RE-NEGOTIATING SPACE AND PLACE: INTERSECTIONS BETWEEN MIGRATION AND SCHOOLING IN KAYAMANDI (STELLENBOSCH, WESTERN CAPE)

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DECLARATION

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ABSTRACT

This qualitative study sought to explore the schooling and migratory experiences of African and South African migrant youth in a selected high school in the township of Kayamandi. The isiXhosa origins of the township's name means "nice" or "sweet home." The township was founded in the early 1950s, as a result of the Group Areas Act (Act no. 41 of 1950) and the segregationist politics of the apartheid regime. Today, however, South Africa boasts a multicultural ethnic and linguistic diversity in terms of its Constitution (the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996), but also in playing host to peoples displaced by human rights atrocities and environmental distress arising from the African geographies of war; namely, poverty, political and economic meltdown (Perumal, 2013: 673). Against such a background, participation in a foreign country, province, or neighbourhood steadily gains ground and presents its own unique set of challenges and opportunities for the young in township schooling, especially in terms of their desire for inclusion and integration within new and alternative configurations of community.

On a theoretical and conceptual level, this study examines Spatial Theory, or the study of space and place, and its contributions to the sub-discipline known as the sociology of space and place. The study argues that this theory, as understood and acquired by the study participants, provides a means to engage various configurations of space and place and their intersections with notions of identity, position, and of community belonging. Methodologically, a mini-ethnographic case study design is employed in a "blended design" that allows for greater flexibility and adaptability in the choice of data collection methods. Consequently, a combination of three qualitative research methods are used that include in-depth interviews, a focus group discussion, and a form of participant observation. As a qualitative study, the data analysis also made use of a combination of thematic analysis and grounded theory.

In this way, the study argues for the uniqueness of the migrant schooling of youth at the selected township school in Kayamandi. To achieve this, attention is drawn as a starting point to the social and material construction of space and place regarding the school and surrounding community to examine the intersections surrounding multiple markers of identity. With regard to the historic establishment of Kayamandi, the historical construction of race and ethnicity are further explored that mark place in the present, thus begging the question: "Whose home?" and "Why?"

Key words: migrant youth, schooling, space and place

OPSOMMING

Hierdie kwalitatiewe studie het ten doel gehad om die skoolopleiding en migrasie-ervarings van Afrika- en Suid-Afrikaanse migrerende jeugdiges in 'n geselekteerde hoërskool in die stad Kayamandi te verken. Die isiXhosa-oorsprong van die naam van die dorp beteken " lekker " of " lieflike huis ". Die township is in die vroeë vyftigerjare gestig as gevolg van die Groepsgebiedewet (Wet nr. 41 van 1950) en die segregasie-politiek van die apartheidsregime. . Vandag spog Suid-Afrika egter met 'n multikulturele etniese en taalverskeidenheid in terme van die Grondwet (die Grondwet van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika, 1996), maar ook om gasheer te wees vir mense wat verplaas word deur gruweldade van die mens en omgewings nood wat voortspruit uit die Afrika geografiese gebiede van oorlog; naamlik armoede, politieke en ekonomiese ineenstorting (Perumal, 2013: 673). Teen so 'n agtergrond kry deelname aan 'n vreemde land, provinsie of woonbuurt voortdurend die grond en bied sy eie unieke uitdagings en geleenthede vir jongmense in die township-skool, veral in terme van hul begeerte tot insluiting en integrasie in nuwe en alternatiewe konfigurasies. van gemeenskap.

Op teoretiese en konseptuele vlak ondersoek hierdie studie ruimtelike teorie, of die bestudering van ruimte en plek, en die bydraes daarvan tot die subdissipline, bekend as die sosiologie van ruimte en plek. Die studie argumenteer dat hierdie teorie, soos dit deur die deelnemers aan die studie verstaan en verwerf is, 'n manier bied om verskillende konfigurasies van ruimte en plek en hul kruisings met idees van identiteit, posisie en gemeenskapsbetrokkenheid te betrek. Metodologies word 'n mini-etnografiese gevallestudie-ontwerp gebruik in 'n "gemengde ontwerp" wat groter buigsaamheid en aanpasbaarheid moontlik maak in die keuse van data-insamelingsmetodes. Gevolglik word 'n kombinasie van drie kwalitatiewe navorsingsmetodes gebruik wat in-diepte onderhoude, 'n fokusgroep bespreking en 'n vorm van deelnemer waarneming insluit. As kwalitatiewe studie het die data-analise ook gebruik gemaak van 'n kombinasie van tematiese analise en grondige teorie.

Op hierdie manier argumenteer die studie vir die uniekheid van die migrerende skoling van jeug aan die geselekteerde township skool in Kayamandi. Om dit te bewerkstellig, word die aandag gevestig op die sosiale en materiële konstruksie van ruimte en plek rakende die skool en die omliggende gemeenskap om die kruisings rondom meerdere identiteit merkers te ondersoek. Wat die historiese vestiging van Kayamandi betref, word die historiese konstruksie van ras en etnisiteit verder ondersoek wat daardie plek in die hede merk, en sodoende die vraag gevra: 'Wie se huis?' En 'Waarom?'

Sleutelwoorde: migrerende jeug, skoolopleiding, ruimte en plek

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Last but not least, I would like to express my gratitude to those vibrant and special souls at Makupula Secondary—the school principal, administrative staff, and participating learners—a big, big thank you! I only hope that this thesis might provide you all with some insight into your value and worth, not only for inspiring this study, but in your contribution to creating the beautiful and vibrant community that is Kayamandi. I am truly blessed. I hope only to find more methods and means to support the school and local community that has so willingly assisted me with my research, welcomed me with open arms, and shared with me such incredible and unequivocally unique life stories.

DEDICATIONS

To the school and community of Kayamandi, young and old –

"Contrary to popular thinking, being worthy is not something you earn, it is something you recognise."

-   Mike Dooley (2012; New York Times Bestselling author, motivational speaker)

I would further like to dedicate this work to Christiaan Schultz (23/11/1994 – 02/08/2014), who passed away toward the end of our first year at Stellenbosch University together. You were more than a close friend and companion—your thoughts and ideas inspired me to learn, to ask the difficult questions, and to grapple with deepening our insight and understanding of the complex amalgamation that is life. I am forever grateful for the time and talks we shared together. You live on in memory. Always remembered, never forgotten.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of tables and figures

List of acronyms and abbreviations

DESC	Departmental Ethics Screening Committee
EC	Eastern Cape Province
FET	Further Education Training
GEM	Global Education Monitoring
GET	General Education Training
GHPS	Good Hope Psychological Service
GP	Gauteng Province
GT	Grounded Theory
HDR	Human Development Report
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
REC	Research Ethics Committee
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
PGWC	Provincial Government of the Western Cape
SLM	Stellenbosch Local Municipality
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SA	South Africa
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
StatsSA	Statistics South Africa
SU	University of Stellenbosch
TA	Thematic Analysis
TNA	Thematic Network Analysis
UCT	University of Cape Town
UN	United Nations
WHO	World Health Organisation
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UWC	University of the Western Cape
WC	Western Cape Province
WCED	Western Cape Education Department

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

"Migration is an expression of the human aspiration for dignity, safety and a better future. It is part of the social fabric, part of our very make-up as a human family."

Ban Ki-Moon (United Nations (UN) Secretary General, 2016)

1.1 Background and Rationale

Migration is generally understood as "the temporary or permanent movement of people from their place of residence, within countries or across borders. There is, however, no universally agreed-upon definition for this phenomenon" (International Organisation of Migration (IOM) 2019). On a global scale, migration has been described as the principal means of survival and thus as "the quintessential experience" of the contemporary world (Berger, 1984:55). The reasons for leaving one's place of residence are often compelling, varying from person to person and community to community. Around the globe, and on the African continent, migration has been driven by a multiplicity of push and pull factors: from economic, demographic, environmental, and social factors to political dynamics and concerns. Within Africa, according to the IOM, South Africa receives perhaps the largest number of immigrants, refugees, and asylum seekers worldwide (around 2.4 million by the end of 2013). Interestingly, the United Nations High Commission of Refugees (UNHCR) (2010a) claims that "the majority of migrants entering South Africa are children or youth", aged roughly between 16 and 25 years. Crucially, this increase in migration in and to South Africa is occurring at a time when most of its citizens are still coping with the aftermath of apartheid and increasing levels of poverty, inequality, and unemployment in the era of globalisation. Given the dearth of opportunities in Africa, many young Africans view migration as a chance for change and improved social mobility (United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), 2017).

This qualitative study aims to explore the intersections between the migratory and schooling experiences of a sample of nine migrant youth at a secondary school in Kayamandi, Western Cape. This is achieved by engaging with how they navigate the local school and community space. It is asserted that these spaces become place – to include both home and school – wherein the ways in which the youth engage and interact acquires meaning and significance in relation to their sense of identity, position, and community belonging. By using the study of space and place as the chosen theoretical and methodological framework, this study further argues that these youth are not passive recipients bombarded by the forces of globalisation and migration, but rather active agents in

moulding their local realities and lives. Following the prominent geographer Yu-Fi Tuan's (1979:136) conception of space and place, whereby "space is transformed into place as it acquires definition and meaning" for migrants, this study embodies space as an abstract notion, with place as space endowed with value.

One key contribution to this study is Foubister's (2011) work on migrant youth and their schooling experiences in Cape Town. Her study substantiates the claim that we are all migrants, emphasising our persistent need to adapt to changing circumstances, including new and foreign spaces. She argues that migration is driven by changing aspirations and a growing desire among people to enhance their quality of life and that of others by moving to places that improve access to and opportunities for quality education and work experiences. This research thus aims to contribute to the limited but growing literature on the actual, everyday lived experiences of African migrants and its connections with South African schooling.

By linking individual biographies gathered from the participating learners' accounts of their day-to-day lives and migratory experiences, this study offers a worldly and local account of late-teenage life. It incorporates the current conditions under which South African and African migrant youth navigate the semi-urban and rural social arrangements that constitute local school and community life, together with an investigation into the daily educational challenges faced within this locale. A further contribution is the documentation of the particular internal and external resources that the participating learners draw on to motivate and assist them in navigating their schooling and social lives. This is in the context of growing uncertainties and demands of the new "foreign" and familiar spaces in which they have been subsumed.

The site of Kayamandi was selected for multiple reasons. Located in the Stellenbosch municipal area, it has a rich social and cultural history but also provides a site of multiple meanings. As a unique location filled with diversity and difference, reflected in a deeply ingrained history of racial and class inequality and division, it simultaneously reflects interconnectedness, both as a result of, and despite living, working, and learning conditions in South African society at large. In this way, the value attributed to the locale went well beyond its close proximity to this researcher's place of study, the University of Stellenbosch (SU). Kayamandi was also selected because of the unique opportunity to challenge preconceptions frequently attributed to township life and the general framing of Kayamandi as a poorly resourced community situated in the wider Stellenbosch area, which is generally known for its affluence and luxurious living. These reasons enabled a more critical and reflexive focus on youth in terms of the sociology of race and ethnicity, among other markers of identity, as encountered through the research engagement.

