imaginary homelands” however are as much attempts by migrants to secure safe places or realities at an uncertain time in their lives as it is about remembering things in particular (nostalgic) ways to steer their lives. I allude to how many of the participants in my study, for example, spoke about the food that they used to eat back home. They did so

in ways where the smells they described "seemed to still linger in the air". Many also reflected in their diaries about how their guardians had chosen where to live based on the number of other migrants living in the area, on the kinds of shops that offered food and other accessories that reminded them of "home"[22], or according to the location of churches that were frequented by migrant populations. "Imagining home" thus often involved activities that made them feel like they were "at home".

Notwithstanding the above, a key challenge in the study when engaging with youth about their "home memories" was that many of their preferred recollections often also erased "vestiges of the home". Agnes noted for example:

> If I keep remembering my past, I will end up crazy and stress too and this will affect my studies and I wouldn't like something like that. I need to learn more about my future, so why remember my past? (Agnes' Diary:23)

Orellia also lamented that:

> It was a good life but sad, my father was killed, but today that life is in the past. Today is different, very different. Sometimes when I think of the past and the present, I say you have to forget the past and prepare for our future. What is the point of the past if it keeps you there? (Interview 10:3)

Indeed, what the above extracts challenge is how memory and recollection of "home and belonging" gets conceptualised. In that respect, I assert that "memories of home" should be understood relationally to notions of ethnicity or race, or better social or housing contexts or conditions, or experiences of poverty. I suggest that individuals in such cases remember in ways that allow them to move forward, and to make the new spaces that they inhabit work for them. Landau (2009:206) refers to this process of "recollection" and "moving" within new spaces (especially cities) as ways of "stepping into the global imaginary". I assert that the African migrant youth in my study use the city in particular ways and through the process of moving in the city frame for themselves a particular global imaginary.

[22]When I visited Olivia for an interview at her home one day I asked her what kinds of food she cooked. Olivia walked to the fridge and pulled out a quite different looking frozen fish (by its tail) and proudly remarked that she had bought it at one of the five local Congolese shops in the area.

Living in "the global imaginary"

Living in the global imaginary involves two processes. In the first place, the act of moving to another country itself includes individuals in a global activity; one which joins them with others from around the world in living a dream of "possibility". In this regard, they climb the first stepping stones toward the realisation of their aspirations by accessing and moving into new spaces. Secondly, individuals that move from one country to another often see themselves as becoming part of one global "imagined" community, whether that be through the various diasporas (in this case, African), neo-national migrant communities or the neo-tribes that emerge via alternative forms of popular culture (Landau, 2009:7). In the subsections below, I highlight the imagined possibilities that the loosening of "individual fixity" (Appadurai, 1996; Rapport & Dawson, 1998) seemingly offers those that move.

Movements of desire

Interactions with the African migrant youth in the study, revealed how they and their families had always dreamed of migrating to South Africa because it was seen as a land of possibility. When they arrived in South Africa, they were filled with amazement. Claudene and Paul wrote in their diaries:

> When my mother told me we were going to South Africa, I was in cloud nine. I had heard of this great place. When we arrived, I saw many different kinds of thing that I had never seen in my whole life, like skyscrapers, big shops with clothes. I can remember that day was very cold, like overseas (Claudene's Diary:10).

> When I arrived I was very impressed with the South African constructions. It was just great to see these amazing tall buildings I had seen on TV. To see it live I felt like I wasn't anymore in Africa. I felt like I was in London (Paul's Diary:10-11).

Claudene and Paul lamented however that their "movements of desire" had been short-lived in South Africa and that their families had not encountered the "imagined idyllic shade of life", but rather "a dull shade of hardship" (Landau, 2009:206). This has led to each of their families seeking to move on in the further search of a better life. Claudene's family is in the process of being moved to Australia by the UNHCR, as they were victims of the 2008 "xenophobic" attacks in Cape Town. On the other hand, Paul claimed that his family "desired" moving elsewhere (like North America) when he has finished his education, as "life is simply too hard here in South Africa" (Paul's questionnaire:1).

Most migrants that enter South Africa though have no option but to stay. I argue that they deal with the reality of staying in South Africa by "living in this global imaginary" whereby

they desire beyond their tangible realities to realise their aspirations in the thickness" of difficult social lives and landscapes (Appadurai, 2004:67; Fataar, 2009:3). For such individuals, getting a good education and learning to speak English are seen as achievable goals that will, hopefully, open doors to future possibilities. Rose wrote in her diary:

> Being through poverty, like comparing my home country to South Africa, influences my thoughts and my learning. South Africans are careless layabouts and they just want to get life easily. They don't see what's in their hands. This helps me work harder than ever – that one day I will bring change in my country. But I still have a lot to learn and discover. Most of the things I need to build my country is at the university here in South Africa (Rose's Diary:20).

Claiming membership to the African Diaspora

The problem for many African migrant youth, like Rose, that seek to attend university in South Africa is that their migrant status positions them within South African society in very particular ways[23]. Having left their home countries with little likelihood of return, they enter a social space that often apathetically turns them away. This highlights two key issues, namely how they respond in such cases, and the implications of the indifference with which African migrants in South Africa are treated.

Bauman (1992:198-199) suggests that when migrants are rejected in their new spaces they often turn towards becoming members of neo-tribes in which idealised, trans-national identities are envisioned. Both Dlamini and Anucha (2009) and Massaquoi (2004) note that African migrants generally envisage an ideal, united Africa when they take membership of such a global, trans-national African Diaspora. Massaquoi (2004:140) explains that:

> The African Diaspora is an environment that fosters the invention of tradition, ethnicity, kinship and other ethnic markers. It is a place, where multiple African communities become a monolithic community and ethnic differences are replaced with national pride. It is also a place where it becomes more advantageous to identify with the homogenous group, "African people", as opposed to ethnic or national identities; and regional differences become less important than our shared experience of immigration, racism and search for belonging in society.

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[23] It is difficult for African migrant youth to attend tertiary institutions in South Africa, as fees are very expensive and many of their guardians have limited income. Furthermore, their refugee or asylum seeker status limits their applications for bursaries. In fact, there are only three bursaries available to all refugees (not asylum seekers) who reside in South Africa. Luckily refugees and asylum seekers pay the same fees as South African citizens, but this does not apply to Rwandans, who are no longer regarded as refugees, or other Africans, who are not refugees. They have to pay the same, high fees as other foreigners, like Europeans or North Americans.

Ironically, the above situation is also applicable in South Africa, notwithstanding its overwhelmingly African population. Once most African migrants cross South Africa's borders, their multiple African identities are dismantled and merge to form one monolithic African community in which their national differences are replaced by a singular homogenous African migrant identity. Furthermore, due to the alienation and "othering" that many African migrants experience in South Africa, their migrant identity also becomes a homogenous identity.

For the study, this process of alienation and "othering" has shaped the perspectives of the African migrant youth in significant ways. I suggest two ways in which some of the youth respond to overcome this diminished "African" status.

In the first, the youth spoke longingly of an Africa with "the same heart" and that offers all Africans opportunities for emancipation, success and growth. They assert that South Africans particularly those that struggle with the adverse effects of extreme poverty are mostly "hardhearted and exceptionally self-concerned" (Rose's Diary:17). Extracts from Claudene and Husseni's diaries further encapsulate what many other migrant youth in the participant group long for. Expressing themselves in significantly different ways (inspirational writing and a rap song), both Claudene and Husseni rebuke South Africans for their lack of a human and African spirit:

> What I couldn't understand when I arrived here is that we are all Africans living in the same continent, but we don't love each other. Why? Why so much destruction in our blessed land? I think that as all Africans we must help each other and not kill because we are the only ones who can make our continent to become known like the others (Claudene's Diary:13-14).

> Yo! Africa!
> Understand
> We don't treat each other like that
> We have a same heart
> Don't look another inhuman
> We all human
> We hurt, hurt, hurt
> We forgive and forget
> For all the people does mistakes
> We gotta love each other
> We have to be as one
> When I come to you
> You've gotta come to me (Husseni's Diary:42).

A second response to becoming part of a global imaginary, yet being alienated and "othered" in their new spaces has been where many of the African migrant youth express themselves through dominant forms of Western popular culture.

Claiming membership to popular culture

Given the low regard accorded to their national identities, it was evident in the study that many youth, especially the boys, displayed a particular love and passion for what Ibrahim (1999) calls "black popular culture" – primarily in the form of hip-hop and rap culture. A feature of this popular culture is that the youth embrace not only the music but also ways of dressing, walking and talking (Ibrahim, 1999:351). At school, African migrant youth often visibly displayed the attitude, the handshakes and the bodily intonations that came with being seen as both "hip" and "black".

Talking about boys walking around with a swagger and a limp and their school trousers worn halfway down their backsides, educator Mr Botholomeuw remarked that:

> I notice something here, our foreign learners – the pants must be at the bottom like gangsters and they walk with that swagger. So I assume that is from America because when you speak to many foreigners and then I asked them about the level of education and they will tell you that in their country, for instance, the DRC, they don't take any of that nonsense from any learner (Interview 40:5).

Mrs Renata added that this attitude bothered her and that "We try not to allow these "gangster attitudes" enter our classrooms" (Interview 37:5).

Ibrahim (1999) suggests that African youth engagement with hip-hop culture, in situations as noted above, is no coincidence and that they should be viewed as acts of resistance and conscious attempts to find places of belonging and acceptance in a world where nationhood no longer mattered. Ibrahim (1999:353) notes that "these actions are articulations of the youths' desire to belong to a location, a politics, a memory, a history, and hence a representation".

Acting back on the "social imaginary" and making a space of belonging

That African migrant youth have absorbed large swathes of African American popular culture is not surprising. Numerous studies on migrant youth around the world highlight how migrant youths invariably get constructed as "the other" and how they position their new identities in the in-between spaces.

For example, in his study into the formation of social identities of 12 Francophone African youth between the ages of 14 and 19 attending a French-language high school in Ontario, Canada, Ibrahim (1999) has shown how hip-hop culture played a key role in providing the African youth with a firm sense of belonging and self in a world that had little regard for

their individual national identities. Kaya (2002) similarly conducted an ethnographic study of diasporic Turkish youth in Berlin, Germany. He focused on youth that turned to hip-hop culture to counter the daily discrimination that they encountered.

I assert that within the "social imaginary" of South Africa, African migrant youth are constructed as "the other" – the foreigner not only by state regulations (as discussed in the previous chapter) and the citizens of the country, but also by the disappearance of key identity markers that would have defined them previously. In that regard, ethnicity and race no longer have the same salience or influence in defining where they fit into social imaginaries of places like South Africa. At such times, I argue, hip-hop culture fills an even more important void.

Study participants Philippe, Jean-Paul and Paul (Rap 2:1) wrote and performed this rap at the MVHS Winter Mini Festival in August 2009:

> Hood Thang
>
> CHORUS
>
> This is the hood thang
> Nigga say what?
> This is the hood thang
> Nigga say what?
> This is the hood thang
> Nigga say what?
> Nigga say what?
> Nigga say what?
>
> VERSE 1
>
> This is the hood where I was born and raised
> And for all my life I have been behind bars with my gang three top dogs
> Day after day it's a war on the block
> We and my niggas we keep it locked
> Cause these niggas here in my ghetto, they always high
> You never know when you are going to be the next victim
> Nobody wanna die so we do the same thing too
> For those of you find me like a sly on da street rolling the dice, trying to make a living out of it
> You should if you could blame my mama but she aint the one who taught me the things that I do on da streets
> The streets made me who I am
>
> CHORUS

When I interviewed the participants about the above rap song they said that it describes the dangerous places in which refugees in South Africa live and the hardship they live through on a daily basis (Group Interview 5:6). The boys explained that they listen to and write rap music as, first, allows them to express themselves

and come to terms with their various stresses, and secondly because it joins them to other rappers around the world who also write about similar experiences.

Philippe and Jean-Paul (Group Interview 5:2) explained:

> Philippe: I like rap music as it is a way of expressing myself. You know when I go through things the only way I can express myself is through music. Some people talk about rap as a bad influence music, but people who do rap talk about what they went through in their life, things that are eating them in their life...
>
> Jean-Paul: Rap for me is about dealing with my stress. If I am stressed, I can express it through rap and then maybe someone out there will be in a similar situation and hear me.
>
> Caroline: Who are your favourite artists?
>
> Philippe: Tupac, Fifty Cent, Snoop Dogg- those guys from the US.
>
> Jean-Paul: You know Fifty Cent went through lots of things in his life, gangsterism, drugs, robbing...
>
> Caroline: I see and does listening to them help you in life?
>
> Jean-Paul: Yes, because they speak about real life and when you hear it on the CD you can picture that life. You know, they will make cracks about encouraging you. It does not matter where you come from or where you go, you can still be things you want to be and all of that because they say that no matter what you have been through, you can still make it in life. They empower someone.

Paul Gilroy (cited in Ibrahim, 1999:366) has convincingly argued in this regard that "rap music" has historically been performed "as a voice for voicelessness" and a prophetic language that addresses silence, the silenced, and the state of being silenced. "Rap music" wrote Gilroy, "explores the hopes of the human, political, historical, and cultural experience of the Black Atlantic."

Finding a sense of belonging

Hip-hop culture at MVHS gives African migrant youth a particular form of authoritative space. This was evident at the MVHS Winter Mini Festival where many of the boys that originated from the Central Africa region were dressed like North American rappers and performed North American-style rap music. This separated them from the other boys at the school in very particular ways. In a later interview about the festival (Group Discussion 4:10), Jonatha and many of the other youth in the participant group noted that displaying an interest in hip-hop culture on the day did not go down very well with the majority of South African learners

I had personally observed on the day how the rapper boys' performances seemed to cause tension between African migrant and South African learners. When Jonatha's group had come on stage to perform, they were booed continuously and they had to display significant courage to continue with their performance.

Jonatha explained that not only was the kind of music a cause of animosity at the school, but the "fly" way that he and his friends dressed also caused tension between the African migrant and South African boys. He (Group Interview 4:10-11) said:

> The day was fine, but when it comes to the clothing that was a thing. I mean you go home and you prepare for weeks. You buy some clothes and you are looking fly. You look nice and that is your thing, but what is the point when the guy behind you says, "I bet he robbed some guy to get those shoes." Me personally, on the Friday I had some new sneakers. I was looking fly you know, I was trying to look my best you know. Not to show off, but to look nice and I hear some people saying man that guys must have robbed his mother to get those shoes and they were making fun of me. Then you start thinking, what's the point of people trying to look nice, when they just get jealous of each other. The way I expected it was not really the way I wanted it to go for me, it was not fun. So I left because that interaction between people, that oneness between people...it was not there. I was like no man. People were staring daggers at each other and so I went home and chilled. At least there I get love.

My point is that despite the difficulties they faced, it was in the process of meeting with their friends to write and perform rap that they were able to connect with a particular identity, a neo-tribe, which offered them "new families" at times when they could not relate either to their guardians or others around them. Kaya (2002:44) writes that getting involved in hip-hop youth culture provides diasporic youth with opportunities to get away from the limited boundaries of the "ethnic enclave" life and the expectations of their parents. It is in writing and performing rap and meeting with other rappers that individuals produce their own social, cultural and political space. Kaya (2002:43-45) suggests that:

> Hip-hop is youth culture and enables minority youths to use both their 'authentic' cultural capital and global transcultural capital in constructing and articulating their identities. It provides the Diasporic youth with a ground where they can use their ethnicity as a strategising tool to articulate their identities in response to the majority nationalism and racism. It also serves as a mechanism to incorporate the ethnic minority youth into the global youth culture…Alternative social identities were [thus] formed in fashions and language, and in establishing neighbourhood crews and posses -new kinds of families which provide insulation and support in a complex and unyielding environment.

Indeed, it is through their engagement with hip-hop culture that some of the youth in my study displayed a unique subjectivity, a third position, where they could abstain themselves from "Cartesian dichotomies of originating from another space, yet not belonging in the new space" (Kaya, 2002:58). I assert that through this engagement with

forms of popular culture, some of the participants were able to use both (some of) their cultural capital and global trans-cultural capital to construct their identities. In this way their "modern forms" became subject to the simultaneous interplay of the global and the local.

The above has discussed how, in finding themselves in a unique in-between space in South Africa, the African migrant youth go through various processes of identification and make space to create their own idioms of the transient (Landau, 2009:205). The following discusses further processes of identification that some of the African migrant youth used in their endeavours to centre a sense of place for themselves in the world (Back, 2005:40). These processes take place specifically in the light of the youth not assimilating into South African society.

Forming one's identity in "third spaces"

Not assimilating into South African society

Interviews with the study participants indicated that their daily experiences of life in South Africa inhibited them from assimilating or acculturating into South African society. They noted two reasons. First, they are constantly reminded that they are "the other", either by their immigration status or by being made to feel unwelcome by South Africans. Secondly, they claim that their various processes of identification, understanding difference and using imagination located them as different to South Africans and that they often did not desire to assimilate into South African society. Cara and Jean-Paul spoke about life in Cape Town and Cara explained how her self esteem and confidence is drained on a daily basis by being treated as "the other".

> Cara: Well you see, growing up for me I think I can belong anywhere. Why say I don't belong in this part of the world where God created the world for us to be? He didn't say, "Ok Cara, you were born in Malawi and you must just be a Malawian." But the way people welcome you into the country that can influence you a lot. If you hang around with good people, then you will feel welcomed, but if you feel that people are not welcoming you, you will feel uncomfortable and it will be like they are taking away your self esteem and your confidence. I find that here (Interview 18:6).

Jean-Paul explains how, by observing how South Africans treat each other and "the other," he sees himself and Congolese people as different to South Africans.

> Jean-Paul: I am happy here. I just look back at most of the countries that are not up to standard and developed, but here is a developing country and it is going further. But the thing about Congo is that you will never see a man beating a woman or his fellow man on the street just like that and people are watching. People will ask what is going on and if you fail to answer they will start to beat you, instead of letting you beat that person. That is something very difficult to see

> here. Here they are stabbing someone and every one is staring, but there if you stab someone, you are not going to be alive (Interview 16:7).