This study highlights the complexity of African identity by drawing on the local context and history of the Kayamandi community as it is constructed and reconstructed in the life narratives of the participating learners from the selected school. This is done by contextualising the role played by African migration in the historical formation of the Kayamandi township and in determining African migration as a theoretical and conceptual lens whereby internal and external migration dynamics is played out in the community. The participant sample reflects the recent upsurge in migrants from the Eastern Cape Province, with a majority Xhosa-speaking population constituting 84.9% of the township residents (Census 2011). The growing population density and demographics in Kayamandi led to the establishment of two Xhosa-medium secondary education institutions, namely Kayamandi High and Makupula Secondary.

This study was conducted in English as the school principal and participating learners are all considered proficient in both written and spoken English. It is important to note, however, the vital role that isiXhosa plays in shaping the study's underlying aims and objectives. For example, the Xhosa origins of the township name Khaya-Mnandi (commonly referred to as Kayamandi) means "nice" or "sweet home" (Dowling & Grier, 2015). Consequently, in the context of the interplay between language, place, and identity by the participants, a key question that emerges is "whose home?" and "why" this is the case.

The focus on Kayamandi's youth and their perspectives is motivated by a concern for the future and prospective roles of youth in contemporary South African society. In addition, "research is needed to examine the complex interplay of contextual influences in under-researched groups" (McMahon, Watson, Foxcroft, & Dullabh, 2008), such as that of Kayamandi youth. Consequently, this study gives expression to stories of this largely marginalised group by exploring how their experiences at school, at home, and in the local community, have shaped their identities, positions and sense of group or community belonging. In this way too, this study interrogates how forms of identity, position, and belonging are posed, challenged, negotiated, altered, and how they may change over time, through their relationships with others.

These insights help to bridge the narrative gap between migration and mobility, with a vast majority of the youth in Kayamandi deemed internal migrants from the Eastern Cape. Most seek better lives in the Western Cape in the hope of acquiring better educational and vocational opportunities in the region, while their parents continue to bear the "post-apartheid status of unskilled or semi-skilled workers" (Stead 1996). As a result, limited financial resources and insufficient support remain further barriers for them, while factors such as crime, unemployment, low literacy and educational levels,

HIV/AIDS and a weak national economy impact their future career and educational choices as well as their daily lives.

In terms of migrants from outside South African borders, a recent StatsSA Report on Migration Dynamics (2018) has stated that South Africa is seen as "an important destination for many people who seek better socio-economic opportunities" on the basis of its comparatively stable democratic government, good infrastructure, and general economic stability". In the historical South African context, labour and circular migration was discriminatory and constrained and "largely prescribed by broader socio-political and economic factors" (Nicholas, Naidoo & Pretorius, 2006; Watson & Stead, 2002).

For South African citizens, twenty-five years after democracy (1994), racial/ethnic and class discrimination and inequities persist, and an array of environmental constraints and socio-economic barriers inhibit the quality of life and future prospects of largely under-privileged and disadvantaged learners in poorly resourced communities. Despite multiple constraints, the narrative approach employed in this study reflects a sense of youth empowerment through education and schooling, the development of positive self-concepts, a deep and diverse understanding of difference, and an ability to adapt to a rapidly changing social and cultural climate and environment.

1.2 Problem Statement

The township of Kayamandi was founded in the early 1950s as a consequence of the segregationist politics of the apartheid era's Group Areas Act (Act No. 41 of 1950). It was considered a site to house exclusively black male migrant workers employed on farms in and around Stellenbosch, South Africa. Today, it claims a multicultural, ethnic and linguistic diversity, not only in terms of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa 1996 but as host to many refugees displaced by geographies of war, the human atrocities of political conflict, poverty, economic meltdown, and environmental concerns, which continue to occur across the African continent (Perumal, 2013:673). In such a setting a desire for inclusion and integration in new and alternative configurations of community steadily gains ground. At the same time, participation in a foreign country, province, or neighbourhood such as South Africa today, presents a unique set of opportunities and challenges for young people (Perumal, 2015:25) whereby schooling and education are opportunities for addressing social ills. The township, therefore, embodies a potential site for growth and development as schools gear themselves to equip learners with the necessary knowledge, skills, and values for survival and for self-cultivation and meaningful participation in South African society.

To achieve the main aim of this study, it was important to develop an approach for addressing the interface between issues of migration and schooling among migrant youth in Kayamandi. As the chosen theoretical and methodological approach, the study of space and place in human or social geography is employed as one way of identifying matters relevant to identity, position, and community among the sample of school-going migrant youth.

Altogether, this study explores the implications for internal and external migration patterns at play in the locale. The concerns are the social and cultural effects of the schooling experiences for these migratory groups in Kayamandi. This necessitates a distinction between the 'African migrant' and 'South African' youth: the former commonly refers to youth from other African countries, whereas the latter denotes a prevalence of internal migration trends across provinces which lends itself to some obscurity. This contestation is in light of the anti-xenophobic sentiment among the participants of the research, who share the view that there is 'no real difference' between people of African and South African descent. While this appears to counter views on the complexity of identity, position, and community by an emphasis on similarity, this is only a partial truth. This study reveals the unique aspects of the individuals' schooling and migratory experiences and the participants' capacity to reflect on the differences emerging between them, which they value, through an emphasis on both inter- and intra-group differences. In so doing, the study seeks to invite new and alternative ways of understanding diversity and difference not merely as a threat but as an opportunity to enhance cohesion and a sense of belonging among school-goers and the wider community.

This study argues that everyday life among people, irrespective their population or social grouping, remains a largely contested space shaped and reshaped by the individuals who comprise them. The question of migration remains largely tenuous, although it may cast some light on the issue of xenophobia and other forms of discriminatory practice and human rights abuses that affect the lives of African migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers. It is argued here, however, that such a singular lens is inadequate due to its emphasis on a somewhat generic set of unresolved problems encountered by migrant populations which often unwittingly tend to disempower minority groups by presupposing their marginalisation and shaping their life narratives to reflect this. As a counterpoint, this study attempts to invert such focus by posing questions that acknowledge the adversity and mistreatment of migrant communities via shared stories that reflect their individual and collective differences. For the researcher's part, such data collection was regarded with a sense of humility and self-reflection by considering each participant as a fellow human being.

1.3 Aims and Objectives

There are four main research questions (MRQs) to address in this research study. Four subsidiary research questions (SRQs) then serve to supplement and support the former. These are outlined below.

MRQ1: How is space and place understood and experienced by the participants?

SRQ1: What meanings and significance do these views and experiences of space and place acquire for the participants?

MRQ2: What forms of identity, position, and belonging are identified by the participants as relevant to or significant for their lives?

SRQ2: In what ways might these forms of identity, position, and belonging overlap and/or intersect?

MRQ3: How might these conceptions of space and place relate to a sense of identity, position, and belonging for the participants?

SRQ3: What does this relationship offer to our understanding of the life experiences of youth in the selected school and community, today?

MRQ4: Is there a space and a place for a white woman, from a privileged background, in research with youth in a township school in South Africa?

SRQ4: In what ways could my social identities and positionality shape the research process, and the knowledge produced, as a whole?

In combining the concepts of space and place with notions of identity, position, and belonging, this study explores the ways in which these abstract notions become embodied in social, cultural, and institutional reality. In so doing, a phenomenological notion of 'lived experience' is applied, which places it firmly within a qualitative research paradigm. Owing to its general flexibility and adaptability, a mini-ethnographic case study design is used. As a framework, this "blended design" (Fusch, Fusch & Ness, 2017:930) made use of a combination of three data collection methods: in-depth qualitative interviews, a focus group discussion, and participant observation.

This study's use of a participatory approach toward interviewing is an attempt to draw on the views and experiences of young people. This required extensive observational notes on the interviews and the relations formed between the researcher and participants. The interview approach attempts to

invert the power relations inherent in research by a shift of emphasis from encounter to engagement. As such, the interviews placed the researcher in a more open position to actively engage the young participants so that the researcher, too, could learn. Consequently, following Pattman (2015:79), the participants were repositioned as 'figures of authority' in their own right and as active agents in the co-reconstruction of their narrative accounts. Contrary to normative assumptions, participatory approaches to research stress that young and old persons alike "view the world from particular vantage points influenced by their very different experiences, interests, and identifications" (Pattman, 2015:80-1). In this way, each research activity presented itself as a distinct and unique "social encounter and context in which identifications are made and relations established between the participants, which affect how they present themselves and what they say" (Pattman & Kehily, 2004).

This research, moreover, attempts to challenge an assumed notion of African migration by exploring multiple levels of interpretation of the African identity. It is hoped to give further insight into the social, political, and geographical position of South Africa on the wider African continent by a focus on the complex and dynamic relationship between South Africa and its African migrant population. In addition, by using African migration as a conceptual lens on the social and cultural landscape of Kayamandi, further deliberation is made on the benefits and limitations of the theoretical and methodological approach towards the study of space and place as elaborated in the literature. To achieve this, the study regards spatial theory in terms of its practical application and use in the sub-discipline known as the sociology of space and place.

1.4 Chapter Overview

Chapter One introduces the concepts of migration and mobility as it is encountered in the context of South African township schooling, and its barriers as accentuated in disadvantaged contexts such as that of Kayamandi. The underlying theoretical and methodological approach toward the study of space and place was similarly introduced. The research problem, objectives and rationale of this study were elucidated.

Chapter Two provides a broader overview of the context of the study. Exploring the social and cultural demographics of the Kayamandi township and surrounding Stellenbosch, in terms of its history, infrastructure, social institutions and community structures. The impact and influence of African migration on the landscape of Kayamandi and surrounding areas are further explored and described.

Chapter Three presents a discussion of the reviewed literature, focusing on three key areas or themes, with multiple overlaps. This includes an interrogation of migration and mobility in the South African

context, an investigation into the racial and ethnic organisation of post-apartheid schooling, as well as a more theoretical and conceptual exploration of the use, benefits and limitations of space and place employed in the local context.

Chapter Four describes the research methodology. The qualitative research design is discussed, as based on a mini-ethnographic case study design. This chapter further elaborates on the chosen data collection methods, including in-depth qualitative interviewing, a focus group discussion, and participant observation. Finally, it explores the use of Thematic Analysis (TA) in connection with Grounded Theory (GT) as a data analysis method. Ethical considerations regarding access to the site and research participants are further elaborated and demographic details of the sample presented. A number of reflective comments are used to conclude the chapter.

Chapter Five presents the findings from the individual and group interviews, including a synthesis of the data collected from both the school principal and selected learners. The consolidation and expansion of identified themes are structured according to the use of coding and memo writing, as based upon an interpretation and understanding of Thematic Analysis (TA) and Grounded Theory (GT). Challenges encountered during the research process are elucidated while limitations of the approach are explored.

Chapter Six presents the data analysis. Key and emerging themes from the data are linked back to the theory and the literature and synthesised to respond to the research questions outlined in the first chapter for a comparative analysis of the research findings. A brief critical self-reflection is elaborated on the basis of participant feedback received in the focus group.

Finally, *Chapter Seven* presents a summary of the research findings, along with a few concluding remarks. The limitations and recommendations for further study are presented for later research on migration and mobility among marginalised population groups, with specific reference to township schooling in South Africa. A few potential ideas and recommendations for the improvement of the schooling experience among youth of the Kayamandi community are proposed as they relate to the school context, and general conclusions are then drawn to close the chapter.

CHAPTER 2: CONTEXT OF STUDY

2.1 Introduction

This chapter is primarily concerned with addressing the context of the research study. It attempts to capture the uniqueness of Kayamandi, a township in Stellenbosch, Western Cape Province of South Africa. For this, the township's historical formation and positioning in local discourse and narrative is drawn upon. The key attributes of the local population and its implications for the organisation of the social, cultural, and linguistic landscape of Kayamandi are interrogated in its spatial relationship to the wider Stellenbosch area.

2.2 The Social and Cultural Landscape of Stellenbosch

As a region within South Africa located in the Western Cape Province, the Stellenbosch Municipality comprises 22 wards that include the towns of Stellenbosch, Franschhoek, Kayamandi, Klapmuts, Raithby, Jamestown, Kylemore, Idas Valley, Pniel, and Cloetesville (Bureau for Economic Research (BER), 2013:4). The town of Stellenbosch is historically associated with the wine industry and the University of Stellenbosch (SU), and is also linked to tourism, and more recently with technology companies, and other service sector activities, including banking. Stellenbosch is a diverse landscape covering its towns and vast agricultural land which displays a comparative contrast between highly affluent areas and very poor informal settlements – often extensively frequented by international tourists. Indeed, the long-term association of the town of Stellenbosch with tourism, the wine industry, and the university tends towards a focus on the relative affluence of the locale with its agricultural and business community and local student life. The prevalence of wealth and its more affluent areas, however, tends to taint any conceivably holistic picture of the town.

In accordance with Stellenbosch Municipality's 2018/2019 Ward Plan, Kayamandi can be described as a cluster of different zones that form part of Ward 12. As such, Ward 12 has been described as a geographical location situated in the residential area of Kayamandi and part of the Plankenburg industrial area. A map showing a draft delineation of the 22 wards of Stellenbosch is shown below (Figure 2.1).
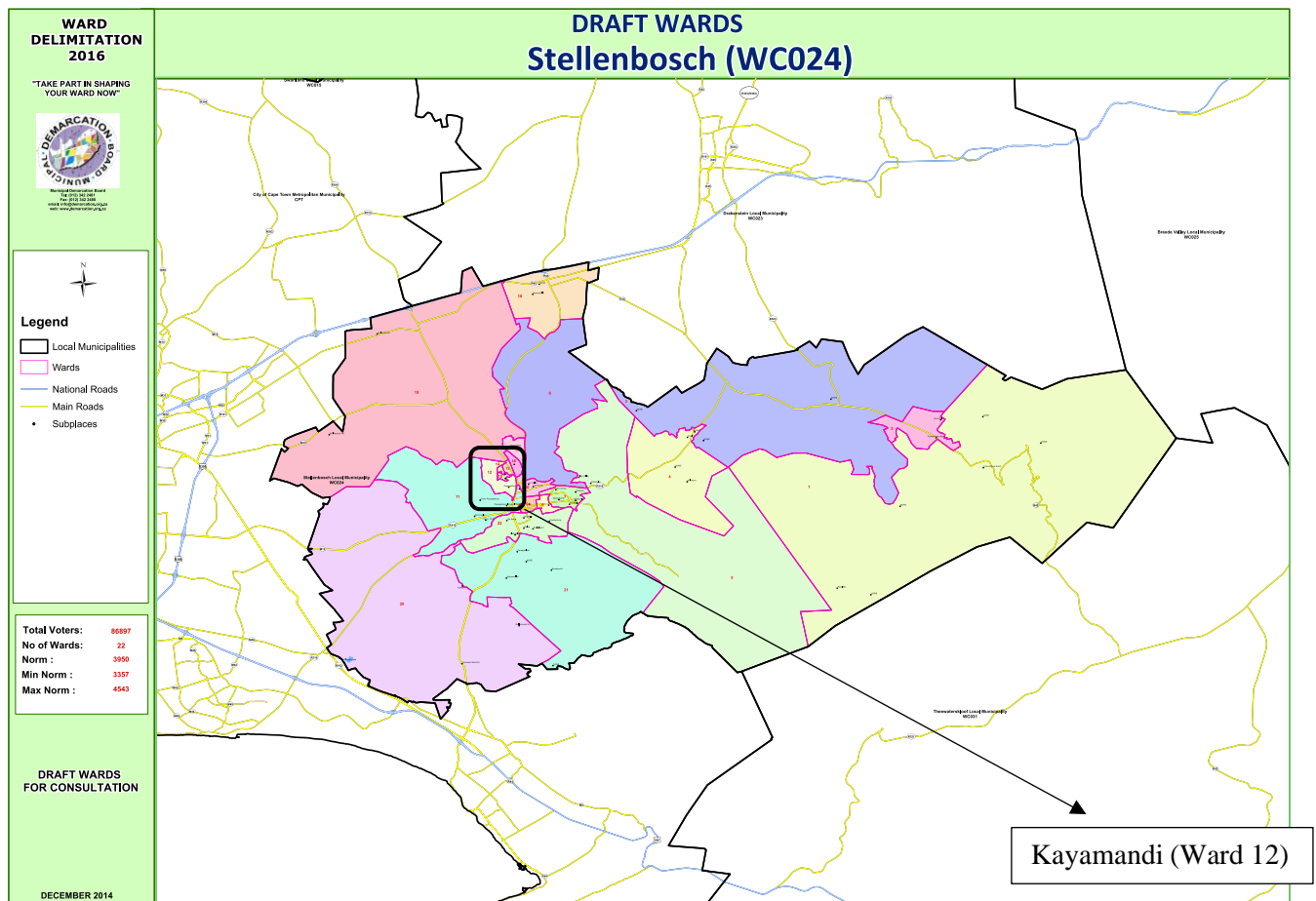
Figure 2.1 Map showing 22 wards of Stellenbosch

Source: Stellenbosch Municipality 2018/2019 Ward Plan

2.3 Inter-provincial Migration: from the Eastern Cape to the Western Cape

Waleed Jacob's (2014) research study examines contemporary immigration patterns and trends in the Western Cape between 2001 and 2011. The study is a useful starting point for analysing population dynamics in terms of 'inward migration' flows from the Eastern Cape to the Western Cape, the host or receiving province. One key finding drawn from this study is the strong migration patterns between the municipalities in the Eastern Cape and the Western Cape Province. In his study, Jacobs (2014:1) defines migration as the "permanent long-term or temporary movement of people from one place to another, within and across boundaries; temporary if retaining membership in the place of origin after migration." In line with this definition, it is argued that migration flows typically occur from rural to urban areas, where migrant families seek out improved access to employment and education opportunities (Lee, 1996; Posel, 2010). The statistical findings from Jacobs (2014) show that "there were 312 013 immigrants to the Western Cape from other provinces in the ten-year period between 2001 and 2011, of which 162 380 (roughly 52%) originated from the Eastern Cape". Mainstream immigrants were "mostly unmarried and of youthful age (between 25 and 29 years), with a low income, moderately skilled, and unemployed or not economically active". His study found that "31.3% lived in informal dwellings, such as backyards or informal settlements, or shacks".

According to the Census 2011, in the same ten-year period from 2001 to 2011, mentioned in Jacobs (2014), the national population in South Africa increased by 15.5%, with the highest increases in Gauteng (at 33.7%) followed by the Western Cape province (at 30%) (StatsSA, 2012). This stood in contrast to poorer provinces, such as the Eastern Cape, with a population increase of only 4.5%. These population changes were largely attributed to natural growth rates and patterns of inter-provincial migration from poorer to economically richer provinces. he extent and characteristics of migratory patterns to the Western Cape has generated considerable interest over the past few decades, both within the context of broader national level migration studies (Kok, Gelderblom, Oucho & van Zyl, 2006; Posel, 2010) as well as in studies focused specifically on the impact and influence of migration between the Eastern and Western Cape (Becker 2001, 2002; Naidoo, Leibbrandt & Dorrington, 2008).

These studies indicate wider patterns of inward migration to the Western Cape and Gauteng Provinces from the Eastern Cape Province, with increased movement toward cities and other centres of growth, irrespective of whether these had comparatively stronger or weaker economies (Todes, 2001). Bekker's (2001) examination of return or circulatory migration between Cape Town and the Eastern Cape identified the significant pull factors for migrant families as improved services and access to employment opportunities in Cape Town and surrounding areas. Although the migrants have moved

away from adverse conditions at home, there is, however, an expectation for the returnees eventually to depart for home, although these returnee numbers have reduced over time.

These inter-provincial migration streams between the Eastern and Western Cape, in turn, have an effect on the proportional budgetary allocations for the respective provinces and local municipalities. Municipalities that were preferred settlement areas for Eastern Cape migrants were expected to provide municipal services such as housing, health care, social services, education and employment opportunities, as well as basic service delivery, including water and electricity to migrant households. In consequence, these municipalities had to interrogate these trends to "pro-actively plan for the future growth of local towns and cities" (Jacobs, 2014:1-2). Little research, however, has been conducted on the impact of the large-scale migration patterns on local communities such as Kayamandi, which now plays host to just over 80% of a migrant population of Xhosa-speaking individuals who originate from the Eastern Cape (Census 2011).

These statistical figures correspond well with the demographics of the target population of nine migrant youth at a selected school in Kayamandi, all of whom were learners (Grade 10-11). A total of 77,8% (i.e. 7 out of 9) of the participating learners had family members in the Eastern Cape whom they visited over school breaks and holidays. Two learners included one cross-provincial migrant originally form the Eastern Cape, who had spent a number of years in the Gauteng Province and had family members still residing there; and one immigrant from Zimbabwe. As a qualitative study, this study explored the migratory and schooling experiences of a sample of youth in Kayamandi to focus on the quality and depth of their life narratives, rather than on the quantity (or number) of participants.

2.4 Placing Kayamandi in Context

"Situated on the slopes of the Papegaaiberg, on the northern outskirts of the Stellenbosch Cape Winelands district, about 50 kilometres from the City of Cape Town" (Skinner, 2000), Kayamandi had initially been used (during the apartheid years) to house exclusively black male migrant workers from what was then the Ciskei and Transkei (Fuchs, 2010). These migrant workers were mostly employed as unskilled labour on wine farms in the Stellenbosch area. Although Kayamandi is located on "one of the major arterial roads (R304) leading into the town of Stellenbosch, it is physically separated from the town by a bridge line" (Kiangi, 1998) by Plankenburg. In terms of the Group Areas Act of 1941, the township of Kayamandi was designated as a residential "black area" (Fuchs, 2010). To this day, spatial segregation by race, class, and ethnicity continues to be concretised in the physical landscape of Stellenbosch. During apartheid, the Kayamandi Town Council, Kayad, governed the area. Following the first democratic election in South Africa in 1994, Kayamandi

became recognised as a suburb incorporated into the Stellenbosch Municipality but today its physical constitution and segregation remains largely unchanged.

In 1942, 52 years before the first democratic election, the Stellenbosch Municipality built 85 housing units above the Plankenburg River for black migrant workers from the Eastern Cape, the majority of which resided in the Du Toit and Idas Valley regions at the time (Perdu, as cited in Cain ,2009). By 1971, 23 years prior to the dismantling of the apartheid regime, Kayamandi consisted of a total of 116 houses, 31% of which were for married couples, the remaining 68% constituted by hostels for the male migrant workers. "The growth of informal settlements in South Africa began in the late 1980s, when wives, children, and overflowing residents from these houses became the first squatters" (Skinner, 2000). In the 1990s, more squatters began to fill up all of these vacant areas. As a result, this placed pressure on local land boundaries, infrastructure, and resources, leading to social unrest and conflict in the local communities (Erhard, 2000). Shebeens and prostitution outlets soon emerged supported by the hostel dwellers, although they were simultaneously deemed unacceptable by the community elders (Skinner, 2000).