I am well aware that the above reflections cannot "speak" on behalf of the whole participant group and acknowledge that each participant has a different story to tell that informs their desire to assimilate or not, but it was notable in the interviews that even youth that have lived in South Africa for most of their lives struggle with the notion of "assimilation''. I discuss why this is so.

Not assimilating due to being labelled as "the other"

First, their non-assimilation is partly due to their (the African migrant youth) immigration status being in limbo. The migrant youth are labelled as foreigners by virtue of their asylum or refugee papers and this is a constant reminder to them that they do not belong in South Africa. Cara, for example, has been living in South Africa since she was six years old, yet she is still officially defined as an asylum seeker. The same applies to Jonatha who has been in South Africa since the age of seven. For Jonatha things look bleak, as South African law is changing at the end of 2010 to exclude Rwandans from being categorised as refugees. At such a time, Jonatha and his family will be defined as illegal immigrants, which will have dire implications for his and his family's future. Official documents thus define each of the identities of the 20 African migrant youth in very particular ways and affect their ability, or interest to assimilate.

A second reason why the African migrant youth participants struggle to assimilate seems linked to revised notions of race in contemporary South Africa. Being defined through the "narrow eye of the negative" (Hall, 1997a:21-22), many African migrants are "blocked out" via terms like "foreign blacks". In this regard, it is a deeply ironic turn of events that since 1994 South Africans have come to use racial epitaphs in very unproblematic ways. While this is probably unsurprising, given how race was "put to (powerful) work" under apartheid in the deep (dark) spaces between the dominant and the subordinate, the period after 1994 brought the promise of democracy, non-racialism and freedom to all those in the region that were subjugated and abused in the past. Thus one would have thought that such terminology would be in lesser use.

Yet, as Nuttall (2004:738) suggests, "race appears to be hardening in the public political realm precisely as legalised racism has been abolished". This is particularly evident in the

townships where new forms of subjugation on the "subjugated" are emerging. Mngxitama (2008) refers to this form of subjugation as "negrophobia". He notes that the term refers both to the subjugation of the South African poor by the African elite and the racism meted out to African migrants by those defined in the South African Census as African. It is a disturbing dynamic that admittedly is being addressed at a number of levels within South African society. However, it is an important dynamic to note for the thesis, as more African migrant communities enter South Africa and invariably move into those very areas where resident communities too have been neglected, forgotten and abused.

In that respect, African migrant communities that arrive in South Africa are expected to (a) slot in alongside (and join) categories of poor South Africans, and (b) respond to the particular challenges of an uncompromising "immigration line." With regard to the former, resident "poor communities" feel threatened by this new group of people (migrants), many of whom would seemingly take up a number of the limited jobs available at a time of economic uncertainty. While this fear and response is a worldwide trend presently, it is particularly challenging in South Africa given the large numbers of South Africans that barely or don't survive and really "struggle to make ends meet". Mngxitama (2008) reflects that "as it always happens, the psychology of violence operates on the basis of the weakest link", and because the weakest link is often captured as the "amakwerekwere", much of the violence is thus often directed at African migrant communities.

This reformulation and revision of notions of race, living as "the foreign black other" has not been easy for the African migrant youth and often has had severe physical consequences. During interviews, three of the study participants noted that they had been assaulted (some more than once) on trains because they were deemed to be "foreigners". Others noted that taxis often won't stop for them on the side of the road, and when they do they charge them extra levies because they are "foreigners". How taxis physically recognise the youth as "foreigners" is, according to study participants, because South Africans see them "as having darker black skins" (Interview 12:3; Interview 10:2).

How African migrant youth carry "their darkened (Fanonian) blackness" has become both a key part of their identity making processes and has led to them not easily "assimilating" into their new surroundings. At school, they invariably sit and move together, and when travelling to and from school they wait for each other and move together for safety reasons. With regard to "home", their parents very carefully choose where they live. They

often pay more rent than they can afford in order to stay in “safer areas” or where there are other visible and settled migrant communities. Study participants noted that by actively living apart from communities that may do “harm to them” it was difficult to make friends with South Africans or mix (assimilate) easily among them.

African migrant youth also often consciously choose not to assimilate (as opposed to being blocked out). In the subsection below, I explore the reasoning provided by study participants not to assimilate and how they, in response, form their own idioms of the transient. Also described as a phenomenon of “self exclusion” (see Landau, 2009; Dlamini & Anucha, 2009, Crozier & Davies, 2008) by other studies across the world, this form of identity making challenges the assumed notion that migrant communities want to assimilate into the supposedly “better society” into which they move.

Not assimilating due to own choice

Comments from the diaries of participants highlight how African migrant youth view South Africans as often “degenerate”, “lazy” and “undisciplined”.

Alice (Diary:5) noted that South African “students were lazy” and “got away with back chatting teachers too often”. Claudene (Diary:4) felt that local learners “did not appreciate what they had”, the result she thought of “too much democracy”. Francise (Diary:10) added to the latter statement by claiming that there was too much sinning in South Africa “with all this gay things” and “parents teaching their children to smoke, take drugs and have sex from young which the children then teach other children”. Godwill (Diary:6) argued that there was still too much racism in South Africa and too much hatred of foreigners, while Husseni (Diary:33) lamented the high levels of crime, murder and the propensity for even police officers to kill their families and then commit suicide. Alice (Diary:5) noted that South Africans didn’t respect life, used vulgar language too often and didn’t respect the rights of others. Alice then questioned why she would want to emulate South Africans and concluded by saying that fellow migrants embarrassed her by trying to assimilate.

Landau (2009) collected similar responses in his study on African migrants in Johannesburg. He noted that migrants in Johannesburg had similar experiences of being labelled as “the other” and being pushed out and that they often chose “self exclusion” as

a counter response to this hostility and the perceived differences between them and South Africans. Landau (2009:207) further observed that the migrants in his study did not trust South Africans and viewed them as "uneducated, unappreciative of the opportunities that they had for education and other social services, promiscuous, and heathens". Notably, both African migrants and South Africans in Landau's (2009) study viewed each other with distrust and described each other in the same way – "dishonest", "violent" and "carriers of disease".

In my study, Gedeon went one step further and differentiated himself from South Africans as being a different shade of "black" based on his nationality and on his not condoning the kinds of attributes that seemed to epitomise South Africans. His descriptions of "race" were surprisingly associated with disease and ill discipline, which Badroodien (2001:412-414) reminds was a key characteristic apartheid thinking, where a complex relationship emerged between scientific intervention, moral salvation and sinning (see also Dubow, 1990). Gedeon's comments also called to mind the discourse of "new racism", or what Fanon (1967) called "cultural racism", that postulated different races as representative of separate cultures that could be compared and rated according how "civilized" they were – (using European standards of measure). An educator, Mrs Pettit, added to such a characterisation by noting:

> So, if I may say, my observation also would be of the foreigners, there's just a greater refinement...more refined, more cultured, you know, where our local people are more harsh, you know. So that is something that has been very observed. You know, you can see when you compare one to one another. That was something that the foreigners had, you know, that more. (Pause) There was just so much more. It's not only in the culture, it's something more. I don't know. It's hard to say (Interview 41:10-11).

For Gedeon (Interview 22:5), race was then not a matter of pigment, it was "below his skin" and "in his head". He observed:

> Where should I start? I don't like a school where there are a lot of blacks. Where you find yourself where there are only blacks. Before the school where I was at there were a lot of blacks, but when I came to Mountain View High, I saw that I was not alone, because when I came here I thought that only we were the refugees from other countries, but when I came here I met other people like me. Here I made friends.

Section B of this chapter explores how African migrant youth develop processes of identification, difference and space making and how they link this to issues of class and culture.

Section A concludes here by asking how the African migrant youth go about forming their individual “idioms of the transient” in the light of not assimilating.

Forming their own “idioms of the transient”

In explaining the concept of “idioms of the transient”, Landau (2009:205) writes:

> Whereas ‘non-indigenous’ plants, for example, cannot survive for long periods of time without somehow taking root or becoming an integral part of their ecosystem (See Comaroff and Comaroff), Johannesburg and a growing number of other African cities host alien populations that are shaping their own idioms of transient and often transnational and supra-national superiority; a means through which they actively resist transplantation. Clinging to the status afforded to those belonging to the ‘mobile classes’ (See Bauman), migrants hover above the soil by retaining loyalties to their countries of origin and orient themselves towards a future outside their country of residence.

Like Landau (2009), I argue that a key part of the identity formation process for the African migrant youth is their way of understanding “difference”. “Resisting transplantation” is for them a fundamental part of what they are trying to become, namely “self authors of inclusion into a world that is somehow far greater and more valuable than the city in which they live” (Landau, 2009:205). Appadurai (1996; 2002) reminds us that in the face of uncertainty individuals normally come up with contingencies or what Bauman calls “symbolic substitutes” that create a sense of stability and place for them and that, together with other migrants, leads to particular “neo-tribes” emerging (Bauman, 1992:198-199). In the end, home is not lost at all but rather expanded, both for those migrants who plan to return home and for those who choose to stay (Masade, 2007:109). This is mainly accomplished by the often intangible acts shaped by processes of imagination and aspiration.

Summary

There is little doubt that space in South Africa (and in this case, Cape Town) marks African migrant populations in very particular ways. That they are able to draw on their various forms of “cleverness, cunning, slyness and courage” (Bauman, 1998:14) to use the “markings” in positive ways is remarkable and points to the kinds of capital that each of them have and are able to draw on. It also points to what Sartre infers about the potentialities of the imagination, namely the power of dreaming and of magic. Sartre (1962:62) wrote:

> When the paths before us become too difficult, or when we cannot see our way we can no longer put up with an exacting and difficult world. All ways are barred and nevertheless we must

> act. So then we try to change the world, that is, to live it as though the relations between things and their potentialities were not governed by deterministic processes, but by magic.

Section A shows that the African migrant youth form their own magical “idioms of the transient” by creating trans-local spaces in which they secure senses of stability. This imaginary homeland not only offers them a way out of the challenges that they encounter on a daily basis, but serves to reinforce key attributes that they carry with them.

Like the production of locality and the formation of identity, I argue that the work of cultural and social reproduction is a daily effort (and grind) for migrant youth living in new spaces. The following section outlines how the African migrant youth mobilise their available capitals from their “imaginary homelands” and imaginations to create their vehicles of navigation and steer their way through contested school spaces.

SECTION B: NAVIGATING THEIR WAY THROUGH SCHOOL

Introduction

In this section of the chapter, I focus on the kinds of cultural and social capital and knowledge that individuals call upon to steer them through their life and school experiences and how this intersects with their individual identity-forming processes. The main focus is on the vehicles of navigation that the 20 African migrant youth create and employ at school, and how these were formed by imaginings (of homes, pasts and futures) of their deeply contested social and schooling spaces.

Godwill (Interview 32:6) reminds us that flourishing at school in South Africa required a particular temperament and attitude and an understanding of what was needed in every situation. He noted that:

> I just remember the reason why I am here, how I got here and why I got here. That makes me pull through and to know my goals and what I want to do in the future. I just mind my own business, as if you see other things in the South African culture you might start to like them and to change and then you will change who you are.

Cara (Interview 18:3) described how her guardians and friends provided her with the emotional support that she needed to engage with everyday schooling. She observed that:

> My parents encourage us in many ways, but they tell us to study and they are honest with us about society outside. If there is a problem in my house, they do speak up and they tell us that this is right and this is wrong. They tell us to go to school and read and they tell us interesting stories and they help us with planning our future.

Both responses highlight the perceived importance of education and its value to all, and the kinds of structures and thinking that was needed if it was to assist them in their life trajectories successfully. Rose (Interview 8:2) asserted in this regard that:

> If you are not educated in society, you can’t be important to people. And if you know something that you learn for yourself and you can explain to other people, you will be important and interesting for them.

It is notable that in the contemporary era, the schooling spaces in South Africa which African migrant youth navigate on a daily basis are neither fully formed or structured nor amorphous. There is no longer a complete “givenness of things” and youth thus have to navigate their daily schooling lives by making many decisions, improvising and showing significant agency. It is for that reason that the discussion of the cultural and social capital and knowledge of the African migrant youth in Section B is organised around the variety of different and challenging historical, environmental, social and personal trials and ordeals

that confront them. The thesis focuses on how the African migrant youth, in engaging with the variously noted processes, utilised their resultant resources in ways that made them both recipients and agents in the process of capital accumulation (Steinbach, 2010; Devine, 2009).

Expectations, aspirations, "group" impressions and local structural limitations

For the thesis, three processes stood out at the local school that intersected and shaped how the African migrant youth engaged with their everyday schooling experiences. The first process was the expectations that each of the migrant youth had of the schooling they accessed in South Africa. The second process was their interactions with other youth in the school and what they thought of each other which then shaped their experiences of daily schooling. The third process was the kind of education system with which all youth (migrant and non-migrant) engaged in the local context and that framed the individual development and aspirations of African migrant youth at school.

Imagination, motivation and the capacity to aspire

During the first process, I asked the African migrant youth at an interactive workshop to draw individual "Trees of life". The aim was to capture what the individual youth imagined for themselves in the future (irrespective of whether it was realistic or not) and to get them to grapple with how they thought they would achieve their aspirations.

Claudene wrote on her "Tree of life" how she would one day become a journalist, have a luxurious life and change poverty in the world. Cara expressed that she would get her matriculation certificate, become a successful businesswoman or fashion designer and end up in Paris or New York with her dream car and house. Alice reflected that she was going to work hard, achieve her education goals and become a neurosurgeon, while Husseni hoped to "become a computer genius". Philippe wanted to complete his matric but then gain success and recognition as a rap star, leaving a legacy behind "much like Michael Jackson".

These extracts reveal that all of the noted youth have ambitious plans for their future. Such "high hopes and great expectations", Cassity and Gow (2005:53) explain, are not uncommon amongst migrant youth internationally. For example, in their study on refugee

youth (mainly of Sudanese origin) in schools in Australia, Cassity and Gow (2005:53) note that "most of the participants wanted to return home as successful lawyers, doctors, businessmen or engineers, despite quite traumatic pasts and unbearably difficult everyday circumstances". Cassity and Gow (2005:53) warn in this regard that "unfortunately their hopes and dreams (often) coexist alongside a limited awareness of the difficulties involved in attaining their dreams".

I suggest that migrant youth formulate such aspirations from "their interactions with the thickness of social life" (Appadurai 2004:67), where (the use of) imagination and dreams have become social practices meant to transform "possibility" into reality (Appadurai 1996:53). Internationally, migrant youth live in a time when media and technology flow into their lives on a daily basis (Appadurai, 1996:35-36) and influences the way they think about their lives and how they enter the global imaginary. The youth see their futures through the stories of others or through the glamorous lives of those they see on the television or in popular culture. Bauman (1998:79) describes this as "living without natural borders" where youth, wherever they happen to be, "cannot help knowing that they could be elsewhere", while also knowing that as they "chase after these new desires, there is no obvious finishing line".

The problem for migrant youth in South Africa is that often the futures that they envision for themselves are limited by the kinds of worlds they inhabit in their local contexts. Jonatha (Diary:7) captures this challenge in quite powerful ways in the text below. In his response after listening to the Amatarasu story (in Group Discussion 2), he noted that:

> I can't recall a time in my life when I have had to be brave, simply because my whole life I have had to be brave. From the minute I learned how to think I knew that my life was not going to be easy. It would be up to me to change that.
>
> I face my fears, each and every one of them. Sometimes it takes one confrontation and some I am still fighting with. But I know in my inner self that I will never solve them by going into my own cave (*reference to workshop on 'cave'*).
>
> When I look into the mirror I see a warrior at war with my fears. My weapon is courage and my ammunition is perseverance. I won't stop fighting until I have killed the very last of them. This is me!
>
> So, in schools you have to be brave in doing your work. But even then I know a girl who finished school with good grades, and she wanted to study at UCT, but she couldn't because of papers. You have got to be brave in the sense that you know that even if I finish, there may be something that is coming next.

While the majority of the African migrant youth in the current study "dreamt of getting more education and succeeding in life" most of them know that they simply don't have the

financial means to access higher or further education and thus “good jobs”. The majority of migrant families in South Africa either have to live according to regulations pertaining to their refugee status, or they do not have any permanent residence status (even after living here more than five years). This means that migrant youth cannot apply for funding to study further in South Africa (only three bursaries are available for children of refugee populations). It would seem that no matter how well they do in their schooling, the chance of many African migrant youth studying at university or college will remain “but a dream”. Yet, as observed throughout the study, they continue to show remarkable agency, navigational capital and capacities to aspire beyond their current circumstances. It is these capacities and resilience that I further explore in this section (B).

The second process that shaped how African migrant youth engaged with daily school life, namely what some youth thought of each other in the schooling space, is dealt with next.

Youth impressions in the local schooling space

When interviewing Dorothy (Interview 3:2), she asserted that because of the struggles that she had endured as an African migrant living in Cape Town she was able to appreciate the promise of the available opportunities. This is why, she says, she was particularly perturbed by South African learners who through their “laziness” and “their noise” “waste other people’s time who want to work”. She asserted that:

> These isiXhosa, they are lazy. Sometimes you ask them ‘why do you come here? Did you come here to play?’ And then some of them say ‘I come here because my mommy says I must go to school. I don’t know what I am doing here. I feel different (from these learners) because me I know what I am doing. Them they don’t know what they are doing. Even if they come from here, they are just wasting their time. But me I know I can do it and I will do it and I will get a life (Interview 3:2).

Rose (Interview 8:5) further observed that the lack of respect and self-discipline often shown by South African learners disturbed how she engaged with the classroom space and interrupted her memories and understanding of how learners needed to behave and approach schooling. She noted that:

> They (South Africans) don’t care about their school work. We were given some work in life science and one of the learners came to Miss and she said, 'What will happen if I don’t do this?' When I heard this I did not feel good, because I haven’t heard such a thing from a learner to a teacher since I was born. I was going to answer for Miss, because in Congo you are taught to respect your elders, but I thought, this is not my problem and I must just do my work. For me, it is very bad if you don’t know why you are coming to school.