In the early 1990s, the Kayamandi Town Council (Kayad) came under scrutiny as a functionary unit of apartheid, and consequently disbanded. Thereafter, "Kayamandi became a significant site for apartheid resistance" (Skinner, 2000). In contrast, wider Stellenbosch is perceived as the seat of Afrikanerdom, with the University of Stellenbosch (SU) as the vehicle that produced some of the key and leading figures of the apartheid regime. Currently, municipal officials, both in Stellenbosch and elsewhere, are "viewed as corrupt and non-responsive to the community's needs" (Dube, 2011).

2.4.1 Population demographics

Since its inception as an informal settlement, Kayamandi has developed in an unplanned way. The township has also experienced rapid population growth by 10% annually. Between 1996 and 2004, the population expanded drastically from 10 263 to an estimated 22 000 (Erhard, 2000; Stellenbosch Municipality Integrated Development Plan (IDP) as cited in Darkwa, 2006). By 2009, the Stellenbosch Municipality official for Economic Development and Tourism, Mr V. Zwelendaba, claimed that approximately 33 0000 people inhabited the Stellenbosch locale (Albien, 2013:10). By 2011, the population estimates were between 35 000 and 40 000. As rough estimates, there has been little additional data documented to verify these statistical claims. There has been much past and current debate surrounding the accuracy of the Census 2011 estimates (De Wet, 2012 as cited in Albien, 2013:10) although the 2011 census was meant to bridge the gap in statistical data on districts such as Kayamandi (Stellenbosch Municipality Local Economic Development (LED) Strategy, 2008).

Whereas the demographic figures presented in the 2018/2019 report by the Stellenbosch Local Municipality (SLM) in collaboration with the Bureau for Economic Research (BER) was consulted to inform a part of the background and historical research contextualising this study, the statistics are not included, following Mr NJ Xaba's (internal examiner) recommendation. This is due to the fact that the figures could not be verified, and thus lack credibility. While the 2018/2019 report first appeared to provide a useful illustration of Kayamandi's demographics in relation to wider Stellenbosch, with an estimated total of 8 010 out of 155 733 residing in Kayamandi, the figures provided in this source (i.e. 155 733 residents in Stellenbosch) is suspect when compared to the 2018 estimated population of 176 523 people provided by the Western Cape Government: Socio-economic profile (2017). Further research is required to gage a fuller understanding of this discrepancy and how these statistics were calculated.

2.4.2   *Migration patterns and flows*

A continuous process of relocation of individuals and families from the Eastern Cape to the Western Cape, and to Kayamandi in particular, has occurred with the hope of improving access to education and employment opportunities (Tlooko, 2011; StatsSA, 2016a). "Unemployment and poverty are major push factors contributing to migration from these source areas but does not always produce positive outcomes for migrants, who often remain unemployed in the destination area" (Collinson, Kok, & Garenne, 2006). In 2011, "as much as 32.5% of migrants from the Eastern Cape are left unemployed, with a further 23.3% not economically active. In stark contrast, only 8.0% of migrants from Gauteng and 8.2% from other provinces are unemployed" (Jacobs, 2014:20).

According to the hotspot analysis of migration from the Eastern Cape to the Western Cape, conducted by Jacobs (2014:21), "the highest number of unemployed migrants to the Western Cape originates from the two Eastern Cape metropolitan municipalities of Nelson Mandela Bay and Buffalo City, as well the King Sabata Dalindyebo and surrounding municipalities such as Mbhashe, Mnquma, and Nyandeni". The only other significant source of unemployed migrants to the Western Cape outside the Eastern Cape is from Johannesburg, in the Gauteng Province. Following the hotspot analysis, Jacobs further indicates that there has been a general move among unemployed migrants to the City of Cape Town region and surrounding municipalities with "intermediate-sized cities as characterised by higher levels of economic activity", such as Stellenbosch (Jacobs, 2014:21).

In addition to this, and of specific relevance to this study, is Jacobs' (2014) claim that the youth, aged between 15 and 35 years, appears to be the most mobile and migratory section of the population. This does not, however, imply their upward mobility. "Migrants from the Eastern Cape are generally younger compared to migrants from Gauteng and other provinces" (Jacobs, 2014). As several studies

have shown, they often migrate "in search of jobs, education and better services in better-resourced provinces" (Bekker, 2001; Todes, 2001; Collinson, et al. 2006). The migration stream has clearly focused on municipalities with better economic opportunities, such as the City of Cape Town. A similar trend has been witnessed with significant "migration to municipalities adjacent to the Eastern Cape". This was linked to migrants from the Eastern Cape trying to limit their movement to short distances due to limitations for transportation costs and living expenses (Jacobs, 2014:14). In addition, migrants to the Western Cape were seen to be slightly male-dominated (51.5%), but this figure has not lent support to the argument that the gender of migrants might pose as an obstacle to migration, as reported in some of the previous literature on migration dynamics in South and Southern Africa (Camlin, Snow & Hosegood, 2014 as cited in Jacobs, 2014:16). In fact, women now comprise roughly half of all migrant workers, according to the International Labour Organisation's (ILO) *Multilateral Framework on Labour Migration* (2006): there is not only increasing movement in and across borders for employment for various reasons, but now also a considerably greater number of women who independently migrate for work than previously.

"Municipal officials place the average annual population growth due to migration at 4.5 to 5.0 per cent" (Albien, 2013). Owing to migration, isiXhosa has become the primary vernacular (home language) spoken by Kayamandi residents, although English, Zulu, and Sotho also feature in community life. Schools in Kayamandi no longer offer Afrikaans as a language medium, which as Albien (2003) argues, has resulted in migrant learners struggling to acquire Afrikaans, even though it remains the dominant language in the wider Stellenbosch area.

2.4.3   *Social conditions*

Social contexts form the platforms on which social change, learning and personal development among the youth can take place. "This highlights the role that state politics and domestic affairs have on the provision of developmental infrastructures and opportunity structures for adolescents" (Larson, 2002; Naicker, 1994). Currently, South African adolescents are negotiating the development of their own identities and positions within these social structures while adapting to social changes in post-apartheid South Africa. As a result, greater social and cultural challenges are faced by these youth when compared to their counterparts in more socially, economically, and environmentally stable and sustainable societies (Finshilescu & Dawes, 2001; Steyn, Badenhorst, & Kamper, 2010).

In 2001, Kamper (2001) reported that "40% of the South African population lived below the poverty line" and that 72% lived in rural areas (StatsSA, 2008). Adolescents and youth in South Africa are claimed to be at greater risk of dropping out of school to become economic providers (breadwinners) for their families and to provide household support in raising their siblings, or participating in criminal

or illicit activities (Booi, 2010). In addition, alongside a growing population and limited space and resources to advance the required developmental infrastructures, there are limited safe and violence-free spaces for the youth, thus reducing learning and future opportunities (Leoschut, 2009). "Future prospects are restricted by disappointing matriculation results that question the adequacy of the South African education system" (Steyn, et al. 2010). An increase in local unemployment and limited work, educational, and skills development opportunities further inhibit successful personal and social growth and development among South Africa's youth (Stead 1996). For these reasons, narratives are needed to illustrate the specific social, environmental and societal contexts which inhibit opportunities for the youth's access to the resources required for their social mobility and quality of life.

Kayamandi has the highest unemployment rate among all of the wards constituting the Stellenbosch area (see Figure 2.2). Even so, Kayamandi residents involved in some form of paid work are often employed in the lower paying sectors, namely, domestic work, gardening, transport, and other forms of manual labour (Darkwa, 2006; Kiangi, 1998). "High rates of crime, poverty, alcohol and substance abuse, and malnutrition" are still considered prominent features of the Kayamandi landscape (Albien, 2013). In addition, in Kayamandi, as elsewhere in South Africa, "poverty is associated with homelessness, experiences of deprivation, violence and psychological vulnerability. The high number of shebeens, alcohol and drug abusers (using tik or meth) has been blamed for the increase in violent crimes, and kangaroo courts often punish perpetrators instead of relying on the law" (CB Ndlebe, personal communication, August 2, 2011 as cited in Albien, 2013:11). Overcrowding and a lack of municipal services, including proper water and sanitation infrastructure and healthcare services, are prominent concerns that have led to "the rapid transmission of airborne, waterborne and respiratory diseases, such as tuberculosis (TB)" (Kiangi, 1998).

2.4.4   Types of dwelling

Often migrants first settle in low rental accommodation in backyard shacks or in informal dwellings where accommodation is cheaper, especially during the initial phase while searching for employment (Collison, et al. 2006). "While the largest proportion of migrants (68%) to the Western Cape reside in formal housing, 9.4% reside in informal dwellings and 21.9% in informal settlements" (Jacobs, 2014:26). "As much as 51.4% of migrants from the Eastern Cape reside in informal housing, with the comparative figures for Gauteng and other provinces substantially lower" (Jacobs, 2014:26). In 2014, the City of Cape Town claimed to bear the brunt of migrants residing in informal dwellings, with a total population of 80 962 followed by Stellenbosch with 3 067 living in informal houses (Jacobs, 2014:27).

"Kayamandi consists of private, government-built homes and a number of hostel-type accommodations. However, informal dwellings, such as shacks, exemplify the prime mode of dwelling" (Kiangi, 1998). Informal housing consists of materials such as "wood, cardboard, plastic sheets, and corrugated iron, with no water or electricity sources". "An average shack is between 9-15m², providing housing for approximately five to seven inhabitants which is indicative of overcrowded living conditions" (Perdu, as cited in Cain, 2009). In addition, between "62-77% of Kayamandi residents allegedly reside in informal housing without formal access to municipal services such as water and electricity" (Booi, 2011; Darkwa, 2006; Kiangi, 1998). The provision of water and sanitation differs according to the type of dwelling. Indeed, in the case of informal housing and informal settlements, accessible water and sanitation facilities generally occur as "roadside taps and communal toilet blocks or combined toilet and water facility units (Fuchs, 2010). "The limited ablution facilities for the community results in blockages, overflows and a reliance on unhygienic bucket removal systems" (Van Wyk, Cousins, & Lagardien, 2004). A lack of electricity sources lends to an over-reliance on paraffin lamps, candles, and open fires for cooking and heating. This, alongside intermittent severe weather conditions such as lightning storms put the community at risk of fire outbreaks. "Illegal connections made from official structures that have electricity supplies" often result in "overloading and power failures" (Albien, 2013). While the Stellenbosch Municipality has attempted to improve Kayamandi's infrastructure, "more services are required to improve the living conditions of the majority and the growth of the Kayamandi community" (Traub, 2010).