Kenneth (Interview 31:5) explained how the values and culture of many South African youth did not match with those that he was taught at home.

> I think it is what they are smoking and drinking that affects their work. It is not good and the rules here are not that tight. Here the children have more rights than in Zimbabwe. In Zimbabwe if you do a crime you will go to probation, but I don't know if here you go to probation. That's why I am disciplined, but I would not say I am that disciplined. It is about respect. You know in Zimbabwe if they see you smoking, they will send a bigger person to beat you, but now in this country the rights are different. Me I always keep what I was taught by my mother – to respect everyone.

Jonatha (Interview 26:6) on the other hand, focused on the role of personal context in the ways in which South African learners engaged with schooling:

> You know every time you see someone (South African) trying to change, you will see him being pushed back as the majority is not doing the same thing. I mean at school you can try to behave, but if in the history and where you come from is messed up; you are going to come to school with the same mentality. So, you know I don't know if it is poverty and things like that and they see the same cycle happening and they don't see themselves coming out of the cycle.

I explored this theme at the end of Chapter Four and will not repeat my main assertions, other than to note that the main challenge for the study initially was how to capture "group" impressions (as above) of different kinds of youth inhabiting the same schooling space (particularly in ways that were fair to all migrant and non-migrant learners). I was concerned that I had not been able to access the South African learner viewpoint and thus could not report what African migrant youth thought of their counterparts as '"simply true".

However, given that the study focus had no interest in presenting binaries (of good and bad learners) and was already privileging the stories of the African migrant youth, I decided to collect, understand and conceptualise how the particular impressions of African migrant youth about their non-migrant classmates informed their respective schooling experiences and development.

Following the lead of similar studies of Devine (2009) and Steinbach (2010), I looked at how African migrant youth worked with their aspirations, expectations and the variety of above impressions in relation to very particular foci. These included the links between the family habitus and capitals of the different African migrant youth and the school habitus; links between their education histories from their country of origin and school habitus; links between their aspirational capital and school; and lastly, the manner in which African migrant youth mobilised their social capital and the links to religion and friendships. It is these discussions that provide the main text for the remainder of Section B.

I emphasise, however, that youth aspirations, expectations and life impressions are fundamentally contained within the physical spaces and structures that they inhabit. This is briefly explored below.

The structure and limitations of class boundaries and frames

With regard to the third instance or process, Soudien (2007:1-2) explains that within the current South African education system there are few adults that can explain to youth, "first, the symbols and signs of the dominant culture, secondly, how one develops the skills of translation and then lives between different world cultural capitals", and third, "how to interpret this mix of old and new, tradition and modernity". This means that many young South African people are invariably left on their own to "steer by the stars" (Mamphela, 2002). Moreover, Soudien (2007:1) reminds us that this process becomes even trickier because a particular kind of (middle) class system prevails within South African schools; a system that is frequently at odds with the kinds of livelihoods that most (migrant and non-migrant) learners endure. He notes that the absence of knowledgeable adult guidance (both in and out of school) alongside a deeply middle-class oriented educational system fracture the kinds of experiences that individual youth are able to access at school. In this regard he asserts that:

> There are few countries where growing up requires so much 'headwork' as in South Africa, especially (but not only) for black people. African adolescents carry the double burden of poverty and cultural alienation. They are being exposed to a culture which is traditionally not their own...and they have to work out what dominant middle class culture wants from them. This culture provides education with its content throughout the world. Middle class culture is now the aspiration of people everywhere. It is the primary medium in which cultural systems (such as schools, families and media) want their young to interact.

It is thus not just the aspirations and imagination of youth that matter, or the ways in which they utilise their impressions of the 'other' to shape their navigations through school, nor the complex and unstable physical context into which they move. Rather, it is also the particular (class and cultural) orientation to which their schooling is geared, that shape how African migrant steer their ways through the local school that they attend. It is to these navigations that the chapter next turns.

Navigation: the link between home habitus, capitals and school

As has been noted, all the youth at Mountain View High School (MVHS) are confronted daily with a variety of challenges, yet despite this, many of the African migrant youth

manage to do well academically. This was evident at the MVHS end-of-year 2009 prize giving ceremony where many of the top achievers in each of the grades were African migrant learners. From discussions with the 20 youth, it would seem that the role of the home habitus and the capital they bring with them to school played a key role in their accomplishments.

Lingard and Christie (2003:321) suggest that individual learners are not only the product of their individual histories, but also that of their collective history of family, class and gender. Bourdieu (1986:18) further notes that embodied cultural capital and its associated dispositions "cannot be transmitted instantaneously" and that the accumulation of embodied cultural capital often takes time and involves a process of incorporation and personal investment.

In discussions with the 20 African migrant youth it was evident that their families could not be caricatured as "working class" as most of their South African counterparts were. The youth reported that many of their guardians had either been "decently" educated in their countries of origin or came from middle-class backgrounds. The majority noted that their guardians were educated at least up to Grade 12 (this was partly verified via interviews with some guardians).

While the link between the accomplishments of migrant youth and the education level attained by their guardians is at best a tenuous one, there is little doubt, argues Bourdieu (cited in Tranter, 1994:6), that a history of embodied cultural capital among parents invariably placed their offspring "ahead of the game" and provided them with the "Arrow effect" (Bourdieu, 1986:19). In that respect, African migrant youth often relied heavily on the cultural capital from their home habituses and the kinds of education that they had previously received in their home countries.

Cultural capital and the navigation of schooling

For Bourdieu (1977), it is through the habitus and its associated capitals that cultural and social reproduction takes place. This is two way process where the habitus of the individual needs to intersect with and match the particular habitus of the educational institution in quite complex ways if such individuals are to be successful. Indeed, the embodied cultural capital that African migrant learners brought with them from home was invaluable in a number of ways.

First, in interviews with a number of the migrant youth, they noted that many of their guardians assisted them with methods of how to engage with their schoolwork and also on many of their long journeys regularly read to them. A number of the youth also had siblings or guardians attached to tertiary institutions in some way. This is what Bourdieu (1986:20) refers to as "institutionalised cultural capital", where the embodied cultural dispositions (ways of learning, reading dispositions and work ethics) of guardians and siblings are passed on to their children in the home habitus.

Secondly, with their guardians having been through secondary and possibly even tertiary education, many of the African migrant youth understood what was expected of them and what they needed to do at school. Frank (Interview 6:2) noted, for example, how his father, who is a mathematics lecturer at a college in Cape Town, modelled patterns of learning for him to follow.

Third, many youth reflected how their guardians offered them practical and intellectual support when assisting them with their schoolwork. Rose (Interview 8:3) described how her uncle, an electrical engineer, regularly helped her with her mathematics and physical science homework.

Fourth, in interviews with many of the migrant youth they noted that they had also benefited from the level of education that they received in their home countries. Gedeon (Interview 22:3) said for example that the teaching of mathematics was far more arduous and rigorous in his home country:

> Maths, it's easy here. It's not like back in Zambia, because there every grade one child had to learn the times tables from one to twelve, but here most of them use calculators. And it is boring. In grade 10 at least the level is OK, but in grade 8 and 9 it was too easy.

Similarly Husseni (Interview 21:4) commented:

> The education in Burundi is hard. The way they are studying and teaching is hard and they don't condemn you by pushing you through. Here you didn't pass your exams, but you can still pass, but there you have to study hard from grade one. There you study hard and do lots of things and you do 10 or nine subjects. Here we don't study hard. Everything's easy.

In the latter regard perceptions of education across the Southern African region were quite different amongst the study participants. The migrant youth that were born in the Congo, Burundi, Zambian and Zimbabwe spoke approvingly of their previous learning, while the youth from Rwanda bemoaned the kinds of education they received there (Interviews 3, 4 & 26).

Fifth, many of the African migrant youth spoke of the informal cultural capital that they brought to school from the countries of origin in the form of discipline and respect. While being hit regularly can never be described in a positive light at any time, many of the migrant youth asserted that they had learnt the importance of following instructions and showing respect to elders via corporal punishment. Frank (Interview 6:5) noted for example that educators in Zimbabwe frequently beat learners. He described this in the following way:

> [When they hit me] I would feel awful, but then it will help us, as you will know what to do. If they see you loitering or making noise then they are going to beat you. So, sometimes if you don't do the work, then they are going to beat you and then you do the work, so you are going to be disciplined. Maybe if they are going to beat us here, then most of the South Africans will do better.

Finally, many migrant youth spoke of the many advantages that were gained when the language spoken in the home habitus matched the main language used in the formal school environment. This gave them ways of deportment that they could effortlessly apply at school. While the majority of migrant families were not proficient in English, the importance of learning, practicing and trying to speak English at home was emphasised and efforts were made to ensure that youth carried the language in whatever form with them to school.

Having highlighted the above, it should be acknowledged however that African migrant youth were "not mere receptors of their parents' social or cultural activity, but (were) also key contributors to the processes of capital accumulation by the family" (Devine 2009:526). Many of the migrant youth, for instance, generated and reinforced key aspects of cultural capital in their homes by frequently assisting their siblings and friends with their homework. Yosso (2005) asserts in this regard that cultural capital should be understood as something that emerges as individuals draw from respective social and familial capitals, and further that such cultural knowledge has deeply embedded emotional and psychological characteristics (see also Steinbach, 2010:15).

In addition to mobilising and engaging with the cultural capital from their families, the youth also mobilised cultural knowledges from their families and cultures, which assisted them in their navigations of schooling. Importantly for this section, Lareau (cited in Devine, 2009:525) notes that it is in the combination of the "concerted cultivation" of parents and the "self cultivation" of youth that cultural knowledge gets mobilised.

Cultural knowledge and familial and social capital

Yosso (2005:79-81) describes familial capital as “those cultural knowledges nurtured among familia (kin) that carry a sense of history, memory and cultural intuition”. In interviews with the African migrant youth it was noted that the family unit played a crucial role in nurturing them educationally, emotionally and psychologically. Rose explained, for example, how her uncle, his wife, and her brother would regularly help both her and her cousin by talking to them about life itself, where they had come from, the hardships that they had endured and how to use language and learning to better understand what they needed to do (Interview 8:4). Similarly, Cara (Interview 18:3) described how her guardians provided her with emotional support (and what Yosso calls navigational capital) that prepared her for “society outside”.

Yosso (2005:79) further notes that youth invariably draw upon informal knowledge to take along to school with them. Here she refers to things like “manners and etiquette” that youth take from their family lives to inform their “emotional, moral and occupational consciousness” at school.

Of course, a key danger in the above regard is that the role of the family and the kinds of attributes that are nurtured within them can often get overstated and that then generates binaries that suggest that where strong family structures don’t exist that youth turn to risky behaviour, as Mr Botholomeuw (Interview 40:5) seems to suggest below.

> Many African migrant youth are alone with a brother or a sister, so there’s no real parent to guide them, and so what do they do? Because they don’t want to be alone, they follow the South African learners or fall in with the bad crowds.

Alert to this danger, I assert that families (in whatever their form) and the cultural capitals that emerge from within them provide important founts from which youth readily draw navigational capital in engaging with their schooling experiences.

Cultural knowledges also extended to the way that the African migrant youth drew on their “cultural ways” and acted in their new spaces. The following paragraphs discuss the interesting link between the youths’ cultural knowledges and their actions and show the difficult negotiations that migrant youth have to make living in-between old and new worlds (Devine, 2009).

The match between cultural knowledge and youths' actions

In the study, many of the migrant youth claimed that a key part of their historical and national trajectories was that they did not smoke, drink or take drugs since this was unacceptable behaviour for youth in their countries of origin (see Kenneth, Interview 31:5). They further noted that in their countries of origin they could not have boyfriends or girlfriends until they had completed their schooling. They often presented themselves to me as "more moral" and "better behaved" than their South African peers and as youth who lived according to their "cultural ways".

However, this representation was not always the case for all youth. Olivia (Interview 2:2) asserted for example that while Congolese youth were generally not allowed to have boyfriends or girlfriends, individual youth ultimately decided on what to do and the kinds of friendships they made.

> Back where I come from – Yo! If you are found with a boy you are in trouble. Shouting! When they think of boyfriends they think of you falling pregnant. So, that's what they think about, so you don't have boyfriends. Even if you have boys as friends, if you come with them, they ask you what you are going to talk about? You have to find girls who will be your friends.
>
> Agh, we don't have boyfriends. But some children do! The ones who don't listen. You know you go to school alone, we don't go with our parents you know. You can have a boyfriend there at school. But sometimes it is up to you what you want from your life.

The above statement alerted me to the dangers of describing the supposed attributes of the 20 migrant youth in unproblematic and idealised ways. Given their ability to exert individual agency and to choose how they represent themselves to different audiences, I realised that I needed to be more critical about the images of "resilient", hardworking and moral individuals that the migrant youth readily presented to me. This also extended to their predominant claim that they (African migrant youth) were more successful at schooling than their counterparts at school. The following section discusses the issue of idealisation and truth.

Idealised or true selves?

In the study, I often had to apply much "reflexivity" in deciding whether the youths' statements and actions regarding success and moral behaviour were true or imagined. Furthermore I often had to ponder why the youth represented themselves this way to me and to others. In the study it was found that African migrant youth were generally regarded more favourably within the school with regard to issues of achievement, discipline and

work ethic. However, many of the African migrant learners at the school were also not very strong academically. In fact, out of the 20 study participants, five failed their respective grades at the end of 2009 and three others had a history of failure.

Thus, when I highlight the academic strengths of the individual youth in the study I point mainly to what Devine (2009) refers to as the “drivenness” of migrant youth and the fact that with their unique histories and backgrounds, each of the individual youth brought rather different capitals and strengths with them to school. Devine (2009:525) argues in this regard that “the highly positive orientation to education displayed by migrant children generally has a positive impact on the climate for learning within study schools, most especially those with a traditionally high proportion of working-class children”.

The main point I make from the above is that Claudene, Rose and Jean-Paul were deemed to be successes and were regarded (by educators) as very well disciplined and hardworking mainly because of the kinds of embodied cultural capital that they were able to draw on from their homes and their pasts. Despite presenting themselves to me as “good learners”, Olivia, Philippe, Dorothy, and John on the other hand, were categorised as “struggling learners” because their histories and life trajectories, when intersecting with crucial institutional dynamics or weaknesses, did not generate the kinds of capital that they needed to “succeed”. The key link thus was the extent to which home and school were aligned in the minds and imaginations of the respective youth.

On the other hand, Husseni (interview 21:8) claimed that while he thought of himself as hardworking and successful, this did not necessarily play itself out in the schooling environment. He noted that he had started out as a hardworking learner when he arrived at the school, but had found it increasingly difficult to remain focused when “faced with the low cultures of learning in the classroom” (also see Picard, 2000). Husseni explained:

> We never used to be lazy, but when you study with the lazy people, you also get lazy and relaxed. The classroom...you used to study hard, but other people don’t care and so it is like you are alone there. You can’t sit alone, you have to sit with someone and while you speak with someone you start to struggle and you go down and down. And you go home and you don’t study like you used to. You start to play and calling your friends and now there is a new programme called MXit and you start using that. That’s what we do now (Interview 21:8).

The above extract emphasises how youth construct their learner identities both in relation to their imaginary homelands and pasts, and the search for more secure, tangible ways of engaging with their local contexts, especially at times when they have a very tenuous grip on their uncertain lives. I claim that all the migrant youth presented themselves to me in

ways that mainly sought to create a secure space or reality for themselves at an uncertain time in their lives.

I suggest that is so because the migrant youth inhabited a third space in Cape Town in which they constantly had to decide where they belonged, who they were and where they wanted to be. As such, their cultural capital and knowledges (good manners, respectfulness, politeness, hardworking, and strong discipline) became their key navigation tools to map and define themselves in relation to key social and identity challenges with which they were confronted.

However, each youth was influenced by his or her past, present and future imaginings in different ways and exercised agency to map his or her life in a unique way. The following section discusses these unique mappings.

Cultural knowledge and youth mappings

Massaquoi (2004:142) notes that one of the ironies of transmigration currently is that many of the cultures and "ethnic ways" that diasporic youth are taught (by their parents) are often not practiced by the youth in their countries of origin. Massaquoi (2004:142) observes that "what parents [often] do not factor into upbringing is that culture is dynamic and ever changing".

From observing the migrant youth at MVHS, it was evident that many of them did not simply mimic what they had been taught at home. Many, for example, adopted some of the culture of the local South African space or popular culture while nevertheless "practicing key rituals and traditions" associated with their national backgrounds. Claudene, Orellia, Jean-Paul and Paul emphasised during interviews that culture for them lay far more in their everyday behaviours (in acts like respect for elders, love and dedication to younger siblings, and attendance to religious duties) than in physical manifestations like dress and food. Husseni noted in this regard that:

> Our parents are very strict. You can not just go out with a girl. Take the girl and introduce her to your father! I am telling you, he does not like his children to get into the wrong things while he is still young! That's why we have respect. We know where we come from. When people come to your house, while you sit on the chair, you stand for old people, you have to respect and greet them (Interview 21:3).

The migrant youth further suggested in interviews that their love for what they regarded as "home" was informed by a deep fear of being influenced by South African learners and

"becoming South African". This attitude to their South African counterparts was endorsed by some of the educators (in interviews). However, as Mr Botholomeuw, for example notes below, many African migrant youth did not manage to remain uninfluenced by the new influences in the space.

> Our foreigners, they are hard working and they try and they have that attitude that they want to achieve. That is when they arrive here at Grade 8 and Grade 9. As soon as they mix with the wrong friends and they start to adapt the South African ways, then you can see their work is going down. It's when they become copycats and want to be South Africans that's where the level of commitment drops (Interview 40:5-6).

Mrs Small (Interview 35:15) moreover noted that the longer the migrant children lived in South Africa, the more "South African" they became:

> These children, like Emily, who have been here a while they've become arrogant. Dorcas and those who have been here shorter are humble, they want to learn, but these children (who have been here longer) are arrogant and so they tend to be rude.