2.4.5   Community support and infrastructure

The basic infrastructure of the Kayamandi community includes a variety of educational institutions, in the form of three primary schools, two high schools, and a number of pre-schools and early childhood development centres (Hani, Moss, Cooper, Morroni, & Hoffman, 2003). In addition, there is "one sports field, a partially completed soccer stadium, a local library, various small churches, a health clinic, a local hospice and private medical practice" (Du Plessis, Heinecken, & Olivier, 2012). Amazink (a restaurant acting as a tourist attraction), the Kayamandi Mall, and licensed taverns also operate in the area. Spaza shops and Shebeen-type bars provide residents with essentials conveniently close to home which avoids a long walk to the Stellenbosch centre (Albien, 2013). Services provided in Kayamandi further include cooking, butchering, beer brewing, traditional healers' remedies, tailoring, shoe polishing, hairdressing/barber services, car washing, and repairs of used and old appliances and/or car parts (Erhard, 2000).

The Kayamandi Economic and Tourism Corridor (KETC) are both administered by the Stellenbosch Municipality. There are also over ten registered non-profit organisations (NPOs) functioning in

Kayamandi, including the Kayamandi Legacy Centre, Prochorus, Vision Africa, and the Lokxion Foundation, to name but a few. Most of these organisations are non-profit that endeavour to assist with the local community's most pressing needs. For example, the Kayamandi Legacy Centre, located in Long Street, is a multifunctional community centre geared toward constructively addressing childhood development, skills development, health care and food security, in collaboration with Stellenbosch Gemeente and Stellenbosch Municipality. On the other hand, there is the Lokxion Foundation, which attempts to showcase and celebrate life in the townships surrounding Stellenbosch through sport and performing arts. This is to no surprise, as Kayamandi is a soccer-loving community, with over twenty soccer teams, most of which play informally.

It is noteworthy that "although Kayamandi is in relatively close proximity to the Stellenbosch town centre, there appears to be little movement between the communities" (Fuchs, 2010). "A dynamic has been identified where Stellenbosch residents construe the Kayamandi community as separate from the town" (Albien, 2013). Kayamandi residents' attitudes reflect this, as they appeared reluctant or otherwise unable to use the town's infrastructure in its full propensity. In this way, it seems the separatist apartheid ideology remains internalised and perpetuates as a marker of community identity (Cucizolles, 2011). Following Tlooko (2011), it appears that the post-apartheid psychological legacy of learned helplessness has manifested itself in a tendency to overlook available resources that could potentially be used to collectively improve the living conditions of the Kayamandi community. As a direct result of their living and working conditions, it is understood that feelings of subjugation and subordination prevail among the community, with many internalising a sense of inferiority based on a combination of race/ethnicity and social class.

Despite this barrier, a number of NGOs and private Stellenbosch University (SU) initiatives appear to be operating in the community (Fuchs, 2010; Traub, 2010). This includes groups such as Ikhaya Trust, Prochorus, Kuyasa, Ikhaya Lempilo-Legacy Centre, At Heart, among others. In addition, various churches and youth-focused forums are active in Kayamandi. For example, MOT South Africa (see website: https://mot.org.za), a public benefit and non-profit organisation (NPO) geared toward youth empowerment, functions in the community and is partnered with Makupula High in an attempt to keep the youth busy after school hours through a variety of games and activities, as a means to keep young persons occupied in a positive and constructive manner, as a means to keep youth groups occupied in a positive and constructive manner, and away from more destructive and illicit activities. Unfortunately, it appears that these groups seem to be collaborating less and competing more in efforts to aid the disadvantaged generations of Kayamandi youth (Albien, 2013).

2.4.6   Educational context

Both secondary education institutions (high schools) functioning in the Kayamandi area; namely, Kayamandi High School and Makupula High School (also known as Makupula Secondary) serve learners from Grade 8 to Grade 12.

Kayamandi High School, the first to be established in 2007, had first been used for learners between Grade 1 and Grade 9. It was formerly situated on the grounds of Makupula High School. In time, owing to overcrowding, two more primary schools were built, namely Kayamandi Primary and Ikhaya Primary School, to cater for this demographic. The old Kayamandi High then became Makupula High School, catering for learners from Grade 8 to Grade 12. However, in 2011, it was soon realised that these school grounds with limited space for the required school facilities and amenities were inadequate for accommodating the growing number of youth in the local community of then approximately 1 475 learners (N. Gosani, personal communication, as cited in Albien, 2013).

In addition, the school yard and tennis court had become overrun with shacks and other informal dwellings, and one of the school buildings had been taken over by the community to be used as a town hall for community gatherings. Consequently, it was found that the existing school ground space was surrounded by residential areas on all sides, and a road out in front, namely Makupula Street. This shortage of space and an upsurge in the youthful population motivated a proposal to build another high school, Kayamandi High, to accommodate a growing demand for educational facilities and improved learning opportunities. This school was initially used to cater for learners between Grade 10 and Grade 12, as a Further Education Training (FET) institute. Meanwhile, the old Kayamandi school, situated on the grounds of what is now Makupula, remained a GET (General Education Training) institute to cater for high school learners in Grade 8 and Grade 9.

Meanwhile, in late 2008, a grant was received for the creation of an additional high school, namely Makupula High School (Traub, 2010). In 2009, Makupula High became a business or commercially orientated school, with subjects like economics, tourism, accounting, business studies, and computer applications technology (CAT). In contrast, Kayamandi High then became a science-focused school, including life sciences and physical sciences (physics, chemistry, and biology). The distinction between the two schools was made in an effort to accommodate learners' needs and personal interests or skills, thus attempting to direct learners toward their school of interest by way of subject choice. Unfortunately, "competition has grown between the two schools, as both require a specific number of learners to ensure that they receive the necessary government funding" (Albien, 2013).

Makupula High School began with Grade 8, 9 and 10 classes in early 2009, with the first group of Grade 12 learners enrolled in 2011. The first Grade 12 class at Makupula High School consisted of 46 learners, in contrast to the 224 Grade 12 learners at Kayamandi High (Albien, 2013). This research study was specifically interested in a group of nine learners between Grade 10 and Grade 11, all of whom were recent internal migrants or foreign immigrants entering the school. The focus on the school environment was useful to consider learners who were newer to the school but had already gained some insights into the internal dynamics both at the school and in the local community. This sample group were also the most likely to benefit from a study exploring their experiences of the schooling and community environment.

2.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter contextualises the Kayamandi community and attempts to portray the realities that youth face in the construction of their individual status or collective identities in the township which impact on their participation in the local community. A brief overview of the demographics for Kayamandi illustrates the phenomena of migration and mobility in the local context. It also portrays the potential relevance and significance of using the study of space and place as a theoretical and methodological framework to explore both social and material dimensions of the migratory and schooling experiences of youth at the selected school. In addition to aspects of the background and historical research on Kayamandi, this chapter further provides some important information on the school and community environment that describe community engagement and practice. This is further demonstrated in the findings and analysis chapters.

CHAPTER 3: LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 Introduction

The literature review assisted in a thematic approach and included the linkage between migration and schooling in the context of the selected South African school in the township of Kayamandi. In this sense, the review helped to distinguish between the experiences of foreign African immigrants and South African migrant youth attending the secondary school. This was done by discerning their conceptions of space and place and its significance in determining their identities, social status, and sense of community. In sum, this research investigates the study of space and place as a theoretical and methodological approach to analyse the perceptions of learners and staff who have experienced migration and mobility and social and cultural diversity in and beyond the school context.

This study further sought to establish the ways in which the school has sought to adapt to an increasingly diverse staff and learner population, and how they have responded to contemporary and largely Western efforts to globalise education against the historical background of cheap migrant labour in South Africa, in particular (UNDP, 2010:3). In this sense, the study examines how age, gender, race, class, and socio-economic status influence migration and schooling among this youth group in South Africa today. The study, therefore, addresses the significance of multiple meanings and concepts of space and place as they shape both the individual and collective sense of identity, position, and belonging among young people in the local school and community.

Three components from the literature associated with this study are interrogated in this chapter. Each separate section commences with a brief description of the key terminology and concepts employed. Firstly, this includes movement, migration and mobility that inform the key social phenomena of interest in this study. Secondly, South African township schooling is considered with regard to the context-specific nature of the experiences of the above-mentioned social phenomena. Finally, it regards the conceptual framework of space and place, providing the theoretical and methodological basis of the study and the analysis of the findings. These three components are illustrated in the diagram in Figure 3.1 below.
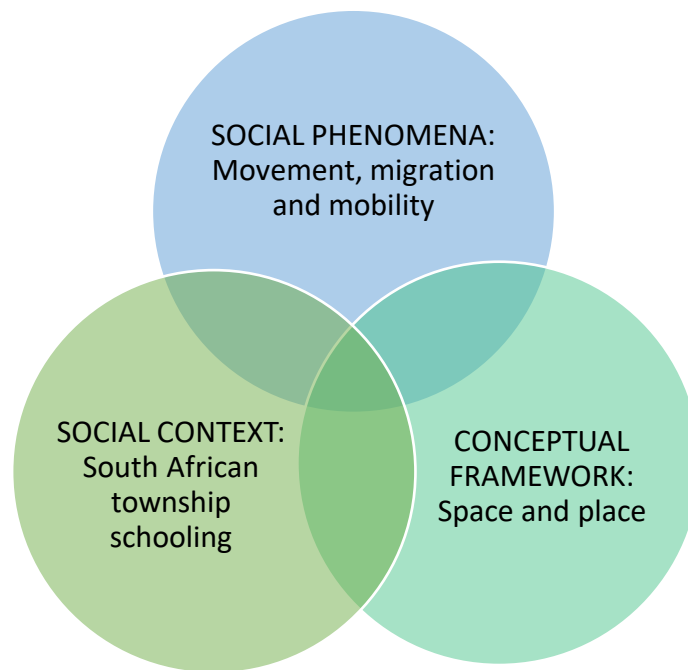
Figure 3.1. Venn diagram showing the key components of the study

In response to the use of grounded theory in this study, it is important to note that certain points of departure in the research questionnaire were developed from the concepts of space and place, migration and mobility in South African township schooling. In this sense, the concepts are guiding interests that provide an anchor for the development of new and emerging ideas, rather than limiting or inhibiting them. Thus, this follows the notions of "guiding interests" (Charmaz, 2004:89) and "sensitising concepts" (Blumer, 1969) that provide a place to start, rather than end this research. Hence, the literature review, methodology, findings and analysis chapters were in a constant transformation to accommodate a changing research focus that attributed and weighed up different aspects of the investigation. Grounded theory (GT) argues that empathetic approaches are developed to enable an understanding of a how a study's participants make sense of their lives and identities and what significance they attach to the topic under research (Charmaz, 2004). Taking an inductive research approach, therefore, allowed for the development of theories via identification of key themes as they emerged and whereby the focus and meanings attached to this broad topic area may change or reveal alternative insights into the phenomena of interest.

3.2 The Three M's: Movement, Migration, and Mobility

"A definition of migration for any particular study is less of a pedantic exercise than a crucial component of migration research" (StatsSA, 2006:5). This is the view of Statistics South Africa's statistician-general Pali Lehohla, following the 2006 report on migration and urbanisation in South Africa. Indeed, an examination of the study findings needs to consider what criteria was used to distinguish the migrants from non-migrants. This research made use of some of the basic concepts employed in migration studies, including the notions of 'origin' and 'destination', as well as 'internal' versus 'international' (or 'external') migration.

In terms of this study's context, the origin and destination are here defined through a change in the place of residence. Thus, "a residential move has both an origin, the place from which a person moves, as well as a destination, the place where the move ends". The origin and destination of a residential move includes those occurring in the same country or geographical area or to a different country or area (StatsSA, 2006:4). The distinction between external (international) and internal forms of migration is based on whether "a residential move involves the crossing of a national boundary". In the case of the latter, it is referred to as an 'external' or 'international' migration. The individual involved in such a move would be referred to as an 'emigrant' from the view of the country of origin and as an 'immigrant' by the country of destination (StatsSA, 2006:4). When the origin and destination of a migratory move are in the same country, it then constitutes a form of 'internal' migration. In this sense, the individual is an 'out-migrant' from the place of origin and simultaneously an 'in-migrant' to the destination. A primary example in this study would be the case of an individual's interprovincial move from the Eastern Cape to the Western Cape Province: as an 'out-migrant' from the Eastern Cape and an 'in-migrant' to the Western Cape.

Globally, the United Nation's Human Development (UNDP) Report (2010:1) estimated that "the number of people on the move at nearly one billion people". The largest group of migrants, the report claims, comprised "those who moved within their own borders, roughly around 740 million" (UNDP, 2010:1). Most were labour migrants. For these reasons, the 2010 UNDP *Report on Mobility and Migration* concluded that "most migrants cross borders in neighbouring countries or countries within the same region" (UNDP, 2010:1). Further, many of these countries, including South Africa, were simultaneously "the source, transit and destination countries, facing domestic and cross-border migration of both short- and long-term duration" (UNDP, 2010:1).

"Current migration trends need to be placed in proper historical context" (StatsSA, 2006:5). The legacy of apartheid in South Africa has and will continue to linger on, and it needs to be understood and acknowledged that "the inequities of past discriminatory migration controls cannot be changed

instantaneously" (StatsSA, 2006:5). In South Africa, temporary labour migration or "the capability of a household to send a migrant to find employment" (StatsSA, 2006:2) seems crucial here. The historical 'homeland system' has left a legacy whereby households sent a temporary migrant to enable their access to possessions like livestock or other assets (Collinson, et al. 2005). Such a pattern of labour migration in South and southern Africa arose through policy and cultural adaptation over several generations and has laid the foundation for the definition of a 'temporary circular migrant'. In these terms, circular migration represents a large proportion of the movement among the Black African population in South Africa, as elsewhere. A migrant is circular when "the usual place of residence remains in the rural or peri-urban setting, but a person migrates… for employment or education purposes and stays connected to the household of origin through communication, regular visitations, and with a high likelihood of cash or non-monetary remittances" (StatsSA, 2006:6-7).

As in many other countries, "internal migration in South Africa is a vastly under-researched topic" (Kok, O'Donovan, Bouare & Van Zyl, 2003: xvii). This lack of research is derived mainly from the historical absence of appropriate census data. The findings further suggest that despite political and economic changes, migratory patterns are essentially a continuation of patterns that predate apartheid South Africa. Until recently, therefore, migration analysts in South Africa have "relied on sample surveys that are neither detailed nor comprehensive enough for an understanding of this dynamic phenomenon" (Kok, et al. 2003: xvii).

3.2.1   *Statistical findings on migration trends in and out of South Africa*

With two sources of information to consider, the more quantitative findings on African migration to South Africa were found on online databases, Statistics South Africa (StatsSA, 2012-2017) and Africa Check (2010-2018). As an initial point of departure, both bring attention to the significance of cross-border migration practices on the continent as well as emerging trends, developments, and changes in migration procedures among African communities into South Africa. Simultaneously, the limitations of quantitative data findings in this study highlight the general view among South Africans that there exists a high and rather consistent rate of African migrants coming to South Africa.

The 2011 census, according to Africa Check (2016), reported that the vast majority (75%) of all international migrants in South Africa are from countries on the African continent, with 68% from the southern African Development Community (SADC countries of Botswana, Mozambique, Lesotho, Malawi, Zimbabwe, and Swaziland, etc.) and the other 7% from other African countries. This was the basis of an assumption that the majority of young migrants, or children of migrant families, in the South African school system were likely to come from another country on the African continent. This was indeed confirmed by the participant sample of learners from the selected

secondary school in Kayamandi as findings were consistent with the points put forward in the StatsSA's 2016 Community Survey (StatsSA, 2016b) that illustrated that 8 out of the top 10 migrants to South Africa are on the African continent. Again, in StatsSA's 2018 Report on Migration Dynamics (StatsSA, 2018), this point was further substantiated with the claim that the consistently high rate of African immigrants to South Africa is due, in large part, to the colonial and apartheid-era's "regional history of labour migration," especially the case with its neighbouring countries.

Kok, et al.'s (2003) book, *Post-apartheid patterns of internal migration in South Africa* further explores national population redistribution trends. In South Africa, it is claimed that urbanisation levels increased steadily during the 20th century, and that, by 1996 almost 54% of the country's population lived in urban areas (defined as places with an urban form of local government). However, great variations were observed among the nine provinces in urbanisation levels that ranged from a low of 11% in Limpopo (formerly known as the Northern Province) to a high of 97% in Gauteng. The latter was also, by far, the most preferred destination in interprovincial migration between 1992 and 1996, followed by the Western Cape, Mpumalanga and the North West.

As Gauteng is the industrial and commercial heart of the country, it is to be expected that it had the highest proportion of migrants (39%). However, despite the central role played by this province in fashioning migration profiles, most residents were not South African in-migrants. The growth of Gauteng's population has instead been attributed primarily to natural increase, such as childbirth. The province with the next highest proportion of in-migrants is the highly urbanised Western Cape Province (33%). Interestingly, the provinces with the lowest proportions of migrants were Limpopo (10%) followed by the Eastern Cape (12%) (Kok, et al., 2003:54).

3.2.2   *Linking migration, education, and employment*

Kok, et al.'s (2003) study addresses the relevance of exploring not only external migration patterns, but of equal importance, the largely under-studied field of internal migration. This study suggests a set of connections exist between education, employment, and migration; therefore, it posed the question of why the rapid upsurge in internal (inter-provincial) migration out from the Eastern Cape toward the Western Cape, and the presence of a large migrant community in the township of Kayamandi, as a largely under-resourced, though semi-urban, community constituted mostly by black African Xhosa-speaking persons.

Kok, et al. (2003:60) approach the question from an economic perspective that suggests that "high unemployment rates may stimulate migration to areas with lower levels of employment" and they claim that, for an increasing number of migrants, such migration has tended to be in vain, as "those

who are most likely to lose their jobs are unskilled or semi-skilled workers with education levels that make it increasingly unlikely that they will enter the formal economy" (Kok, et al. 2003:60). In this way, on a theoretical level, it seems that townships like Kayamandi have come to operate as:

> labour reservoirs and [thus] are subject to constraints on social and physical mobility … [For this reason] factors such as local traditions and cultures as well as the established practices of labour migration and patriarchy can go some way to explain the observed differences – even at the provincial level. (Kok, et al., 2003: 60)

Thus, these economic changes tend to exacerbate already high unemployment levels – particularly among the less skilled, as well as in more densely populated areas such as Stellenbosch. These changes have "their heaviest effects on those least equipped to deal with them – the poorly skilled, the unemployed and the youth" (Kok, et al. 2003:57). While the attraction of migrants is intuitive to areas with higher employment rates, it is far less clear what compels out-migration. Kok, et al. (2003:59) have pointed out that empirical evidence does not unambiguously support the assumption that "the unemployed migrate from areas with low employment rates to areas with better employment prospects, [and that] areas with low employment levels should exhibit higher out-migration rates." Indeed, economic factors are not the only drivers of migration, but they do not account for the various social, cultural, political, and environmental factors involved.

3.2.3   *Intersections between racism and xenophobia*

To address the connections between racial and xenophobic-based discrimination, this study relied on Hemson's (2011) research on African migrant youth in one South African primary school. Hemson (2011:69) argues that:

> [T]he racial system in South Africa from colonial times subordinated all Africans, but did so differentially, and systematically promoted ethnic divisions amongst Africans, for example, through the creation of 'homelands' based on which ethnic group was meant to be where.

Researchers generally concur that African foreigners occupy lower social and economic positions and are not only more vulnerable but more likely to be subject to pervasive forms of prejudice and exclusion (Hemson, 2011:69). Nyamnjoh (2010:66), for example, writes that:

> [T]he hierarchy of humanity inherited from apartheid South Africa is replayed, with white South Africans at the helm as superiors, black South Africans in the middle as superior inferiors, and *Makwerekwere* as the inferior scum of humanity.

Here, Nyamnjoh (2010), locates xenophobia as intrinsic to racial oppression, and as an inherent part of the racial hierarchy. Hierarchical divisions can thus be drawn on a combination of both racial and ethnic lines, as Hemson reinstates, "official discrimination is consistent with a prevalent hostility towards African foreigners." Indeed, "the term *amakwerekwere*, while isiZulu in origin is used as common discourse across South Africa to refer to African foreigners in terms similar to the ancient Greek term *barbari*, i.e. people whose language is strange and unintelligible" (Nyamnjoh, 2010:65, as cited in Hemson, 2011:69).

3.3 South African township schooling

A key distinction between schooling and education needs to be made in this study. While the two terms are often used interchangeably, they may be different. In this understanding, education is understood as a more inclusive and encompassing notion, to include both formal and informal modes of learning. Schooling, on the other hand, is one branch of education that could refer specifically to one mode of formal education. In this way, schooling represents both primary and secondary education, embodied in the form of a school as a social and educational institution. The term education, however, is broader and can be understood to cover not only these formal modes, but similarly informal methods of knowledge acquisition. Formal means of education often commence with primary and secondary education and continue on towards college or university (tertiary) in a hierarchical manner. In this sense, formal education is always systematic, prescheduled, and administered by authority figures, such as a school board or principal. In conclusion, it is important to note that the term education stands for both formal and institutionalised ways of learning as well as more informal and personalised ways of learning. The informal modes may include learning from peers, life experiences, or through reading and online sources, and by way of skills acquisition by partaking in activities that require some form of prior learning or background knowledge.

3.3.1 *Racial segregation in schools in post-apartheid South Africa*

This study attempts to demonstrate the contituion of what Soudien (2004, as cited in Chisholm & Sujee, 2006:141) classifies as "a flight of students out of African schools, [which bears] no parallel movement towards them." In this sense, "the teaching corps in schools is far less integrated, and the dominant form of desegregation has been that of assimilation as opposed to integration" (Chisholm & Sujee, 2006). According to Chisholm and Sujee (2006:142), the terms desegregation, assimilation and integration are not the same thing: "legal desegregation can result, for example, in re-segregation within the classroom." By this, assimilation refers to "a process in which power relations determine that a subordinate group accommodates to and is accommodated by a more powerful group" (Chisholm & Sujee, 2006:142). Thus, it is a very limited form of integration, where integration is

"more than either desegregation or assimilation, both of which are more passive processes in which power relations largely remain intact even if there is greater contact." This was rather evident in the context of township schools, which remain largely comprised of black Africans or Coloureds in terms of its staff and learner populations. Indeed, these locales remain not only sorely under-resourced but fundamentally under-valued and under-stated. This researcher's initial contact with the school appeared to be viewed as a visit by a superior figure – a postgraduate student from Stellenbosch University. However, this was interpreted by the researcher as masking an internalised sense of inferiority among the target population. It was for these reasons that this study did not attempt to critique the school on the basis of underlying bias or ignorance, but rather sought to ask questions as a means of gaining a deeper understanding of the school's efforts and situation that acknowledged and celebrated their resilience and adaptation to changing social and environmental conditions surrounding the school.