She explained, however, that even at such times many of the youth retained some of the things they had previously been taught. She described how Emily, after having been rude to her, had responded to her in quite positive ways:

> Emily...will come every day to apologise for her rudeness. She'll come in the afternoon. Now she thought about it and she wants me to tell me how sorry she is, but now I tell her, 'You can't come every day and tell me how sorry you are.' I tell her, 'Remember who you are!'

The nature of the cultural capital that each African migrant youth thus drew upon to map their lives was not only very complex but also not "fixed" in time and space. It was actively played out in relation to both the imagined homelands and (aspects of the) 'backgrounds' of respective migrant youth". In the next subsection I discuss the role of motivation, aspirational capital and imagination in helping the African migrant youth navigate their way.

Navigation: the role of motivation, aspirational capital and imagination

Both cultural capital and cultural knowledge assist the African migrant youth create their vehicle of navigation to manoeuvre their way through the school space. Yet, their aspirations, motivations and imagination cannot be explained solely according to this. Each individual migrant youth was unique and not all of them exhibited the kinds of cultural capital that fitted with the "doxa" and expectations of the school. Many international studies highlight the high level of motivation of immigrant learners, many of whom become "models" of "ideal type" migrants despite the challenges that they face (See Anyon et al.,

2007; Devine, 2009; Kao & Tienda, 1995). The following section discusses factors influencing this motivation.

Youth motivation and aspiration are both intrinsic and extrinsic and are driven by both tangible (e.g. physical assistance of guardians or friends) and intangible factors (collective memory, religion or friendship) which allow them "to dream of possibilities beyond their present circumstances" (Yosso, 2005:78). Appadurai (2003) reminds us that one cannot simply look at the production of the local according to reproduction logics. One needs to make room for visions, wishes and choice.

Extrinsic and intrinsic aspiration and motivation

> Patrice: Education is important because with this paper you can work anywhere in the world – London, Australia, South Africa. So it's very important (Interview 20:3).

Consistently mentioned in all interviews with guardians, learners and educators were their respective positive dispositions to education and the recognition and value that it plays in their lives and their futures. Indeed, for refugees and migrants, education is perhaps the main way out of their dire situation (UNHCR, 2003) and thus the emphasis placed on education is recorded in numerous international studies (See Devine, 2009; Reakes, 2007; Wilkinson, 2002 and Cassity & Gow, 2005). The phenomenon of motivation among migrant learners is referred to as "immigrant drive" (Anisef et al. cited in Wilkinson, 2002:187) and, as is suggested in the literature, is spurred on by both extrinsic and intrinsic factors.

Extrinsic motivation and aspiration from familial capital

One of the main reasons why migrant youth focus on their education and schooling is the high level of extrinsic motivation they get from their families. Anisef et al. (cited in Wilkinson, 2002:187) explain that immigrant parents, regardless of their own education levels, strongly encourage their children to succeed at school, often because this was one of the chief reasons for them to migrate in the first place, namely to give their children a better standard of living and a chance at a better life. This familial capital and drive has long been suggested as the crucial reason why many immigrant youth tend to be more successful than many of their host counterparts at school.

For the study, all participants noted how their guardians constantly reminded them that education was "the key to success" and "the key to being important". This involvement by

guardians in the learning of the youth was often visible in their attendance of school meetings, as Mr Botholomeuw (Interview 42:5-6) explained:

> Yes, because now education becomes important, because it is going to assist them to get where they want to be. It's important and the parent is going to push and you can get that parent and the parent will sit down and talk to that child and you can get hold of the parent, whereas you're not able to get hold of the South African parent.

Not only do many guardians offer their children such forms of practical support, they also offer emotional and aspirational capital. While aspirational capital may come from both male and female guardians, Reay (2000) notes that the role of mothers in providing the emotional capital in the lives of migrant youth needs particular emphasis. Mothers, suggests Reay, offer their children "a stock of emotional resources" (Allatt cited in Reay, 2000:572) that they constantly draw on.

For example, Godwill (Interview 32:1) spoke about his mother and how his "super mom" constantly offered him encouragement and understanding, while Gedeon (Interview 22:6) reflected that his mother encouraged him every day by saying, "Gedeon, if you don't learn at school, you will be like most of the South Africans. You will never understand what life's going to bring to you, and you must go on no matter what with education." Her talks got to the point where he had to stop her from praising him as he would then "start feeling too big". Kenneth (Interview 31:5) also noted how his mother kept him on "the straight and narrow" saying that "when I want to do bad things I just remember my mother. I don't want to see my mother crying. I just think of her and I stay out of trouble".

Whether motivations like the above do indeed "keep them out of trouble" is a moot point but the importance of maternal support is quite evident in all the extracts noted above and in the lives of migrant youth who live away from their mothers. Jean-Paul, who now lives with his father and South African step-mother, spoke longingly about how his mother used to encourage and praise him:

> I remember the one day I wrote a maths test and it was out of 175 and I got 101. Hey! My mother was so proud. They told us to take it home and show it to our guardians. Hey, the marks was not that good, but she was proud of me! I cannot express the happiness I felt that day (Interview 16:6).

From interviews with the participants, however, it became clear that motivation was often coupled with "strict boundaries and rules". For example, when I asked Paul (Interview 30:7) why he works so hard he explained, "I am always doing well. Trying my best, because I know if I did badly, Yo! Congolese parents! They don't understand." Similarly,

Jean-Paul (Interview 16:5) explained that he remains focused and works hard because his father “does not tolerate anything”. He added:

> We are not allowed to go out. No parties. He is not a democratic father and he goes according to the word of the Lord. He says that just because your friends are going to parties every Saturday, this does not mean that you can go out. My father is the one who says when you are watching TV, 'Read your book!’

Husseni described similar sentiments about “failing” in an interview at the end of the research project. In talking about his failing Grade 11 in 2009, Husseni highlighted how angry his father was and that his father had said things to him that he “could never forget”. He further noted that one of his friends in Grade 12 had been kicked out of his home because he had failed at school (Group Discussion 6:1).

Due to their high hopes and dreams for their children, guardians frequently place severe restrictions on the youth. Like Jean-Paul, many of the migrant youth explained how their lives were very restricted and boring in South Africa compared to back in their countries of origin. That was often because their guardians wanted them to focus on their school work, though in addition they “wanted them to stay at home to avoid the bad influence' and dangers associated with being friends with other children” (Cara, Interview 18:1).

The above was particularly evident in an interview with Alice’s mother. She explained that she did not like her children to have social friends.

> When I grew up my father never wanted me to have friends and my best friend was my sister. What I have learned from these kids when they come and tell me what South African kids do at school, this is why I don’t want them to have friends. You know at home you don’t accuse the teacher, you don’t answer them back. You just don’t. But they have told me some stories and I say that I am not happy with those friends. No, we are her friends. Her sister is there, her brother is there. Talk to us, I tell her, your family (Interview 25:4).

Similarly, Claudene’s mother and step father (Interview 13:3) noted that “friends are not important” and will “lead her in the wrong direction”. Interestingly, they were not referring to South African friends but rather Claudene’s Congolese friend, Orellia (one of her best friends), who they felt had not been brought up the same way as their daughter.

The extent to which guardians tried to shape and inform the lives of their children is quite clear. Many youth spoke during interviews about their close friendships with fellow migrant youth at school, yet also noted that they did not see them out of school. Alice, for example, pointed to two close friends at school – Francise and Olivia – that lived nearby, yet whom she rarely visited at home. Jean-Paul, Paul and Philippe spoke about how they visited

each other often but only because their guardians gave them permission to do so (Interview 17:7).

It is debatable whether individual youth decisions were based on the "guidance" and advice of their guardians. Claudene noted for example that although she was good friends with Orellia she preferred not spending too much time with her "she sits at the back and I sit in the front (so I can understand the teacher)" and thus she preferred to be with girls who "sit in the front", especially "the Zimbabwean girls who could help her with her English".

The motivations and aspirations of individual youth do not only come from their guardians, but is often intrinsic. Devine (2009) notes that while "ambition may be encouraged by parents, it is instantiated in practice through the children's own labour in school" (Giddens cited in Devine, 2009:532). Similarly, Bourdieu (1986:18-19) asserts that the accumulation of culture in the embodied state requires a process of incorporation, which takes time and which must be invested in personally by the investor.

Intrinsic aspiration and motivation

From discussions with study participants, what became evident was the amount of time that the migrant youth spent doing their homework, studying or researching at the library. Mrs Renata (Interview 37:2) explained that "they (the African migrant youth) are really now into studying and to developing their skills", while Dorothy (Interview 3:2) noted that she studies because she knows "what I want to get in life".

This sentiment is supported in the international literature where the high level of intrinsic motivation and internal strengths of migrant children is emphasised (See Steinbach, 2010; Devine, 2009; Warwick, et al., 2006). Devine (2009:530), for example, describes how educators in Ireland were surprised by how quickly migrant children picked up the language (Irish), often surpassing their indigenous peers in fluency.

This intrinsic motivation was often spurred on by other individual factors, like being orphaned or being an illegitimate child. For example, Paul (Interview 30:9) spoke about being brave and doing well at school saying, "After my parents' death, cause now I am thinking that it is me now, not my parents anymore, who are forcing me to go to school. I have to control myself. I have to think of my own life." Similarly, Jean-Paul (Interview 16:5)

noted that living with a step-guardian is difficult, as step-guardians often told “lies about you to your parents back home”.

In addition to motivation coming from intrinsic and extrinsic sources, the following section discusses how motivation comes from the migrants’ collective memory.

Motivation from collective memory

Both guardians and learners noted the extent to which the hardships, the collective memories of what they had been through and their ongoing encounters with the immigration line made them more resilient and resistant. Their memories became “a set of inner resources, social competencies and cultural strategies” that permitted them to “not only survive, recover or even thrive after stressful events, but also to draw from the experience to enhance subsequent functioning” (Salazar & Spina cited in Yosso, 2005:80). This, claimed the study participants, spurred them on to work hard in South Africa, as they knew what they had left behind and valued what they have in South Africa. Cara (Interview 18:6) explained why she works hard and remains focused:

> Our motivation is higher. You see when you travel a lot or go through things. You see for them (the South Africans) they take advantage because this is their country. They don’t miss that part of being home or something. For them they think they are free here, but in life you are not free. So, for us, we leave home where we have that freedom to do whatever we like and we work hard here.

Similarly, Mr. Safradien (Interview 34:6) noted that “the foreigners are very thankful to be at school where something is happening. From what I have heard from where they come from, schooling is scarce and so in South Africa they count themselves very lucky to be in a school”.

The importance of collective memory is crucial in this regard. Francise (Interview 23:6) spoke about the importance of not “forgetting the values of your people” when he accessed schooling in South Africa:

> I am proud to be Congolese. But some of my people are disappointing me when they are following the attitude of South Africans. They are going clubbing and doing those things. They don’t follow why we’re here anymore. You can see this at school. Many Congolese people are not focusing on school anymore, they’re following what coloureds and Xhosa people are doing. That is not making me proud.

Many of the study participants also noted that they work hard at school because many of their family members still live in extreme hardship in their country of origin or in refugee camps outside their countries of origin. Philippe (Interview 17:1) reminded me about the

responsibility that he and his brothers carried, having been the “lucky” ones in their family to have made it out of the refugee camp in Tanzania to come to South Africa. Philippe said “my brother took me, at least one child, to come here and study and get a job, so I can also help the family”. In an interview with Philippe’s sister-in-law (Interview 43:4) she noted that Philippe would need to go and work soon in order to be able to send monies back to their family in the Tanzanian refugee camp.

“Working hard” is thus a key unifying factor that reminded migrant youth that they were different to the South Africans “who do not appreciate what they have and do not work hard”. In addition it reminded them what life would be like without education. Jean-Paul (Interview 16:5) noted that:

> My father always tells us to work. He says that you may be clever at school, but a lot of people are clever but they are still suffering. So, he tells us to have goals and to focus on where we want to go. He says that if your mind is weak and you don’t use your mind to think, later on it is only us that are going to suffer. He tells us to stay in school and study so in the future we can get a nice job. You will have a secretary scheduling your meetings for the next day and the next. But if you do not use your mind, before you know it you will drop out of school and the only job out there for you to do is in construction or in a shop or a painter. So every time he says that I think about it, because I do not want to suffer.

By continuously reminding youth of their past and current situations, migrant guardians maintain their children’s collective memory (Devine, 2009:524). This study noted that African migrant youth were acutely aware of the sacrifices their guardians had made to get them to South Africa and the sacrifices they continued to make for them there (working at any job, sometimes through the night). Agnes (Interview 4:2) explained that “my mommy and daddy are working so hard and I have to follow them. They tried their best to get me here, so I want to do the same to my children”.

Paul emphasised in a group discussion this appreciation of family (and their) contributions when he said that:

> I feel OK, because they are my family and I love them. You know, my parents are gone, my mom is gone and I if have to look after my younger brothers (his cousins) for the rest of my life, I will do all that I can do. As a matter of fact, I will have to provide for them, even if it is for the rest of my life and even when I get married. So, in my crib it’s like that (Group Discussion 3).

Cara added that “family is important, as they won’t leave you when you are in financial crisis or when you are sick. Whereas, if they are friends and they find out that you have no money or something, they will say no! So [for me], family is first”.

Despite the challenges that many of the youth face in their everyday lives, what clearly emerged from interviews with study participants was how they connected in complex ways

their capacity to "succeed in life" with aspects of aspiration, motivation and imagination. Migrant youth also spoke about further tools at their disposal to navigate their experiences. The following section discusses the importance of religion in their lives.

Navigation: motivation from religion

It was notable that religion or God was mentioned in *every* forum in which participants partook. This included all the interview sessions, the diary writing activities, the group discussions, the workshops and the school cultural activities. During the "Tree of Life" activity, for example, Godwill spoke about God being "his compass", "his road sign" and "the conductor of his choir". Gedeon noted during a group discussion (4:2) that "God's love is greater than life" and that "God helped him smile every single morning". Francis, in her "Tree of Life" observed that "no matter how tough it gets I believe in Him and know everything is possible in Him", while Rose (in her "Tree of Life") highlighted that "He is my beginning and I will always trust Him".

The importance of religion was also highlighted by the interviewed educators at the school. Mrs Pettit, who runs the Scripture Club at MVHS, noted that religion was "so important" to migrant learners that whenever the club has gathered over the past few years it has always been the African migrant youth "that are at the forefront of those that come and join" (Interview 41:8).

Foner and Alba (2008:361) suggest that this is not uncommon and that the importance of religion to migrants worldwide is something that has received much attention in the past seven or eight years (See Foner & Alba, 2008; Hirschman, 2004; Levitt, 2003).

This section outlines how religion or the learners' deity provides the African migrant youth with the internal capital to navigate their way through their schooling experiences and offers them motivation. It highlights how religion operates at a number of levels in the lives of the African migrant youth to offer them support and provide them with capacities to navigate their experiences. These include the ways in which religion brings meaning to their lives; the ways in which religion offers opportunities to connect to other families and communities; the organisational aspects of religion in the weekly routines; and the physical support they received from religious ministers at times of need.

The key role of religion in offering internal capital

Religion seems to offer the migrant youth with key navigational tools, agencies and strategies to cope with their traumatic pasts and their challenging current ordeals. Paul, for example, explained how his faith in Jesus, "his saviour", helped him to deal with his traumatic past and the loneliness that he had felt after his parents' death (Interview 30:2). It would seem that because God or religion no longer "belongs" to the nation state, migrant youth gravitate towards it as an unconditional safe space of belonging or what Hirschman (2004:1228) calls "refuge". Hirschman (2004:1228) suggests that this is necessary when one is living as a refugee or asylum seeker in an uncertain space faced with "the trauma of loss and separation". Jonatha (Group Discussion 3:2) explained that without God you feel lost "like a stray dog wandering the street", but "when you know God, you feel proud to be belonging to the almighty, the one who is omnipotent".

For Jonatha, living as a refugee in South Africa and facing an uncertain future, religion provides him with perhaps his key source of stability and meaning in life. In describing where his home and comfort comes from he said, "Church is my home. I don't really feel comfortable out of my church. Even if I were to stay there for a month, it's no problem. When I am in my church I feel comfortable because I can do things and imagine my life there" (Interview 26:1). This links to what Hirschman (2004:1228) refers to as "the separation from language, family and community leading to a search for meaning and stability in the new homeland".

Religion further serves to give individuals a sense of respectability (Foner & Alba, 2008:362) which "is particularly important for those who are denied social recognition...or have suffered downward mobility as a result of migration". Indeed, "being a good Christian, Muslim or Buddhist brings respect within the religious community as within religious groups, there are typically opportunities for leadership and service that brings prestige" (Foner & Alba 2008:362). Given that living in alien spaces often "takes respect away from migrant" by denying them "social recognition" and often enforcing a form of "downward mobility" on them, Blom Hansen (2009:193) argues that religion provides ways of claiming "respect and recognition as a 'proper' person by the surrounding society". This is evident in small activities, like Francis singing in the local church choir and other migrant youth being actively involved in church youth groups.

Additionally, Yosso (2005:80) asserts that religion crucially provides migrant youth with "resistant capital" (Yosso, 2005:80). For example, during a group discussion (4:1) participants noted that God provided them with key strengths so that "when people are rude to me, I never think about them, because they are not my God". Similarly, Frank (Group Discussion 3:2) explained that being a Christian provided him with the particular strength to "turn the other cheek" when people were racist towards him.

Although not the same form of resistant capital that Yosso describes, religion also provided the youth "resistant capital" to resist peer pressure. Jonatha explained in Group Discussion (4:1) that doing the right thing and resisting peer pressure was never easy, but that God had helped him work through it.

> I have got to be brave to resist bad influences and when they say that I am gonna do some deeds that the Bible does not allow me, I have got to say no and be brave and the rejection is kind of hard.

One may question the extent of unwavering belief displayed by the various migrant youth above and whether they do in fact sustain or act out what they say. However, the point I make in this section is that what religion offers, whether tangible or intangible, is "fuel" that propels their vehicle of navigation through their everyday experiences.

Jean-Paul (Interview 16:6) pointed out that religion, while often experienced in internal ways, needed agents in order for it to assist individuals. He spoke about the support and inspiration that he received from the pastor at his church in the following way: "The pastor is always talking to us youth. He says we are the next generation and that who knows we may wake up as the president having tea with Princess Elizabeth. So, with God anything is possible." It is to the opportunities that religion opens up to connect with other individuals that the section next turns.

The key role of religion as external, social capital

Previously, I highlighted how family support played a critical role in the lives of African migrant youth. For example, seven of the 20 youth participants in the study are cared for by family members other than their guardians. In Rwandan and Congolese culture, uncles take the role of guardian if children are born out of wedlock and the eldest brother in the family takes care of his younger siblings if his guardians have died or are unable to work. Older siblings are also expected to look after younger siblings when their guardians are at work.

Migrant youth do not only get support from their families. As Yosso (2005:79) explains, “family consciousness (with minority groups) can be fostered within and between families, as well as through sports, school, religious gatherings and other community settings. Isolation is reduced as families “become connected with others about common issues” and they realize that “they are not alone in dealing with their problems” (Delgado-Gaitin cited in Yosso, 2005:79).

One fundamental way that the African migrant youth and their families in this study became connected with each other, was at religious institutions. Religion serves to meet many social needs of immigrants (Hirschman, 2004:1228). Both guardians and learners spoke about the importance of meeting up with fellow migrants at church, many of which are run by African migrants. Foner and Alba (2008:361) suggests that “religion promotes the incorporation of newcomers into their new society and helps them, in a variety of ways, to cope and adapt”. At religious gatherings, migrants become connected and see that “they are not alone in dealing with their problems”. Many migrant youth thus spoke about attending South African churches where they also made friends with people who share the same dispositions.

Such religious meetings serve to bring together certain national groups that then creates a sense of belonging for them. The spaces where migrants meet “provide rich resources for the reproduction of cultural norms and friendships within a distinctive cultural/ethnic tradition” (Devine, 2009:526). For example, Francis (Interview 23:5) mentioned how her Lutheran Church was placed in the Congolese area in which she lived “to encourage people who can’t speak English to come and hear the word of God in French.” Similarly, Philippe’s aunt (Interview 43:2) spoke about her Congolese church in Salt River where special prayer days were held for the Congo, days on which they would eat “Congolese food”.

Additionally, churches and mosques provide migrants with practical support like information about jobs, English classes and job opportunities, as well as providing emergency assistance at times of need. Many migrant youth spoke about how they had received help from their pastors when they were in trouble, such as when Patrice left home and went to stay at his local church until he moved in with his uncle. Similarly, Husseni (Group Discussion 6:1) noted that the friend whose father had kicked him out of home when he failed his matriculation examination had been reunited with his father due to the intervention of the local pastor.

Most importantly, churches and mosques provide help for African migrants in danger. During the three weeks of “xenophobic” violence in May/June of 2008, Blom Hansen (2009:194) argues that churches were “by far the most effective means in providing shelter and protection to African migrants.” Moreover, the Gift of the Givers, a South African Muslim NGO, daily provides African migrants with an enormous amount of support.

This section has highlighted how religion offers African migrants important spaces and tools with which to navigate their transnational lives. As Beyer (cited in Levitt, 2003:848) argues, “religion is a global and societal system as transnational in its operation as the economy or the nation-state and thus it is not surprising that migrants use religious institutions to live their transnational lives”.

As much as religion is not bound to national, societal or political norms, the concept of friendship also offers migrant youth opportunities to imagine a “new world”. It is this final tool of navigation – friendship that this chapter next explores.

Navigation: friendship and kinship

Earlier, I noted that social capital is an important social resource in the process of identity formation (Reynolds, 2007) and the manner in which migrant youth cope in their new host spaces. Holland et al. (2007:97) remind us that migrant youth are not simply receivers of social capital but are constantly involved in the process of making and mobilising capitals both outside and inside schools to assist them in their new host spaces. A key mechanism through which such migrant youth engage their everyday realities is through forming “friendships”. While I have asserted that migrant youth often forgo friendships in their social lives in favour of being closer to family members, this section focuses on how migrant youth conduct themselves in school and the kinds of friendships they form in that space.

I focus specifically on the kinds of peer relationships that migrant youth develop to give them the instrumental and emotional support that they need to endure and overcome the everyday challenges of school life.

Friendships as capital in late modernity

In an uncertain and very mobile world, friendships have become an increasingly important navigation tool for youth across the world. The notion of friendship, therefore, needs to be

teased out to engage with the variety of forms and meanings it may currently have in contemporary environments. Weeks et al. (1999) and Pahl et al. (cited in Reynolds, 2007:386) suggest this situation has emerged because "the shifting circumstances of late modernity encourage individual concern about self-identity and individual freedom to choose [particular] lifestyles". For the study, Yosso's (2005:79) observation that "familial capital [can be] extended to what [is] usually considered family, to include a broader understanding of family, which includes friends" (Yosso, 2005:79) is particularly pertinent.

I focus on youth living in a third space without formal "evaluative guides" (Bauman cited in Allan, 2006:344-345) and suggest that migrant youth invariably turn to peers in their host spaces to form neo-tribes or imaginary communities. In the current study, for example, Philippe, due to his particular experience of displacement and dislocation, formed a crucial neo-tribe with Jean-Paul and Paul with whom he shared a "symbolic commitment" towards surviving in their in-between world (Bauman cited in Allan, 2006:344-345).

Their neo-tribe involved a self definition of "South African, Congolese youth" and existed through their repetitive performance of "rituals" which reinforced their friendship (like dressing in a certain way or involvement in hip-hop music). As such their neo-tribe or friendship provided them with important forms of social contact.

The following subsection discusses the importance of friendships to African migrant youth in the study and how they chose their friends through recognition, which "is central to the mobilisation of social and cultural capital – endlessly 'affirmed and reaffirmed' through everyday social inter-change between social actors with mutual dispositions in a given field" (Devine, 2009:523).

Choosing friends through recognition

This study shows how the migrant youth, through "the unceasing effort of sociability," (Bourdieu, 1986:22) went through processes of identification, difference, space-making and recognition to create friendships. For this, Devine (2009:526) suggests particular "rules of governance predicated on forms of recognition that are mediated by gender, as well as social class, ability and ethnic identity" that frame how youth take on particular forms. Devine (2009) further notes that participation in valued social networks depends on the individual's ability to present themselves as "competent", or having the "mutual dispositions" of the norms of the governing social group.

My concern was in identifying the social characteristics and the cultural capital and cultural knowledge that migrant youth recognised as having use, or exchange value, amongst youth at MVHS. How did migrant youth choose their friends and what social characteristics and dispositions were important in doing so? More importantly, how did this assist them in navigating their way through difficult schooling contexts? I found that the African migrant youth chose friends who shared their origin, nationality and race; friends who they saw as having desirable characteristics; and friends who share their cultural capital and aspirations.

Bonding through origin, nationality and race

Interviews with the various migrant youth showed that they often chose and imagined their friends using particular understandings of country of origin, nationality and race. Putnam (1994) refers to this process as “bonding” where common traits are emphasised because they offer a sense of comfort and “social connectedness” (Reynolds, 2007:385). Jonatha (Interview 26:7) confirmed such an approach when he noted that:

> I am a person who really likes to make friends with everyone, but the majority of the time I am with people that identify with me, who come from the north, if people say it like that. So, I identity with everyone, but the majority of the time I am with other foreigners (Interview 26:7).

Mrs Petit (Interview 41:8) further noted in this regard that “you’ll often find them sitting in groups, you know [youth] from one place. You do find individuals who maybe cross friendships, but the majority would be in groups still”.

Reynolds (2007:386) points out that migrant youth often “valued the ‘taken for granted’ aspect of their same ethnic friendships, as well as the often common understanding that emerged from this”. In the study, it was found that African migrant youth invariably chose friends based on their speaking the same language of their country of origin. This offered them a particular sense of comfort and belonging.[24]

On the other hand, many African migrant youth also chose friends through ‘bridging’, but mainly with African migrants at the school from other countries of origin. I found few

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[24]In other international contexts, the youth in Cassity and Gow’s study (2005:54) spoke of “the necessity of finding people who could speak their language, show them around school and introduce them to the way of life in Australia”, while Steinbach (2010) also described how the migrant youth in her study bonded through the comfort shared language offered them.

instances of youth becoming close friends with South Africans. Crozier and Fraser (2008) note that this "self segregation" or "enforced exclusion" is probably linked to where youth actually live and that the focus on generating multicultural communities (in the UK) invariably leads to communities with common "interests" living mainly in the same geographical areas (based on things like common churches, mosques).

The same logic can apply to "bonding" according to notions of "race". Firstly, given that links between race, class and geographical location are historically framed in South Africa, youth from disadvantaged communities (like many of the coloured and African youth at MVHS) continue to live in circumscribed areas, which means friendship making with African migrant youth is quite difficult. I noted earlier that African migrants tend to avoid residing in township areas due to issues of "xenophobia", crime and concern about the dangers therein. Secondly, despite both being black "on their skins", the way that African migrant and South Africa youth regarded each other as different Africans, becomes a segregating, not a bonding feature in their relationships. Race in contemporary South Africa thus shapes friendship-making in very complex and particular ways.

In addition to choosing friends who shared their country of origin, nationality and language or race, the African migrant youth also tended to choose friends who displayed particular "desirable social characteristics".

Bonding through desirable characteristics

My thesis asserts that African migrant youth focused on choosing "the right friends" mostly because they helped them navigate their challenges at school and home. The study participants chose friends who they thought had the qualities they wanted in a friend, like shared "cultural knowledge", religiousness, or who had the ability to provide them emotional support. Kenneth (Interview 31:3), for example, said that he chose friends that shared his cultural knowledge and identity and had the same morals and etiquette.

> I used to have a Congolese friend but then he started doing things I did not like, touching girls in the class. There is a saying 'Show me your friend and I will know who you are.' So I thought if he does that then people will think that I will also do something unrespectable. So, we are friends but we are not close. So, I met John and then Frank, Zimbabweans, and we became friends.

Similarly, Frank (Interview 6:7) explained that he chose Kenneth and John as friends as they shared his "cultural knowledge." He said, "I like them as they are Zimbabweans and they don't smoke and they don't drink and they are generous."

Orellia (Interview 10:10) asserted that she was friends with Claudene because she was "*sage et sait vivre*" (she is wise and knows how to live), while Frank (Interview 6:3) spoke about choosing his friends due to common religions and the belief that "God could help them go through life".

Reay (2004:572) points to how emotional capital often leads youth to being attracted to one another where emotional capital was "generally confined within the bounds of affective relationships of family and *friends* and encompasses the emotional resources you hand on to those you care about". I argue that this was what primarily informed Paul and Jean-Paul's friendship, as Jean-Paul was crucially important to Paul when he first arrived at the school, especially given the trauma that Paul had previously experienced. Jean-Paul "handed [him] emotional resources" to make his life easier (Interview 16).

Friendship offered migrants a "sense of self" and "important aspects of their personality" could be expressed through friendship (Reynolds, 2007:386). For example, when I first met Agnes and Dorothy they were extremely quiet and timid girls, yet in the latter art of 2009 and early 2010, their friendships with Cara and Orellia respectively "brought them out of their shells". Similarly, at Group Discussion 4 (p.5) when I complemented Paul on his bravery for getting up on the stage in front of the whole school and asked him where his courage came from, he responded, "My friends encourage me and they even inspire me to get into music" (also see Interview 30:8).

Many of the African migrant youth chose friends who they could trust and "acted as a buffer and support mechanism in the face of social exclusion and racial discrimination" (Reynolds, 2007:385). This offered them what Yosso (2005:80) calls navigational and resistant capital. Kenneth observed that his friends were important to him because they protected him:

> We share everything. We talk about everything. We protect each other. When we go to break we will put our money together and buy something. There is other stuff like when there is someone who wants to tease Vincent, I will say, 'No, you must not do that! If you do that you will make me angry.' Then they will stop.

Similarly, Dorothy (Interview 3:3-4) explained that she had chosen Congolese friends as they offered her protection from South Africans who "tell her to go back home". She said that when this happened, her Congolese friends would say, "Just leave them. They can talk what they want because they don't know what they are doing. They are just wasting your time. Just be focused on what you came to do here."

To conclude, while I have predominantly focused on friendships in school, some African migrant youth do continue their friendships outside school. Often they do so for protection when they travel home, so that they are not victimized as foreigners on public transport. Indeed, Mrs Pettit's words below underline the danger that the African migrant youth live in and their dependence on each other for belonging and security.

> I think that there is emotions which one cannot see and one underestimates, I always think about the fear they go through just to walk to the station or to drive in the train, it must be fearful. So one can't underestimate that. I mean, sure, they put up a front, you know, they're brave and everything's fine, but it's not fine. They live in fear. Fear of racist attack. So indeed I feel, although they don't show it and I think they probably get friends, group together and there's strength in groups. We've got a vast group of foreigners that keeps not only their identity, but it keeps that security of belonging (Interview 41:8).

In addition to choosing friends who have the above mentioned desirable characteristics, they migrant youth also chose friends who shared their cultural capital and aspirations.

Choosing friends who share your cultural capital and aspirations

In addition to choosing friends who can offer navigational tools of belonging, inclusion and safety, African migrant youth also often chose those who share their cultural capital and aspirations.

Jonatha explained that he chose friends that would "improve him" and would keep him on the pathway that he wanted to be.

> The way they think, their mindset and the way they envision things. My father always says, 'You can't soar with eagles if you are flying with ducks.' So, I try to analyse people and to see what this guy is all about, if he won't drag me down from my vision that I have or if he will improve me (Jonatha, Interview 26:7).

Similarly, Rose (Interview 8:3) noted that she chose Zimbabwean friends that were hard working, who encouraged her to work harder and, importantly, who spoke English and could help her when she made mistakes.

Having said that, obviously not all migrant youth are hardworking, focused on success or "good influences" (Mr Botholomeuw, Interview 40) at school. For example, when Kenneth's grades slowly started slipping, his friendship with Frank also seemed to slide. When I asked Frank about this (Interview 6:5) he noted that Kenneth no longer displayed the same "exchange value" and that he had become friends with Jean-Paul and Paul because they shared his "mutual dispositions" and desire to succeed academically. In that respect, the friendships of migrant youth were invariably based on different forms of "recognition".

The section ends off the chapter by discussing friendships amongst South African and migrant youth.

South African learners as friends

I have noted that I found friendships between African migrant youth and South African youth to be rare. Youth certainly mixed and were acquainted with each other, but the majority of the migrant youth, barring Cara and Husseni, did not choose to have South African counterparts as “friends” or “best friends”. In fact, from the interviews and diaries, a large number of African migrant youth noted that that they did not like South African learners at all and many of them had only negative things to say about them.

There are various reasons for the African migrant youth choosing and not choosing to be friends with South African youth. First, there is a high level of mistrust and suspicion between the two groups. Patrice (Interview 20:6) said that “you can be their friends, but if you give your back, they will steal from you”. This mistrust and segregation is caused by various factors.

The separation of and mistrust between South African from African migrant learners could be traced back to their guardians and the communities where they live. Nietzsche (cited in Fanon, 1952:4) once noted in this regard that “man’s tragedy is that he was once a child”. In an interview with Claudene’s mother and father (Interview 13:6), for example, her mother described how she had been treated badly as a foreigner in South Africa during the “xenophobic” violence of June 2008. She ended her conversation with the words, “You see our enemy is the darkie, the blacks”. Interactions between communities indelibly shape how they think about each other and how their children interact with each other.

Secondly, separation could be caused by the migrant youth choosing friends who share their cultural capital and knowledges (as discussed in the previous section). Many of the migrant youth, like Godwill, mentioned in their interviews, diaries and group discussion that the South African friends would “lead you in the wrong direction” (Interview 32:5). While this assertion is probably unfounded, it shows the tendency of migrant youth to favour particular kinds of friends who one could argue offered them exchange value within the school and “fuel” to propel their vehicles of navigation along their desire lines.

This is where my final point about segregation and mistrust comes in. At Mountain View High School the language barrier operates as a significant barrier between the various

learners. For example, Patrice mentioned in his interview that “those guys they use just their language and you don’t understand if they are teasing you” (Interview 20:6). Mrs Pettit (Interview 41:5) also noted that “language at the school was a definite barrier. That would be a factor which also divides everyone, because you don’t feel at home in a company, because you don’t understand what they’re saying.” She added that “they’re so much mixed, too many mixed groups, you know and that is because of language”.

Interestingly, language is also a segregating factor amongst African migrant youth at the school. Cara mentioned in a group discussion (4:11) that the “foreigners” also discriminate through language. As the only Malawian in the school, she felt she couldn’t communicate with the majority Congolese and Zimbabwean migrant youth and that sometimes when she spoke to them they would switch to their language so that she couldn’t partake in the conversation.

Having noted the above, the fact that two of the participants, Cara and Husseni, did form close relationships with South African learners should be explained. Malawian Cara has lived in South Africa for 12 years (most of her life) and was appointed Head Girl of MVHS for 2010. She not only makes concerted efforts to speak to all learners but is often marginalised by African migrant youth due to this. Burundian Husseni, who is one of a small number of Muslim boys in Grade 11 and the school, also has close South African friends as his religious identity has offered him access to different social spaces in Cape Town. In Cape Town there are a number of African Muslims and thus Husseni would need to predominantly attend mosques and madrassas where there are large numbers of non-migrant youth.

Despite the dominant mention that South African and African migrant learners did not integrate at MVHS, in their individual interviews, some educators mentioned that the two groups interacted when they worked together towards a common goal. Here, Putnam (cited in Reynolds, 2007:388) notes that “people’s civic participation in associational activities – for example members of a sports team or communities of interest – encourages diverse people to interact with each other”. Similarly, Blau (cited in Reynolds, 2007:388) writes that “this form of cooperative independence, generated through ‘civic participation’ has the potential to create the most conducive environment for the development of cross-ethnic friendships”. Unfortunately, at MVHS, there are few extra mural activities (due to learners all staying far away) and so there are limited opportunities for interaction. However, sport is not the only place where the youth can interact. Blau’s (cited in

Reynolds, 2007:388) work on social network theory identifies that when individuals "are working together to pursue a common goal, individuals' ethnic identity is irrelevant." At MVHS there is a club called The Ambassadors of Peace in which both South African and African migrant youth work together to promote peace at the school. Together, they created an anti-xenophobia poster which presently hangs in a prominent position as you walk up a staircase in the school.