There are strong arguments to throw a spotlight on South African schools and their changing racial profiles for a variety of reasons. According to Chisholm and Sujee (2006:143-4) these are twofold:

> First, as microcosms of the larger society in which race is one of the major historical fault lines, broader issues relating to race play themselves out here [in that] they provide a mirror of broader social relationships of inequality between white and black and provide insights into how these are being dealt with at a social and symbolic level. Second, in so far as these schools confer and enable new social class belonging, analysis of the degree to which integration of African and more broadly black learners is occurring does provide insight into the changing configurations of race and class and the role the schools play in this process.

"The role of education in class formation is arguably a complex one, encompassing multiple dimensions" (Chisholm & Sujee, 2006:144). Class formation is understood here as a social and economic phenomenon, i.e. socio-economic status, and manifests in both cultural and material dimensions. Education is seen as contributing to "the socialisation of classes in their various preparations for positions in the economy, politics and society" (Bourdieu, 1986). Soudien (2004) has opened the debate by arguing that "class is an important lens through which to view what children in minority schools are being assimilated into". Harley and Wedekind (2004, as cited in Chisholm & Sujee, 2006:143) also show "how the new curricular goals have been assimilated into dominant social class and racial patterns and therefore reproduce the same social divisions". They argue that "learner-centeredness, the new educational ideology, is more familiar to the middle classes with their notions of autonomy and individuality than to the working classes and rural poor". (Chisholm & Sujee, 2006:144).

In exploring integration into former DET (African) schools, the authors (Chisholm & Sujee, 2006:149) argue that "attention is often drawn to the fact that integration of African learners into white, Indian and Coloured schools' obscures issues of ethnic and pan-African diversity within African schools." This is an issue, which this study aims to address. Further, according to Chisholm and Sujee (2006:149):

> Under apartheid, particularly in urban areas, African schools were divided by ethnic group. The data collected does not provide information by African ethnic group and so it is impossible to determine to what extent schools have become more inclusive in this way. Where formerly African schools are integrating learners of other race groups, they are integrating mainly Coloured learners, but this is in small numbers. Integration of African nationalities, other than South African, into African, or any other school for that matter, is also not currently on record.

While the results of this study cannot be generalised beyond the current school context, it may shed some light on the experiences of African identity, in all its complexity, in the current school context. This study further emphasises the overall sense of cohesion amongst the learner population in the township schools, and the general sense of openness to difference and 'otherness', when such persons learn and reside in the local context, and which contrasts greatly to the clique-like class-structure that presents itself in the more resource-rich and historically-white schools, in the Western Cape, and other provinces in South Africa. Chisholm and Sujee (2006:145) further argue that while formerly White, Indian and Coloured schools cannot automatically be equated with middle class schooling, they do, however, provide:

> a new place in a raced class order within groupings already historically and socially constituted as white, Indian and Coloured… In addition, although these schools may not yet be majority African, and have different degrees of racial diversity, the complexity and challenges of the social class and racial make-up cannot be underestimated.

However, it would appear that irrespective of these caveats, overall such schools have "historically been better resourced than their African counterparts and are seen to offer better opportunities for upward mobility, even though may not do so" (Chisholm & Sujee, 2006:145).

Chisholm and Sujee (2006) conclude with a discussion of the special case of the Western Cape and the positive and negative consequences of race-based statistics. They argue that while the collection of race-based statistics may be important for the purposes of racial equity and redress, it is equally important to recognise that the very act of creating these categories reconstructs race and reproduces racial social identities yet the empirical data provided simply obscures how race, and how its relationship to class, is being reshaped in South Africa today. Indeed, statistics are not the only source

of the creation of such identities, although they play an important role as they shape what becomes normalised constructs in society today (Chisholm & Sujee, 2006:145-6). The "double-edged sword of race-based statistics" as described by Chisholm and Sujee (2006) can be extended to matters of ethnicity, nationality, religion and culture – and in the contestation surrounding the distinction between South African and African migrant youth in South African schools today.

3.3.2 *African migrants in South African schooling*

This section draws primarily on the work of Juliet Perumal, who has done extensive research on refugee and migrant teachers in schools in Johannesburg. In so doing, the emphasis is on both young and old at the interface of migration and schooling in the South African context. The main difference in approach is the shift in focus from migrant teaching staff to youth in schools. Even so, Perumal's work provides a number of key theoretical and methodological insights that were considered, in part, for inclusion in this study.

For this reason, Professor Perumal's (2013) use of the concepts of 'hospitality' and 'communities of practice' are seen as substantive points of reference for the ethical implications of conducting research with marginalised or vulnerable populations. While Perumal extrapolates from postcolonial and deconstructionist awareness and explores how discourses on hospitality can engage education as an economy of hospitality the postcolonial theories popularised by Derrida (1998, 2000) "investigate the politics of hospitality through exploring related issues surrounding democracy, citizenship, social exclusion, xenophobia, and racism and the status of the stranger, visitor, migrant, asylum seeker, and refugee" (Perumal, 2013:677), while deconstructionist theories "conceive of hospitality as inviting and welcoming the stranger" (Perumal, 2013:677). According to Perumal (2013:677), this invitation occurs on two levels: "the personal level where the stranger is welcomed into the home, and at the political level of individual countries".

Perumal (2013:677) goes on to argue that for the duration of the migrant's stay in the host country, "communities are developed that engage either legitimately or illegitimately; peripherally or centrally in social interactions and participation". In the case of migrant youth, they become part of a community of South African learners and the terms and conditions of their school enrolment and participation as learners determines their location and status within the learner community. An attempt to explore their location and status within this community by Griffiths (2005: 6, as cited in Perumal, 2013:678) invokes critical feminist notions of community and offers one useful analytical lens by postulating that:

[F]irstly, practices are marked by embodiment; which does not translate into merely being attentive to the fact that members of the community of practice are bodies and that these bodies may not be male. Attentiveness to embodiment entails understanding that practices, like the human beings who create them, are relational and formed in particular material circumstances. This necessitates taking cognisance of various identity markers – such as skin colour, sexuality, disability, age, sex, language – the gist which constructs a conceptual bio/geographical narrative of identity.

Secondly, as Griffiths (2005:7, as cited in Perumal, 2013:679) further explains:

Communities of practices are characterised by diversity. A community can comprise a community of learners, rather than a set of novices seeking a single model of expertise. Thus, not only does entering a community of practice help define 'who we are' as a group and as individuals, but also a particular identity helps define the community of practice through the models of expertise which develop in response to these.

Thirdly, Perumal (2013:679) adds, it is important to recognise the systematic and structural issues the mediate power relationships within communities of practice.

Indeed, this bio/geographical element is what imbues much of Professor Perumal's work on the links between migration and education with theories of space and place. In another study, Perumal's (2006[2015]:26) notion of 'critical pedagogies of place' is significant. Here, Perumal states the need for "a definition of place [that] captures its multiple nature and multidisciplinary connotations while [responding] to the specific context of its use in education" The significance of place in this study on South African schooling emphasises the multiple overlap between the three key components or areas of interest, and the very notion of 'migration' that implies a social actor and the capacity to transform space to place with a unique set of social meanings and associations through human engagement and growing familiarity.

Society constitutes both historical and spatial elements. In what is known as the 'spatial turn', more recent education researchers acknowledge spatial concepts to facilitate and inform debates about identity, belonging, social justice, differentiation, policy, race, mobility, globalisation, digital and new communication modes, among others. Space and place are core elements of social geography. Social geographers understand place as more than a mark on a map and focus on the socio-cultural and socio-material aspects of spaces. As such, this study sought to regard the school site to contain architectural, material, performative, relational, social, and discursive spaces, all of which are socially constructed. In this sense, schools and education contexts are social spaces and places which produce and reproduce social interactions and practices while operating pedagogical practices within. Thus, a

focus on the socio-spatial aspects of education research can foreground inequities, differences, and power relations that address policy and practice. Simultaneously, an elaboration on the complexity of multiple meanings of diversity and difference can be examined.

3.4 The Study of Space and Place

The study of space and place is a potentially useful theoretical and methodological approach to understand how life experiences in context shape the identity, status, and sense of community of those who encounter them. This follows related concepts of 'human landscape' or 'human environment relations', 'place identity', 'place attachment', and a 'sense of place' as variously defined by theorists and researchers in a variety of academic disciplines. This study, therefore, underscores the key tenets of a social geographical study of space and place.

This study also argues for the significance of social research and for considering the complex experiences of space and place to analyse a sense of identity in the community's social hierarchy. Space and place provide the key concepts to describe how humans navigate their daily social lives and experiences, while similarly providing the necessary cognitive and conceptual tools for organising and recognising them. This multidisciplinary use and application of Spatial Theory originates in the discipline of geography. This theory focuses on questions of both social/human geography as well as physical/natural geography in terms of material objects, the built environment, social institutions, human language, and the human body and movement, as well as considerations around human psychology, imaginary sites, and ideological positions. In this respect, it draws on both the social and material constitution of space.

The sub-discipline of the sociology of space also incorporates theories and methods developed in geography and the social sciences. This is concerned with understanding the social practices, institutional forces, and material complexities that shape the ways in which humans and spaces interact. For these reasons, the related concepts of Hunziker, Buchecker, and Hartig's (2007) 'human-landscape' or 'human-environment' interactions are considered as well as notions of 'place identity', 'place attachment', and 'sense of place' first coined and developed by the eminent humanistic geographer Yu-Fi Tuan (1979). John Agnew's (2011) chapter in the *Handbook of Geographical Knowledge* was consulted as a means for comparative engagement. Finally, this study considered the concept of 'positionality' as explored in Becker, Boonzaier and Owen's (2005) research ethics in which anthropological and ethnographic researchers employ conceptions of space and place, although often unwittingly, and without notice of their distinct meanings and use. As Agnew (2011:3) contends:

> The conflict between these two dominant meanings, space versus place, is longstanding. Indeed, the vicissitudes of argument in geography over such definitional issues as regions, spatial analysis, and human-environment relations involve competing conceptions of space and place as much as distinctive views about the nature of science or the relative virtues of quantitative methods. Outside of geography, little critical attention has been given to either definition, yet, of course, implicitly one has been adopted.

For these reasons, this study draws on the historical roots of the intellectual debate on space and place in the field of geography to further pinpoint the origins of this tension between the distinct meanings that arose from the split between physical and human geography. While the division between geographies is based on an earlier distinction in the academic world, that is, within the natural sciences, in the split between life or biological science and physical science, it is argued that such distinctions have tended to underplay the complexity of human-environmental interactions. The assumption that specialisation would increase the body of knowledge on any given phenomena appears only to have led to a fractured understanding of their interdependency. A lack of discrepancy between the respective meanings of space and place have only resulted in a failure to account for the human influence on the landscape, while similarly neglecting the underlying social construction of nature itself (Cox, 2006:373).