Summary

Section B has discussed the various resources that the African migrant youth draw on to construct their unique vehicles of navigation to manoeuvre their way through their schooling experiences. The following section concludes this chapter and points to the high level of agency that the African migrant youth display in the new spaces that they navigate.

Conclusion

I started this chapter by highlighting that the African migrant youth in this study are "models of individuals of late modernity". The youth have travelled to a far-away space where they have had to navigate difficult spaces on a daily basis, and where the onus has been on them to display "the reflexivity and flexibility of identity of contemporary beings". Unlike other contemporary migrant youth living in other global spaces, the African migrant youth in South Africa are challenged in distinct and unique ways.

Section A of this chapter discussed how when existing in the third space in South Africa, the African migrant youth draw on particular resources to create a unique space for themselves where they can live their own idioms of the transient. This process requires much effort, improvisation and even magic.

Section B highlights how the production of locality, and specifically cultural and social reproduction, within their schooling lives becomes "a daily hazard" for the migrant youth. It discussed how, from their unique third spaces, the African migrant youth draw on various capital (cultural and social), capacities, memories, aspirations and imagination to create their respective vehicles of navigation by which they move through their schooling experiences and their way of life in South Africa.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

Paul Willis (2005:461) has described young people as "the unconscious foot soldiers in the long front of modernity", noting that while they invariably "respond to global changes in disorganised and chaotic ways, they do so to the best of their abilities and often with relevance to the actual possibilities in their lives as they see, live, and embody them". As Willis (2005: 462) points out, "schools are one of the principal sites for the dialectical playing out of the apparent disjunctions and contradictions (in changing societies) which, while mostly misunderstood, underlie some of the most urgent education debates". By "listening" closely to the narratives of the 20 African migrant youth in the study and piecing together their individual life stories, the reader will have concluded that African migration into South Africa is a deeply complex and emblematic phenomenon that holds key lessons for both local contexts and global comparison. Furthermore, the reader will have become aware of the unique local experiences that African migrant youth encountered in South Africa and how these encounters, while embodying the stories of millions of migrants across the world, point to important lessons that can be learnt from the local South African schooling context.

In this concluding chapter, I highlight the various ways in which current shifting global environments have shaped the lives of individual African migrant youth in South Africa and how the youth have acted back on the schooling and social "structures" that shaped and framed their respective experiences. I suggest in this regard that normative categories that previously defined individuals in South Africa and across the modern world for example home, ethnicity, race, class and culture – can no longer be looked at in the same way. In light of this, I suggest that the ways in which youth agency is understood needs to be re-considered and that the ways in which the study participants managed their identity making processes offer key insights into how to do this.

Mainly, I assert that the stories of the African migrant youth in the study and the ways in which they resourcefully and imaginatively engaged with new school spaces in the face of uncertainty can usefully contribute to a re-conceptualisation of the "place of the school" in the lives of all youth that struggle to overcome the rigors and ordeals of difficult spaces. This is particularly evident in the musings of Gedeon, noted below.

For the diary-writing part of the project, I had asked the African migrant youth to write about their current school and social lives and links to their childhood and their memories of their pasts. The musings of one study participant, Gedeon, about his life in the DRC metaphorically captured for the thesis the complex relationship between memory, social life, imagination and aspiration. Rather than describing his thoughts in relation to the hard, physical and ugly world of modern buildings or urban spaces, Gedeon inserted himself into an imaginary world that had beauty, freshness and the possibility of extreme happiness.

> **My HOME**
>
> Life has a sense of exploration. In my home on a sunny day, you could look up into the sky and you would see the sun laugh. If clouds were in the sky, they looked like a soft bed for the sun to relax on. And for us children, life seemed to slow down and the laughter I heard gave me hope to live on and dream. We could live in the bush and swim and I would see birds fly and wonder when I would ever be as free as the birds. I climbed the trees and the hills seemed low and I saw life from a different view and I felt maybe what God felt, as it was the best view ever. At night I would come and climb a tree and look at the sunset. I can't describe the image, but it looked like the sun was dancing and singing at the same time. Then spring came - that is when it rains. This is when God becomes the artist and he paints the plants from the sky. The hills and valleys are gloriously green. When the rain drops it is the happiest time, and we would dance outside and the fruit would come out of the flowers (Gedeon's diary:2).

Like a bulb splitting

Gedeon's musings reminded me of the comment about hope by poet, Maya Angelou: "In the worst of times, incredibly, that's when hope appears, like a seed, like a bulb splitting. One never knows what it cost a bulb to split...open and the tendril to come out." It was further reminiscent of Mamphela's (2002:17) metaphorical description of the Western Cape:

> Once a year – in glorious technicolour – the wild flowers of the Western Cape burst into blossom. It's extraordinary that such vibrancy could grow from the arid semi-desert of the West-Coast, but it is precisely because of the harshness of the environment that the colours are so bright (Mamphela, 2002:17).

Indeed, what the stories of Gedeon and the 19 other youth have shown is how life outside of school looked like for them plagued by poverty, danger and intolerance – as well as how they navigated a school space characterised by numerous "obstacles" internal to the school. More importantly, the thesis demonstrates how the ways that they responded in the face of adversity led to their individual "tendrils opening up, ready to bloom". Bourdieu reminds us that the lives of individuals cannot only be understood by what happens to them, but also according to what they do in such situations (cited in Calhoun et al., 1993:3).

As this is never a simple process, the thesis sought to reveal how migrant youth struggled to live and survive in destitute spaces where they invariably had fewer resources or social assistance and how they spoke back to these realities in the context of the school that they attended. The thesis also documents how, faced with uncertainty in new spaces, migrant youth drew on various internal and external resources to motivate and assist them in the navigations of their schooling lives.

Moving from near to far spaces

A key feature of the study was its disclosure of the unique life history, voice and experience of migration and schooling of each migrant youth participant. The reader discovered how some youth left their homes due to war or persecution, while others, like Gedeon above, left their countries of origin due to poverty or lack of opportunity. What each of the stories and journeys had in common, however, were that all the youth and their families had to leave their homes because the onus was on them to go out in search of a better life elsewhere. A further commonality was that while each of the youth travelled quite different, often arduous journeys to arrive in the far way space of South Africa, the "land of possibility" they invariably experienced quite similar experiences in the new spaces that they entered. To reflect this, the thesis points to how, once in South Africa, the African migrant youth encountered a variety of immigration lines and challenges that marked them in very particular ways and brought into question key aspects of their core identities and ways of life.

The ways in which the youth managed their identity confusions and set about reconstructing their lives highlights Bourdieu's observation, introduced in Chapter Two, that "social life must be understood in terms that do justice both to the objective material, social, and cultural structures, and to the constituting practices and experiences of individuals and groups" (Calhoun et al., 1993:3). For that reason, I highlight in the sections below what the stories and actions of the youth said about the deconstruction of normative categories of home, ethnicity, race and class in the thesis and the ensuing implications for understanding the various educational experiences of youth migrants in both global and local spaces.

The elusive concept of home

Central to this thesis was how the concept of home, which has traditionally been linked to individual identity and respective senses of belonging, has become elusive as more and more people move away from their fixed and stable physical and emotional locations.

Gedeon's description of his home in the DRC painted a picture of enchantment, belonging and comfort. In the DRC, home was the centre of his world and a place where life was slow, the sun laughed and he could live a carefree life in the forest where his "ancestors" had climbed the same trees. Indeed, at such a place both vertical and horizontal life lines crossed[25], and offered him ontological stability (Berger, 1984:55).

However, due to poverty and lack of opportunity Gedeon had left the DRC and travelled with his family to South Africa, so that his mother could offer him and his siblings a better life. They now live in a run-down, sterile compound in a suburb in the Cape Flats area of Cape Town. Away from his original, "near" familiar space, Gedeon presently lives a significantly different life.

In the same way, the thesis also shows how away from their original centre, the other migrant youth created different spaces of belonging (or an illusion of permanence) and made the city space their home. They did this mainly through the production of a kind of phenomenology of "home" that centred the world for them (Back, 2005:40).

Berger (1984:64) writes that "the mortar that holds the improvised home together is memory". Living as transmigrants, the youth combined the old and the new and created imaginary homelands and neo-tribes that offered them a sense of stability and identity.

An important assertion in the thesis is that the actions of the African migrant youth in the face of uncertainty in the South African space were not limited to the local. As the international literature reviewed in the thesis has highlighted, millions of migrants around the world are faced daily with the same experiences of dislocation as they move away from their homes and try to centre a place for themselves in the world. In this regard Rapport and Dawson (1995:79) write that in a world of fluidity, with individuals and groups

[25] Berger (1984:56) notes that "the vertical line was the path leading upwards towards the sky and downwards to the underworld. The horizontal line represented the traffic of the world, all the possible roads leading across the earth to other places. Thus, at home, one was nearest to the gods in the sky and to the dead in the underworld. This nearness promised access to both. And at the same time, one was at the starting point and, hopefully, the returning point of all terrestrial journeys".

entering and leaving spaces, "non-places" have become the real measure of our time. Thus, the manner in which individuals gather alternative life lines together to weave their own sense of home shows how "home is no longer a dwelling, but the untold story of a life being lived" (Berger, 1984:64).

Race and class reconsidered

The thesis further highlights how the 20 African migrant youth had to work through and renegotiate new forms of race and class in South Africa. Like the notion of home, it was found that historical, normative categories of race and class are no longer helpful in understanding complex school spaces. In South Africa the role of "race" and identity making in the construction of communities has not only taken a decidedly different 21st Century form, but the terms themselves have been turned upside down.

The narrative of the thesis describes how the lives of Gedeon and the other 19 participant migrant youths were shaped in key ways by both the physical and the emotional effects of the immigration experience, and were expressed mostly in their understandings of issues of race and class in South Africa. It further shows how the immigration status of the guardians of migrant youth, alongside their inability to work in South Africa, shaped the spaces in which the youth lived and the kinds of schools that they could attend. Indeed, the immigration line cut through the lives of the migrant youth in both literal and figurative ways.

Challenging discourses of race and ethnicity

The African migrant youth in this study arrived in South Africa having been "raced" and "ethnicised" in their "national" contexts in particular ways. For each African migrant youth race, ethnicity and nationality intersected in particular ways. Upon arriving in South Africa, however, they quickly discovered that their "older" understandings of these categories no longer fitted with the kinds of social interactions they encountered or the stark localities in which they took up residence.

Hall (1997: 27) notes that in such situations individuals either learn to adapt to their new social and physical spaces or they returned to "some form of the local". This adaptation applies to both those arriving in new spaces and those already residing in host spaces, which are changing due to the dynamics that new arrivals inject into these spaces. Hall suggests that individuals call upon old forms of national identities in quite defensive and

hazardous ways. This thesis has highlighted how being threatened by increasing immigration into their already pressurised spaces, many South Africans have become defensive and “returned to the local” reflected in some South Africans’ “xenophobic” attitude towards the migrant “other”.

Regarding African migrants, this thesis has shown how, in the face of dislocation, they to return to “some form of the local”. Bauman (cited in Allan 2006: 345) further reminds us that when this happens it is invariably “unguided” and is not firmly grounded in a particular “value system” that offers meaning to the group. The danger of this, as I noted in Chapter Two, is that groupings or neo-tribes can get called into being that are not socially or culturally grounded and that then exist mainly as “imagined communities” or exist predominantly in “symbolic form”. Bauman (1992:137) cautions that in order for these new forms of self-definition to continue to exist, neo-tribes need to repetitively and imaginatively perform and re-perform symbolic rituals.

Taking the above into consideration, another important assertion this thesis makes is that the local lived experiences and actions of the African migrant youth in the absence of “evaluative guidelines” in the South African space were not limited to the local. Indeed, one could argue that living far from “old familiar spaces”, or being influenced by various scapes that flow into spaces from which they have not moved, youth around the world are going through similar processes of “self governance” and “self making” (Dillabough & Kennelly, 2010:7).

In the thesis I suggest that this occurred in profound ways at the local level of Mountain View High School. As has been shown in Chapter Five, constructs of race and ethnicity played themselves out at the school in ways that were deeply infused into the identity making processes of the individual youth and that allowed them to “talk race” without engaging with the previous physical manifestations thereof. Hall (1997:53) refers to this as their being able to be “black in their heads” but not “because of their skins”. For the youth at the school, understanding the particular co-ordinates of new “race and ethnic constructs” that framed the relations of the powerful to the subordinate then became paramount.

The key problem for the thesis, however, was that it was almost impossible to identify or define who the powerful were at the local school and how this power was exercised. For

example, while the majority of the school population came from the surrounding townships and would colloquially be referred to as African, they could not necessarily be regarded as powerful in the schooling situation. Study participants constantly spoke about how difficult it was to talk and engage with South African youth because they treated them like the “black other” and also insisted on speaking isiXhosa. However, in the context of a schooling system that predominantly engaged learners in English that then itself “othered” these South African learners, this would hardly be regarded as being in a position of power (through sheer numbers).

Indeed, a key observation in the study was that power at the school was exercised by those who “had the strategies to play the game” (Tranter, 1994:6) in the middle class education system and who had the disposition and values attached to such a system. The thesis has argued that many African migrant youth come to what Bourdieu (1986) refers to as “the field” with the strategies “to play the game’” and that their “skills” in the form of various capitals are recognised by the “referees” as powerful on the field. However, the thesis has also shown that the number of African migrant youth who are regarded as “powerful” are few, as “the conditions of the pitch” limit their strategies and curb their power. Therefore in such a situation, the majority of both African migrant youth and South African learners seemed equally powerless. The focus on a form of “racelessness” was very much bound up in characterisations (like those of Mrs Petit in Chapter Five) of the different groups of learners at the school as “cultured” and “refined” as opposed to “harsh”, “violent”, and “dangerous”.

This “powerlessness” had severe implications for the youth in the study and in the school in that often “by stabilising themselves and their surrounding world” by them “internalising and mobilising particular cultural meanings and identities” (Dolby, 2001:9), the learners at the school called into play “racial subjectivities” that alienated them from each other and reinforced their otherness. In the particular context of MVHS, this was even more complex in that the learners struggled to discern between different forms of “blackness” framed by the “previous” constructs of ethnicity, race and nationality that they each entered the school with.

Changing forms of class

Frank (Diary:10) observed in the study that "it is what we have, not what we are given, that separates one person from another". It has been suggested in the thesis that "what they have" invariably lay in the particular dispositions of the individual African youth towards schooling, and their attitudes and aptitudes in this regard.

Bourdieu (1990:63) notes that the reproduction of class differences and corresponding educational inequalities occur when the habitus of different individuals predispose them towards particular ways of behaving and responding, and that its main power stems from a "feel of the game" and "a mastery of its logic" that has been acquired through experience over a period of time (Reay, 2004:433). Thus the value of the habitus of individuals laid both in the various capitals such individuals possessed and how they utilised it in shaping their individual life trajectories (as noted in Chapter Two).

In the study, the African migrant youth invariably characterised themselves (whether true or not) as "hardworking", "disciplined", "focused on learning", "well mannered", and "deeply respectful". These are the attributes normally associated with success in an essentially middle-class education system. The youth further spoke about how these "capitals" were generated in the home and within the familial relations therein, which carried for each of them deeply embedded emotional and psychological strength.

Study participant Rose spoke, for example, about how her uncle, his wife and her brother not only regularly assisted her with her schoolwork but also in "talking about life itself" and the kinds of techniques and understandings she would need to overcome, and to navigate through, the ordeals that were to come.

However, the thesis also highlights how the notion of class was deconstructed and reformed for the African migrant youth in the local schooling space. What became clearly apparent in the study was how a supposedly static and stable category of class, that supposedly "kept people in their place" in society in normal situations, has changed shape and form in local spaces and in quite challenging ways. This has occurred in ways where prior definitions of class no longer aptly reflect how class "gets done" in new spaces (Bourdieu, 1987:13).

In interviews with the study participants, it became quickly apparent that the youth and their families could not be easily "caricatured" into a "working class box" based on the school that they attended, their economic standing or where they resided traditional

markers in South Africa that were used previously to define social class. In the first place, the majority of the youth reported that many of their guardians were "decently educated" and that some of them were even educated up to the tertiary level. Yet, notwithstanding this educational base, few of them were able to find employment that utilised these skills or qualifications (Gedeon's mother, for example, was qualified as an educator but worked as a shop assistant). Secondly, based on their financial need and the realities of living as migrants in South Africa, most of the youth and their families resided in areas that were deeply impoverished and that challenged the ways in which they thought about their social aspirations. Immigration restrictions and regulations thus not only limited their accrual of economic capital, and thus their social mobility, but forced them to make choices that did not conform to traditional social class orientations. Also, guardians of African migrant youth often chose to reside in areas which they could not afford, yet which they chose based on their feelings of insecurity and attempts to be closer to "particular kinds of schools". This had implications for the kinds of social and economic lives the youth and their families could live in Cape Town.

Lastly, Bourdieu (cited in Lingard & Christie, 2003:324) notes that learners from disadvantaged backgrounds normally struggle at school because of a form of misrecognition between their home habitus and the habitus implicit in the curriculum and pedagogies of schooling. However, this was invariably not the case with the African migrant youth in the study as they carried capitals with them into school that they usefully utilised to navigate their ways through the educational system.

The social and economic experiences of the African migrant youth and their families in Cape Town challenged traditional understandings of social class in South Africa and offered crucial insights into the different workings of class in what is described as impoverished areas. Crucially, neither "succeeding" at school nor having the "necessary attributes" to succeed at school necessarily lead to individual African migrant youth developing productive navigational pathways through their lives. Nor did having the capacity to aspire mean that they usefully overcame the ordeals and challenges associated with the school that they attended. In this regard, Appadurai (2004:69) has asserted that in a world plagued by poverty yet fuelled by possibility, the capacity (implying them having certain capitals) to aspire is a "navigational" capability that is improved every time it is exercised. At Mountain View High School this capacity to aspire played itself out

in interesting but different ways, which suggests that alternative approaches to understanding emerging forms of youth identity in South Africa are necessary.

A key contribution of the thesis is that is has shown how African migrant youth dealt with living in poverty in their unique third spaces. They did this first by creating their own idioms of transient to deal with their identity confusions, and, secondly, agentially and imaginatively drawing on various resources from their pasts, presents and futures to navigate their way through their schooling lives and their lives outside of school. Having said that, the main contribution of the study has also been its identification of key strategies developed by African migrant youth to navigate their schooling lives, and what this said about the current South African education system.

The established social order and a challenged education system

In the thesis, the ways in which African migrant youth navigated both their schooling spaces and their lives outside of school revealed much about current conditions in South Africa and aspects of established social orders (Bourdieu, 1986, 1977). It further points to key ways in which the education system perpetuated the inequality nexus within the country.

The sections below explore the ways in which the "place of the school" in the lives of youth that struggle to overcome the rigors and ordeals of difficult spaces, can better be understood. I further discuss how knowing more about the various internal and external resources that motivated migrant youth and assisted them in the navigations of their schooling lives, can assist in engaging with current challenges within the South African education system.

Consistently mentioned in all interviews and interactions was the importance of education and the recognition of its value in the future lives of African migrant youth. Education was seen as the main way out of their current dire situation and thus the school became a central figure within their future imaginings. While Anisef et al. (cited in Wilkinson, 2002:187) note that this was motivated by what they refer to as immigrant drive, the study showed that when "the school" provided both extrinsic and intrinsic value to learners they tended to stay in school longer and were willing to do more to succeed.

Regarding extrinsic value, Yosso (2005:79) highlights the importance of familial capital that involves a commitment to community well being and expands the concept of family to include a much broader understanding of kinship. Yosso (2005:80) points to how the nurturing of friendships, where learners rely on each other, should be seen as an important component of familial capital. In that way, the current (nuclear) understanding of family and its connection to the school in its current form needs to be reconsidered.

Regarding intrinsic value, Steinbach (2010) notes that high levels of motivation to study and "work hard" were invariably linked to the internal strengths of individuals and to how they individually set about their individual schooling lives. In the case of the African migrant youth in the study, their collective memories played key roles in building up forms of resistance and agency within each of them. Their memories became "a set of inner resources, social competencies and cultural strategies" (Stanton-Salazar & Spina cited in Yosso 2005:80) that assisted them to overcome their struggles.

For the contemporary era and the current education system in South Africa a key concern for the author is the aversion to developing a collective memory that can serve as an inner resource for all youth. In that regard, there is a serious disjuncture in South Africa presently between a liberal, middle class-oriented schooling system and the habitus of the large number of youth that live in struggling environments, and thus a lack of appreciation for the tremendous hardships that they encounter on a daily basis. For that reason, I point out in the thesis how the migrant youth went about building up intrinsic value for themselves, namely through religion and partaking in different forms of popular culture.

An important lesson that can be taken away from the study is the conceptualisation and role of religion for the individual youth. It was found that religion invariably provided safe havens from which the migrant youth could negotiate their lives. Because the concept of religion for many of the youth was not tied to issues of race, class, gender, geographical location, nationality or politics, they were able to firmly locate it within their respective lives and call upon both its physical and psychological manifestation to daily assist them. Religion also opened up key ways with which they could connect with each other and others in various communities.

This provides an important lesson for the education system, namely that its previous "moral core" to connect learners with each other probably lies elsewhere and that it needs

to grapple with how to embrace this and make it work for the overall education system and its goals. There are valuable opportunities within religious spaces to build confidence among learners or develop key communication skills or opportunities that need to be further explored.

Perhaps the most profound internal and external resource that African migrant youth alluded to in the study was their participation in various forms of popular culture. Given the low regard accorded to both their national identities and their identities within their local spaces, the African migrant youth displayed a particular love and passion for "black popular culture". A feature of this culture was not only the ways in which they embraced the music but also ways of dressing, speaking and talking. Ibrahim (1999:353) suggests that such actions are "articulations of the youths' desire to belong to a location, a politics and a memory". It is the attempt by youth to "locate themselves firmly within a global imaginary".

This marking out of an authoritative space for themselves in the local schooling context should be taken seriously and be rightfully regarded as a growing awareness and a tangible form of identity making within the group and within individuals. Willis (2005:476-477) has noted in this regard that:

> This growing awareness is a kind of variable and unpredictable mind-full-ness about individual choices and their limits and lodgings within complex social relations and structural determinants. These new, yet non-dominant, forms of identity and expression are precarious and open to further rounds of commodification. But there is nevertheless a dialectical site to be mined for clues to new kinds of public sphere. For it is within these public spheres that the subordinate mind-full-ness associated with consumer culture might become a purposeful self-conscious mindfulness of individual and collective action.

Rather than harping on about the dangers of popular culture, Willis advises educators that they should explore how forms of cultural consumption and production (as exhibited by the African migrant youth in the study) might usefully operate in less exploitative ways and in so doing recognise the value of popular culture to building up value within youth and a sense of belonging for them.

It is notable from the above that the overall education system in South Africa can take significant lessons from how migrant youth in the study went about processes of developing intrinsic value for themselves. I argue that rather than imposing criteria on youth that do not fit their habituses, the education system can gainfully focus on the assets of youth like those described by Yosso (2005) that they possess both within themselves

and in their communities, Using their assets like their linguistic capital and their interests in certain learning areas would empower learners rather than the status quo where they are invariably disempowered at every turn.

What the case study of Mountain View High School and its complex and difficult scenarios highlight is that there are no easy solutions in resolving many of the social, teaching and learning challenges that emerge from within South African schools. With the demise of apartheid in 1994, education policy and the curriculum were meant to redress fundamental aspects of the schooling system that underwrote forms of inequality, racism and disadvantage. The current influx of African migrant youth into the schooling system and their numerous struggles to find a "home" within the schooling space is a timely reminder of the consequences of this inaction and the absence of a language and a vocabulary for policy makers, practitioners, educators and youth to speak to each other in transformative ways.

In that regard, the study asks important conceptual questions about how policy makers in South Africa go about understanding migration and the education of migrant youth in the country. Indeed, current levels of mistrust, animosity and violence will continue to undermine change within the education sector if lessons are not taken on how African migrant youth navigate (successfully and unsuccessfully) their ways through the present education system.

Giving a platform to important voices

The chapter started out with an extract from Gedeon's diary about his life in the DRC. Via such reflections like Gedeon's, I sought to listen to the stories of the African migrant youth and to interpret their stories in ways that provided realistic snapshots of their lived experiences at the intersection of the global and the local. The aim of providing the snapshots was to show how they exercised the capacity to aspire and constructed their unique vehicles of navigation to manoeuvre their way through their lived and schooling spaces. Their stories highlighted experiences where they displayed courage, improvisation and imagination.

However, the youths' stories also spoke of the immense effort required to negotiate their realities and to continuously create a sense of identity in the third space that they

occupied. The youth spoke distressingly about the difficulties of reproducing their lives culturally and socially and of navigating their way in South Africa.

In being true to their voices and their pain, a key goal of the thesis has been to highlight how the constructions, imaginations and aspirations of the migrant youth were invariably not strong enough to withstand the harshness of their lives both outside of school and within the contested school space. In this regard Berger (1984:8) has written:

> Those who first invented and then named the constellations were storytellers. Tracing an imaginary line between a cluster of stars gave them an image and an identity. The stars threaded on that line were like events threaded on a narrative. Imagining the constellations did not of course change the stars, nor did it change the black emptiness that surrounds them. What it changed is the way people read the night sky.

In Gedeon's memories of climbing the trees in the DRC to gaze at the moon and the stars, he had consciously traced "an imaginary line in the night sky" and in so doing had threaded for himself a future life-narrative filled with possibility. In that regard, this thesis has not only provided "voice" to previously silenced experiences and navigations but has tried to show how the possibility of "possibilities" frame the imaginings of youth around the world.

By giving a platform to the voices of these individuals of late modernity, the thesis has highlighted both the personal dimension that emerges from the intersection of global patterns of migration and local experiences and a perspective of globalization from below (Portes, 1997) where youth navigating processes of globalization interact with, and act back on, the structures and forces around them, and in so doing paint their own canvasses.

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Jean-Paul, Interview 16, 22/07/2009:1-8

Philippe, Interview 17, 23/07/2009:1- 8

Cara, Interview 18, 24/07/2009:1-7

Patrice, Interview 20, 25/07/2009:1-7

Husseni, Interview 21, 28/07/2009:1-9

Gedeon, Interview 22, 30/07/2009:1-8

Francise, Interview 23, 04/08/2009:1-8

Alice, Interview 24, 06/08/2009:1-6

Jonatha, Interview 26, 21/08/09:1-10

John, Interview 28, 22/08/2009:1-6

Paul, Interview 30, 26/08/2009:1-11

Kenneth, Interview 31, 28/08/09:1-9

Godwill, Interview 32, 31/08/2009:1-8

Dorothy & Agnes, Interview 45, 28/01/2010:1-2

Group Discussions

1. Group Discussion 1: First meeting, 29/05/2010
2. Group Discussion/workshop 2: Trees and storytelling
3. Group Discussion/workshop 3: Bravery and resilience, 08/08/2010:1-6.
4. Group Discussion 4: MVHS Winter Mini Festival, 21/08/08: 1-13
5. Group Discussion 5: On rap with Jean-Paul, Philippe and Husseni, 25/08/08: 1-7
6. Group Discussion 6: Husseni, Paul and Frank, 22/01/2010: 1-3

Trees of Life

Alice, Cara, Claudene, Francis, Gedeon, Godwill, Husseni, Philippe, Rose.

Diaries

Alice: 1-20

Claudene: 1-19

Francise: 1-43

Frank: 1-10

Agnes: 1-25

Gedeon: 1-30

Godwill: 1-7

Husseni: 1-44

Jean-Paul: 1-10

Jonatha: 1-6

Olivia: 1-45

Paul: 1-16

Rose: 1-27

Raps

Jean-Paul. 2009. Rap 1:1

Philippe, Jean-Paul & Paul. 2009. Rap 2:1

Educators

Mrs Colly, Interview 33, 14/10/09:1-6

Mr Safradien, Interview 34, 17/11/2009:1-7

Mrs Small, Interview 35, 19/11/2009:1-34

Mrs Renata, Interview 37, 24/11/09:1-11

Mr Merel, Interview 38, 25/11/09:1-15

Miss Daniels, Interview 39, 1/12/2009:1-14

Mr Botholomeuw, Interview 40, 2/12/2009:1-12

Mrs Pettit, Interview 41, 04/12/09:1-6

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Guardians

Frank's mother, Interview 7, 8/07/2009:1-3

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ADDENDA

ADDENDUM A AND B NOT ADDED AS REVEAL SCHOOL'S REAL NAME

ADDENDUM C

UNIVERSITEIT·STELLENBOSCH·UNIVERSITY
jou kennisvennoot • your knowledge partner

STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Navigating their Way. African Migrant Youth and their experiences of schooling in Cape Town.

Consent form for parent/guardian of participant.

Your child is asked to participate in a research study conducted by Caroline Foubister (BA, PGCE, Bed Hons) from the Department of Education Policy Studies at Stellenbosch University. Information gathered from this research will be contributed to a master's thesis and possibly a research paper. Your child was selected as a possible participant in this study because your child is an African migrant learner (person born outside of South Africa coming from Africa) at the school. He or she is also in a grade between grade 8 and 11.

1. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This study wishes to investigate how children of refugees, asylum seekers and economic migrants experience schooling at the school and in their context out of school. Furthermore it investigates how they use their resources available to them, for example family, religion and friends, to navigate their way through the schooling system.

The study is important as there are a large number of African migrant learners in South African schools. But not much research has been done on their integration into South African schools, their experiences of schooling or their progress and development at school.

2. PROCEDURES

If you volunteer your child to participate in this study, I would ask him/her to do the following things:

- Him/her partaking in a few interviews (individual and group). I will ask him/her questions about his/her experiences of schooling in Cape Town both within and outside of the school.
- Him/her completing some writing for me in a secure environment. The writing will help me to develop a life history of him/her.
- Him/her participating in some art/drama/dance workshops at the school, which will take place on a Saturday morning in the school hall. Transport money and snacks will be provided.
    - Workshop one – story telling and poetry writing.
      9-12:30 am
    - Workshop two – drawing and dancing.
      9-12:30 am
- Observing him/her in the classroom context. I will sit in the classroom and observe teaching, learning and social interaction within the classroom.
- Visiting your home and community for individual interviews and talk. This will be arranged with you individually.

3. POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

The study could have some risks. I cannot guarantee that your child may not experience feelings of exclusion and difference due to this research. He or she may have to talk about uncomfortable issues that may raise questions for him or herself and may cause him or her some discomfort in dealing with them. I will however ensure at all times that his or her participation does not lead to any exclusion at school.

I will protect his or her rights and interests at all times within the school and will communicate all concerns with him or her in private.

I will not force him or her to talk about anything that he or she wishes not to talk or write about. If he or she feels uncomfortable during the research process, he or she may either refuse to answer questions, or may withdraw from it at any point that he or she may wish to.

The workshops are being held on a Saturday, so your child does not have to stay after school during the week. The school is safe and has security personal at the entrance.

4. POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO SUBJECTS AND/OR TO SOCIETY

The study hopes to identify the various kinds of challenges that learners face at the school. This would help point to possible support structures that could be developed to assist African migrant learners at the school and other schools in the Western Cape and South Africa. Such interventions however lie in the hands of school administrators. My task in the research is to produce a paper that hopefully brings a better understanding of the key challenges your child is facing.

Furthermore, through the identification of the kinds of strengths and assets that learners bring to the school, educators at the school will be able to better understand and assist your children. As you and your children are an important part of South African society, it is hoped that the study will contribute to the ways your children access and benefit from educational provision. Education is after all the right of every child.

5. PAYMENT FOR PARTICIPATION

Your child will not be paid for participating in this research. However, he or she will receive travel money to come to workshops and snacks at the meetings.

6. CONFIDENTIALITY

Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be identified with you will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission or as required by law. Confidentiality will be maintained by means of not using the school's and the child's name in the study. Pseudonyms (alternative names) will be used.

The information received will be kept safely at my home on my laptop computer. The computer is protected by a password.

The interviews are to be recorded by a digital Dictaphone. Immediately after the interviews, the information will be downloaded onto my lap top, which is protected by a password. You or your child has the right to review/edit the recordings. No one other than me will have access to the recordings. The information downloaded onto my laptop will be erased once my thesis has been completed.

When the results of the study are published, pseudonyms for the school, its educators and your child will be used, if information relating to him or her is included therein.

7. PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

You can choose whether to be in this study or not. If you volunteer to be in this study, you may withdraw at any time without consequences of any kind. You may also refuse to answer any questions you don't want to answer and still remain in the study. The

investigator may withdraw you from this research if circumstances arise which warrant doing so.

8. IDENTIFICATION OF INVESTIGATORS

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact:

Caroline Foubister (Main Investigator)

0738722438 or at 22 Duke Street, Observatory Cape Town

or Dr Azeem Badroodien (Supervisor)

0741432440 or 0218082263 (work) or

Education Faculty of Stellenbosch University, GG Cilliers Building, Education Policy Studies, Room 3030

or write to Stellenbosch University, GG Cilliers Building, Education Policy Studies, Private Bag X1, Matieland, 7602

9. RIGHTS OF RESEARCH SUBJECTS

You may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty. You are not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies because of your participation in this research study. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research subject, contact Ms Maléne Fouché [mfouche@sun.ac.za; 021 808 4622] at the Division for Research Development.

SIGNATURE OF RESEARCH SUBJECT OR LEGAL REPRESENTATIVE

The information above was described to me the parent/guardian of the participant by Caroline Foubister in English and French if required. I can understand this language or it was satisfactorily translated to me. I was given the opportunity to ask questions and these questions were answered to my satisfaction.

I hereby consent voluntarily for my child to participate in this study. I have been given a copy of this form.

____

Name of participant (your child's name)

____

Name of Legal Representative (this is your name)

____ ______________

Signature of Legal Representative (your signature) **Date**

SIGNATURE OF INVESTIGATOR

I declare that I explained the information given in this document to ___________________________. He/she was encouraged and given ample time to ask me any questions. This conversation was conducted in Afrikaans/English/French and no translator was used/this conversation was translated into ___________ by ________________________.

____ _______________

Signature of Investigator **Date**

ADDENDUM D – SAME AS ABOVE, EXCEPT IS DIRECTED AT PARTICIPANT

ADDENDUM E

QUESTIONNAIRE 1

1. Name: __________________________________Surname: ___________________________________
2. Birth date: __________________Country of birth:

   ____
3. Other countries you have lived in:

   ____
4. Home language: ____
5. Other languages:____
6. Where do you live?

   ____

7. Have you lived anywhere else in Cape Town since you have been here? If yes, where?

____

8. Why did your family come here and not to another South African city?

____

9. How do you get to school? _______________How long does this take you?

____

10. Who do you live with? ____

11. How many people in your immediate family (Not including cousins and grandparents)?

____

____

12. Are they all in South Africa?

____

13. What does your father/mother/guardian do now?

____

14. What did they do in your home country?

____

15. Do your parents/guardians speak English?

____

16. Who is your class teacher? ____

17. What subjects do you take?

____

18. Do you take Afrikaans? _________Would you like to take French? _______________________

19. When did you start at Mountain View High School? ____________________________

20. Why did you choose Mountain View High School?

____

Migration

1. When did you come to South Africa?
2. Why did your family leave your home country?
3. Why did your family choose South Africa?
4. What other countries did your family think of going to? Why did they not go there?
5. How long did it take you to get here?
6. Did you stay anywhere on the way? Where?
7. Was it easy or difficult to get here? Why?
8. Did you miss out on education on your way here?
9. Are you here for a long time or does your family wish to go elsewhere?
10. Could you back home tomorrow or is it not safe?

ADDENDUM F

DIARY WRITING

You may write in French or English.

1. Describe a "normal" day in your home country before you came here. Tell me what you did from the moment you woke up to the moment you went to bed.

Where did you live and with whom?

What did you eat?

What time did you get up, go to school and go to sleep?

What was school like? What did you do there? Did you like it?

Who were your friends at school?

What did you do in the afternoon?

Did you have any jobs to do after school or at home?

2. Describe your village and home. See, hear, taste, smell likes and dislikes.

3. Write about your journey to South Africa.

When did your family or you decide to come here and why?

Describe the preparations your family made to come here?

How did you travel here?

How long did it take you?

Who did you travel with?

Where did you stay?

Describe your experience of crossing the border.

4. Write about what it was like (emotions) when you first arrived here in South Africa and at school. How did you feel? Did you feel homeless? Was it easy or hard and why?

5. Write about your first impressions/thoughts of South Africa

The people, neighbourhood, buildings, sounds, smells, tastes....

6. Complete the sentences:
    a. I like South Africa because.....
    b. I don't like South Africa because...

7. Write about a bad day in South Africa. What happened and why was it bad?

8. Write about a good day in South Africa. What happened and why was it good?

Does your past influence your learning? For example being through war and poverty? Does this influence your thinking and emotions?

ADDENDUM G

QUESTIONS FOR INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW

COMMUNITY AND HOME

1. Can you tell me about this area?

   mixed community?

   mixed **nationality** **community**?

   foreigners where you live?

2. Does your **family** see South Africans or mainly the refugee community?
3. Does the “refugee community” **help** each other? How?
4. Where do you go to **church**? Does the church help you?
5. Can you describe your life here?

   work in your home country - now you can just go to school/food/books)

   treated as an **adult** in your home country?

YOU AND YOUR PARENTS/FAMILY

1. Tell me about your **home**...

   jobs at home? Gender

   help your parents? Translating etc.

2. Is **education** important to you?
3. And your **parents**?

   expectations for you? Why?

4. If you dressed more **South African or had an SA boyfriend**, how would your parents feel?
5. Tell me about the relationship between you and them...

   (tension between you and your parents? E.g. move away from your culture?)

6. Do your parents help you with your homework?
7. Where do your **brothers and sister** go to school?

SCHOOL

1. Let's talk about MVHS.

   What do you like about the school?

   What do you dislike about the school?
2. Can you comment on the **quality of education** in South Africa compared to your home country?
3. Are you in the **right grade** according to you?

   How do you feel about this?

   Have you stayed back a year?
4. How is the **system different**? How is it the same? (Grades, subjects, number of learners in a class, teaching methods, discipline?)

   Did girls and boys get the same education in your home country?

   Does the **school year** differ?
5. Let's talk about being in class...

   Work difficult here

   Keep up in class

   Understand what's written on the board
6. Can you say something about **discipline**?
7. What is it like **learning with South African** learners?

   How are you different to them?

   Do you think you do better than they do?
8. Do you find the South African **curriculum** excludes you? Too South Africa?
9. Can you talk about the **teachers** here?

   How do they **treat** you?

   Do you get enough **support**?

   Do the teachers make you feel **included** in the school?

   Can you ask for **help**?
10. Do you feel part of the school?

    Do you have an opportunity to share your culture?
11. How is the school run?
12. Do you feel **stressed** by school? Why or why not?

LANGUAGE

1. Tell me about learning **English**...

   Is it easy or difficult learning in English? Reading English textbooks? Can you explain...

   What's it like in the classroom?

   need a translator or interpreter in class? Or do you understand your teachers?
2. Is English as a First Language different to the English you did at home?
3. Do extra English classes help you?
4. How do you feel about doing **Afrikaans**?
5. How are the **French** classes run?
6. Can you understand what happens in the classroom, if South African slang/**multilingualism** is used?
7. Do South Africans speak **isiXhosa** around you? How does this make you feel?
8. Can you understand isiXhosa?
9. Is learning **English** important to you? Why?
10. If the other learners in the school speak mainly isiXhosa and Afrikaans, do you want to learn isiXhosa?

FRIENDS/DISCRIMINATION/XENOPHOBIA

1. Tell me about your **friends** at school?

   (Foreigners? Your own nationality?)

   South African friends? Have you ever been to their houses? To a party?
2. How do South African learners **treat** you? Why?
3. Do **white/coloured** South Africans treat you differently?
4. Do you have to **change** to fit in?
5. Do you want to be like South African learners?
6. Do you think the foreign language speakers find it more difficult than the English speaking foreigners?
7. Do you relate better to your teachers than the South African learners?
8. Can you comment on the safety at school?
9. Would you like the school to make people aware of your different nationality like have a "diversity day" or would you like to just blend in?
10. Do you think the school needs to do more to **integrate** you and South African learners?
11. Were you affected by last year's **xenophobic** attacks?
12. How do people treat you out of school and in your community?

ADDENDUM H

PARENT/GUARDIAN INTERVIEWS

HOME AND COMMUNITY

1. You have a beautiful home. How do you feel about living here?
2. Do you feel safe?
3. Is it a mixed community?
4. Do you have a strong sense of community? Rely on them?
5. Why did you choose Cape Town?

JOB

1. What do you do here?
2. In your home country?
3. How is life here?
4. Support..community?
5. Importance of tradition and nationality

SCHOOL

1. Let's talk about education..importance..?
2. Why did you send your child to MHS?
3. Why are there so many refugees in this community?
4. Do you think MVHS offers your child enough support?
5. What do you think of the teachers?
6. What could they have done to help you more?
7. Can you understand communication with the school?
8. How involved are you in the school?

YOUR CHILD

1. Describe your child to me?
2. Does his or her past influence his or her learning?

EXPECTATIONS

1. Tell me about your dreams for yourself and your children...

2. Do you want to go back home?

TREATMENT/XENOPHOBIA

1. How does the government treat you?
2. How are you treated by South Africans? Black, coloured and white?
3. Were you a victim of the xenophobic attacks last year?
4. Why do you think South Africans treat you like this?
5. Do you have refugee status here?

JOURNEY HERE

1. How long did it take you to get here?
2. Where did you stay on the way?
3. The border...

ADDENDUM I

QUESTIONS FOR ADMINISTRATOR

Tell them about interview ethics.

Explain the terminology used – Mountain View, African Migrant learners

---

1. Where do you live?
2. Where did you grow up? (Can you tell me about growing up in this area?)
3. What is your home language?
4. What other languages do you speak?
5. How long have you been working at Mountain View?
6. What factors led you to coming here?
7. How would you describe Mountain View to someone who has never been here before?
8. How has the school changed since you have been here? (See lead questions below)
9. What do you think are the strengths of the school?
10. What are the challenges that the school faces?
11. What challenges do you face working at Mountain View?
12. How would you describe relations between staff and learners?

13. How would you describe relations amongst the learners (race, nationality)?
14. What can you say about having African migrant learners at the school?
15. How would you describe Mountain View's identity?
16. If you were the principal, what, if anything would you change?
17. Where do you see Mountain View in the next five years?
18. Will you still be here in the next five years?

HISTORICAL QUESTIONS

1. What did the school's learner population look like in late 80's - 1990?
2. What decision was made in 1990? Which model did the school adopt?
   (Model C – 50% plus 1 white
   Model D – operate without racial quotas)
3. Why did the racial make-up of the school change so radically?
4. Does Mountain View have a catchment area?
5. How has the educator make-up changed?
6. Which educators have been here the longest?
7. Can you comment on the staff turnover?
8. What is your policy with regards to accepting African migrant learners?
9. Non-school paying learners?
10. How many learners don't pay school fees?

ADDENDUM J

EDUCATOR INTERVIEWS

Tell them about interview ethics.

Explain the terminology used – Mountain View, African Migrant learners, black and coloured

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1. Where do you live?
2. What is your home language?
3. What other languages do you speak?
4. How long have you been teaching/working at Mountain View?

5. What factors led you to coming here?
6. What grade and subject do you teach?
7. How would you describe Mountain View to someone who has never been here before?
8. How has the school changed over the last five years? (Ask those who have been here longer than a year)
9. How would you describe Mountain View's identity?
10. What do you think are the strengths of the school?
11. What are the challenges that the school faces?
12. (Lead...Language, poor learners, African migrant learners?)
13. Lead if not answered...Can you comment on the discipline in the school?
14. What challenges do you face teaching at Mountain View?
15. How would you describe relations between staff and learners?
16. Question on "coloured" educators and black learners
17. How would you describe relations amongst the learners (race – black and coloured, nationality)?
18. What can you say about having African migrant learners in your class?
19. Can you say something about African Migrant learners' work ethic?
20. What can you say about the integration of African migrant learners at the school?
21. Can you comment on the Mountain View High Mini Festival?
22. If you were the principal, what, if anything, would you change?
23. Where do you see Mountain View in the next five years?
24. Will you still be here in the next five years?

ADDENDUM K

The Tree as a symbol of myself

Draw a tree with it roots, trunk, branches, leaves, fruit.

Let the roots represent – God, faith, ancestors, where you came from, early teachers, influences in your life (you must be specific and name them).

Let the trunk represent – family members, present teachers, leaders, friends who play an important role in your life.

Let the branches indicate your interests, gifts and talents.

Let the leaves indicate some of your achievements until now.

Let the leaves represent your goals and dreams for the future.

This is your tree. I invite you to share it with the group.

ADDENDUM L

JONNY POSSUM STORY

You know the world you know it is a very big place and so you are very brave to come out today. You are very brave to share your story and it is a wonderful vision of what you want to do and be. So, here is a simple story about Jonny possum, a fury animal in Australia.

So one day Jonny's mother asks him to out.
She says, "Jonny, I want you to go and get the berries from the dark side of the river. The best berries grow on the dark side of the river."

Jonny exclaimed, "You want me to go? Ooh, you have never sent me before!" And he is so please, as he wants to go to the dark side of the river to collect the best berries.

And so he set off and he walked a little and he skipped a little and he ran a little! And he runs right into owl!

"Twit twooo," says owl, "Where are you going Jonny Possum?"

"I am going to the dark side of the river... to collect the best berries!"

"Ooh! You've got to be careful, you know. Because you don't have what we've got!" And he shows him his sharp talons.

"I am not afraid," Jonny says, and he sets off.

And so he set off and he walked a little and he skipped a little and he ran a little! And he runs right into cooga! Wadda wadda wadda boom!

"Grrrrr!! Where are you going Jonny Possum?" He growled, showing his teeth!

"I am going to the dark side of the river... to collect the best berries!" He says stuttering.

"Ooh! You've got to be careful, you know. Grrrr!! Because you don't have what we've got!" And he shows him his sharp teeth.

“I am not afraid,” Jonny says, and he sets off once again.

And so he set off and he walked a little and he skipped a little and he ran a little! And he runs right into.... wadda wadda wadda boom! Hare!

“Where are you going Jonny Possum?” asked hare in his ancient voice.

“I’m, I’m...going to the dark side of the river... to collect the best berries!”

“Ooh! You’ve got to be careful, you know. You’ve got to be careful, you know....”

“Why?” Jonny asks.

“IT... lives ...in...the...river!” says hare.

“What’s IT?” asked Jonny in a trembling voice.

“Oooh, you’ve got to be careful of IT. Just stay away from IT!” exclaimed hare.

“I am not afraid,” Jonny says unconvincingly. And he sets off once again.

And so he set off and he walked slowly, until he got to the tree trunk that would take him across the river. And he began to walk across the river, one foot after the other. Oh no! He wished that he hadn’t remembered what hare had said about IT being in the water.... but he looked down and HE screamed, “AAAAAHHHHH!” There he saw IT looking at him “Grrrrr!!!”, and it was so ugly and he got such a fright that he ran all the way back!

And ran right into hare who said, “Jonny Possum, what’s wrong?”

“I saw IT in the river...and..and... it was horrible!” Jonny exclaimed.

“Oooh, but you mustn’t be afraid! Go back! I tell you what. Take a stick and you got back and you hit it!” he suggested.

And he went all the way back, plod, plod, plod, and he climbed across and he looked down and he lifted the stick and as he looked down, “AAAAAAHHH!!!” and it had a stick in its hand and it was going to hit him. And he got such a fright and he dropped the stick and he ran all the way back! Kabooom! Right into Cooga.

“Jonny Possum, what’s wrong? Grrr”

“I saw IT in the river...and..a stick... it was horrible!” Jonny exclaimed.

“Oooh, but you must go back! I tell you what. Take a shaker from the bush and you got back and you shake it!” he suggested.

“Ok...ummm...ok,” said Jonny.

And he walked all the way back, plod, plod, plod, and he climbed across and he looked down and he lifted the shaker and as he looked down, “AAAAAAHHH!!!” It had a shaker in its hand and he got such a fright and he dropped the shaker and he ran all the way back! Kabooom! Right into Owl.

“Twit twoo,” said Owl, “Twit twoo. Jonny Possum, what’s wrong? Twoo!”

“IT, stick....ah...ah...shaker!” Jonny exclaimed.

“Oooh, but you must go back! Take a stone and when it comes at you, you hit it with the stone!” he suggested.

“Ok...ummm...ok,” said Jonny.

And he went all the way back, plod, plod, plod, and he climbed across the tree and he looked down and he lifted the stone and as he looked down, “AAAAAAHHH!!!” and it had a stone in its hand and it was going to throw a stone at him. And he got such a fright and he dropped the stone and he ran all the way back to his mother.

And he cried, “I can’t do it mom! Boo hoo!” And he told her the story.

And his mom said, “No, you must go back!”

“But mom I am sooo scared!” Jonny exclaimed.

“No, you must go back and when you see it, all you have to do is smile!” she added simply.

“Smile? Smile? I can’t smile! I am too scared!” Jonny shouted!

“Yes, go back and smile,” she said.

Ok....” Jonny said reluctantly.

And so he walked all the way and he reached the tree trunk and he climbed across frightened and he had a smile. He took his hands and he made a smile. And he looked down and it was smiling back at him , “Smile grrr!” And then he waved, and it waved back!

He was so pleased with himself. He ran across to the other side and he collected all the berries and he put them in his pouch and on the way back he smiled at it and it smiled at him. And he ran all the way back home as fast as lightning and he gave the berries to his mom and he was so pleased. He was so pleased with what he had done and they ate the delicious berries. He told his mom about it and how it had smiled. And then he asked, “Who is it?” And his mother told him.

ADDENDUM M

The Story of Amaterasu

Izanagi came to a grove of Orange trees. There he bathed in the mouth of a clear stream and washed the filth of the underworld away. There more God's were born.

He wiped his left eye, and created Amarerasu, goddess of the son.
He wiped his right eye, and created Tsuki-yom, the god of the moon.
He wiped his nose, and created Susanowo, the god of the tempest.

Izanagi was so pleased with his creations that he divided up the world between them.
To Amaterasu he gave the rule of the plains of the high heaven.
To Tsuki-yom he entrusted the realm of the night.
To Susanowo he gave the rule of the ocean.

Now Susanowo was not pleased with what he had received. He would rather have received the world of Gloom, the underworld than the ocean. With his hot temper and bad manners he hang around the in heaven and on earth causing havoc, created storms, uprooting trees, destroying rice paddies. On one occasion he was so angry he skinned a dappled pony and dropped from the sky into the great weaving hall where Amaterasu and her maidens were at work weaving the world into pattern and order.

Amareraso was so terrified that she fled in fear. She locked herself up in a cave and would not come out. The whole world was plunged into darkness. Nothing could grow, and soon everything was in chaos.

The gods were most distressed for everything had lost it's essence so they gathered outside the cave and did everything they could to lure Amaterasu out. They hung a magic mirror outside her cave on sakaki tree. They caused roosters to crow to announce the dawn. They lits bonfires, and while some of the god's provided music, one god **Uzume** climbed onto a tree stump and began to dance. She shimmied and pranced in such a suggestive and funny way that all eight million god's laughed and laughed until the heavens shook.

Amaterasu was so intrigued by all this noise that she opened the cave door and called out: "What's going on?"

"Were celebrating," cried Uzume, because we have found a goddess that shines even brighter than you."

Amaterasu looked out and the God's turned the magic mirror on her, so that she saw her own reflection. As she gazed in wonder at her own beauty, one of the god's took her hand and pulled her out, and another stretched a rope of straw across the entrance, saying, "this is as far as you go."

So Amaterasu was tricked back into the world by the laughter of the god's and her own beauty, and since then the sun has never again failed.

As for Susanowo, the gods punished him for his part in the affair, by cutting off his beard and his finger and toenails, and banishing him from the high plains of heaven. But he and his powerful storms are still causing mischief on earth.

ADDENDUM N

ONLY LAUGHTER WILL BRING ME OUT

I go into my cave when someone lied to me
When someone hurt me
When I am angry
When someone betrays me
When all doors are closed to me
When my heart cries for home
When someone accuses me falsely
When my heart breaks
When someone treats me with disrespect
When I am so hungry, my stomach aches
When I get flu
When I have failed
When I have studied so hard, but still get a Code 6
When exam stress blinds me
When I don't understand
When they say I must leave
When they ask for my Green ID
When I am defined by three month papers
When my mother doesn't trust me
When my parents keep me inside
When my parents control my every move
When I feel unsafe
When someone hits me on the train
When I stand out at school
When xenophobia attacks
When they call me kwerekwere

I stay in my cave until my fears are in order
Until I have achieved
Until I understand
Until I have a choice

Until the baboon goes away
Until someone forgives
Until I know there is hope
Until there is opportunity for me
Until we reconcile
Until I have been advised
Until my heart feels better
Until my crime is over
Until I forgive myself
Until I feel safe on the train
Until they include me in their conversation
Until I can walk safely through the school corridors
Until there's peace
Until the war ends at home

I come out of my cave because there is hope for a new beginning
Because they finally found I was innocent
Because I want to forgive and reconcile
Because my guilt has disappeared
Because I am blessed
Because I believe
Because I can belong
Because I was attacked with hunger
Because of my dreams
Because I want to forgive others as they have forgiven me
Because they apologise and know what they did
Because I hear their laughter
Because I have cried a river and built a to get over it