This is reflected in the body of literature on human-environment or human-landscape relations. While Hunziker, et al. (2007), for example, emphasise the importance of accounting for the human dimension in landscape research, this study further argues for the significance of a focus on the environmental or landscape dimension in social research. Yu-Fi Tuan's (1979) seminal text presents exactly this; stating his case for a humanistic approach toward the study of space and place. This is because of the multi-faceted interrelationship between landscapes and society, whereby "the role that humans play either as causes of ecological alterations or as legitimate users of the landscape" (Hunziker, et al. 2007:47) plays a vital part. Where the experience of the landscape cannot be wholly attribute to an individual human being themselves, it might simultaneously be influenced and affected by the aesthetics, physical shape and constitution of a landscape. Indeed, this might contain its own social element as well, particularly in the case of human-led activity and production which require both natural resources and human labour to procure them. In this sense, humans are biological and social beings: "a biological organism; a person with a unique set of capabilities, experiences, and aspirations; a social being acting within various roles in various groups; and a carrier of culture" (Hunziker, et al. 2007:48). Thus, "the complexity of the human condition finds expression in the experience of the landscape" (Hunziker, et al. 2007: 48). In these ways, space becomes place through human interaction with the environment as Hunziker, et al. (2007:51) reiterate:

Transforming spaces into places is existential activity as through the creation of places people visualise, memorise and thus stabilise constitutive human goods such as the sense of belonging, social integration, purposes that give meaning to life (values) and the sense of self…

Consequently, Hunziker, et al. (2007:48) briefly elaborate on the ways in which the physical place and location of humans becomes internalised, offering useful concepts for addressing the experience of place and identity:

Sense of place is perhaps the most general concept which describes the relationship between people and their (local) spatial settings, subsuming other concepts such as place attachment, place identity and place dependence... Place attachment is described as a positive emotional bond that develops between groups or individuals and their environment (Altman & Low, 1992; Korpela, 1989). Place dependence refers to how well a setting serves goal achievement given an existing range of alternatives (Jorgensen & Stedman, 2001; Stokols & Shumaker, 1981). Finally, place identity represents those aspects of self-identity which involve and are reflected by the environment and its social and personal meanings.

In this way, space becomes place through human experience and interaction, as persons gain familiarity with their surrounding environment and actively engage and participate in local life. In this sense, space becomes place as meaning is attached to particular sites and locations, and in response to our interactions with the objects and people embedded within and associated with them. The terms "place-identity", as coined by Yu-Fi Tuan (1979), is employed to describe just this.

3.4.1   *Intersectionality in social geography*

In this final section, this study has explored the concept of intersectionality to understand the significance of locality and the role of social context in research with marginalised and minority groups. What Hancock (2016) calls 'intersectionality-like' thinking has also been central to the development of human or social geographies. One of the earlier publications in the field of social geography promoted the idea of the mutual constitution of inequalities such as that between race, gender, and class. Ruddick (1996:138) expressed similar suggestions on the discipline of geography that:

[H]ad moved beyond viewing gender, race, and class as distinct categories that operate independently in an additive fashion. These now are recognised as mutually *transformative* and *intersecting*, each altering the experience of the other.

Significantly, Ruddick's (1996) work engages with the work of Black activists and feminists who were responsible for coining and developing the concept (Crenshaw, 1998, 1991, as cited in Hopkins,

2018). Since this work in the early and mid-1990s in feminist geography, research that directly employs or critiques intersectionality has continued to develop. Some examples of the types of social phenomena explored in research making use of intersectionality include: transgender issues, masculinities, prostitution, animal geographies, political ecology, development and migration, and the experiences of students and young people (Hopkins: 2018:586).

Collins and Bilge (2016) identify six characteristics that underpin intersectionality: social inequality, power relations (which can be analysed via intersections of, for example, racism and classism, but also across different domains of power), relationality, social context, complexity, and social justice. Intersectionality is, therefore, a lot more than simply multiple identities, and is equally concerned with multiple and overlapping systems of oppression. By social context, Collins and Bilge (2016) refer to the examination of intersecting power relations, with specific reference to the importance of considering different historical, intellectual and political contexts that shape these. It is such that "attending to social context grounds intersectional analysis" (Collins & Bilge, 2016:29). Significantly, social geography has a significant role to play in expanding, deepening and enhancing scholarly engagement with intersectionality through conceptualising and working with ideas of social context. In essence, this process is about regarding "the role of locality and the centrality of place in shaping and being shaped by other dimensions of intersectionality" (Hopkins, 2018:586). In this way, a key challenge for social and feminist geographers is to use intersectionality "to explore the role of locality and place in shaping the intersections between different inequalities and power relations" (Hopkins, 2017:588).

Intersectionality, as such, is a contested term and "spatial metaphors are frequently employed to explain what it is and how it works—this includes concepts that regard it as a crossroads, an intersection, an axis or axes of difference, and so on" (Davis, 2008). In this sense, more research is required when it comes to understanding and exploring the role that place and space have when working with intersectionality. This research project thus aims to explore the experiences of the participants within a framework of the intersectionality of ethnicity with other relevant status positions such as religion, gender, social class and locality. This required a qualitative research approach that was open and exploratory, through the use of an interview and focus group format. Both methods were amenably used to provide space for participants to raise concerns and discuss issues that were important to them.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter situates the study within the qualitative research paradigm as a rationale for the chosen design. A mini-ethnographic case study design is employed as a "blended design" (Fusch, et al. 2017:930) to incorporate elements of both case study and ethnographic research. While critiqued by some for its "methodological pluralism" (Fusch, et al. 2017:930), it is argued that the benefits of this combined approach may be attributed to a variety of factors, as demonstrated in the section below. Drawing on Fusch et al.'s (2017) article, one can be assured that the benefits of the chosen research design far outweighs its negative implications for the research. In addition to exploring these various elements, this chapter further attempts to describe the research setting and sample, as well as the data collection and analysis methods. Altogether, it attempts to provide a detailed description of all aspects of the design and procedures employed in this study.

4.2 Research Design

4.2.1   A mini-ethnographic case study design

In addressing the elements that constitute the research design, ethnography is seen as research that is geared toward "the description and interpretation of a culture or social group" (Fusch, et al. 2017:924). In addition, it is a 'mini' ethnography, as it requires an in-depth qualitative study in the field within a short period of time spanning no more than a few months. This research took roughly 6-8 weeks in the field and on the research site, and involved regular, intermittent visits approximately 2-3 times per week to the school site during school hours. As such, this research required effective time management and planning to ensure that the research activities did not disrupt the staff and learners for unreasonable amounts of time. This study also resembled case study research in the sense that it documented individuals within a particular social group to engage with the various specifics of the locale; therefore, it is difficult to make generalisations beyond the target and sample population. The elements of a case study research design are also evident in relation to data saturation; such that in response to time, fiscal and resource constraints, "data saturation [was] reached far sooner [as] the research [was] bound… in time and space by a case study design" (Fusch, et al. 2017:926).

Case studies also allowed this researcher to gain familiarity with the gathered data in its natural setting to fully appreciate the contextual cues on the data findings and results (Punch, 1998).

In terms of context, it can further be argued that a school does not operate as a set of isolated variables especially in the case of behaviour management and whole-school approaches. Rather the variables are likely to frequently interplay between the personal and more private sphere—namely, in the participants' households, local surrounding community, and in family networks and friendship circles, or from a more public and professional sphere—in the classroom through learner-teacher relationships.

Spatial Theory in a social scientific enterprise can be discerned through different meanings attributed to varying conceptions of space and place, and the material and social reality that they acquire for individuals. In this way, meanings and interpretations attributed to certain social phenomena and circumstances become grounded tangibly through sense perception in the physical environment and terrain. The material and social world is co-constituted by functional use and value; ranging from the availability of resources, educational facilities and amenities, basic infrastructure, architectural design, and technological implementations in and surrounding the school to natural features of the landscape and their perceived aesthetic value (wildlife, flora and fauna, parks and public areas, and the surrounding scenery and landscape). This includes the connection to social conceptions of space and place (the form, shape, and constitution of social groupings, including their aims and functions as well as values and purpose).

4.2.2   Benefits and limitations

The combination of an ethnographic and case study research design allows for greater flexibility and adaptability in the approach toward research by broadening the range of possible methods and instruments available for data collection, while similarly allowing these to be specifically designed and tailored to meet the demands of the research. In this sense, there was greater freedom in the choice of research methods for this study as adaptability and flexibility were particularly relevant where time and financial constraints posed challenges.

In qualitative research the tendency is to focus on social and cultural issues alongside similar notions of subjectivity. There is also a tendency to be subsumed within a constructivist worldview. Such a combined approach evokes a research design well-suited for a humanistic study of space and place, particularly where the concern goes well beyond a purely physical form that includes its social and cultural significance.

This study was accompanied by a constructivist worldview, whereby "individuals contrive knowledge, understanding and meaning from interactions within the world" (Highfield & Bisman, 2012 as cited in Fusch, et al. 2007:924). In addition, constructivism is considered to be directly

applicable to educational settings due to its focus on learning and skills development and a concern for how individuals acquire knowledge and meaning through learned social experience.

Ethnography and case study research share many of the same limitations, particularly with the potential challenges to credibility and trustworthiness. They also both assign a similar framework for resolving such issues by making use of 'methods of rigour', including reflexivity (involving a continuous process of self-reflection on the part of the researcher), triangulation (that includes multiple forms of cross-examination), member-checking and sense-making processes.

4.3 Participant Selection and Recruitment

Purposive sampling was used to select participants with the main selection criterion being that the learners had to attend school in the Kayamandi township. Both high schools in Kayamandi were approached, but the final sample was drawn from Makupula High School due to logistical constraints at the alternative school.

Principals, educators and learners were under no obligation to assist with this research, and special care was taken not to interrupt education programmes. While this study posed no foreseeable risks and no apparent benefits, the narratives elicited are intended to gain insight into the intersections between migration and schooling, as well as the impact of broader migratory trends on the social and cultural ethos and environment at the school and surrounding local community.

4.3.1   Ethical clearance and consent

In addition to obtaining permission from the Western Cape Education Department (WCED) to conduct research, this project further required ethics approval from the Departmental Ethics Screening Committee (DESC) and Research Ethics Committee (REC) at Stellenbosch University. While permission was obtained from the WCED by the end of 2018 to conduct data collection in 2019, there was a period of revision while awaiting DESC/REC approval. Ethical clearance from the REC: Humanities (Project number: REC-2019-7242) was received on 12 March 2019. This provided assurance to the school governing body and principal that this research project was well-planned and coordinated and would be executed with integrity and ethical responsibility.

Following ethics approval, a meeting was arranged with the prospective participants, all of whom were learners in Grades 10 or 11 as selected by the school principal. The presence of African migrant youth was not a prerequisite for participation, but the inclusion of both South African and African migrant youth would broaden the target population. This research was mostly concerned with the influence of social and cultural diversity and differences on learning and participation among learners

at the school. This was understood in terms of the apartheid legacy of African migrant labour and its historical roots in the establishment of Kayamandi as a suburb to accommodate exclusively Black male migrant labourers employed on farms in the wider Stellenbosch area.

During the initial meeting with the prospective participants, an attempt to ensure their willingness to participate was made by issuing assent forms for the learners and an additional consent form for their parents/legal guardians (participants were expected to be below the age of 18 years so it was necessary to obtain the consent of a parent/legal guardian). Both forms were signed and returned prior to their participation in the research.

4.3.2   *Participant demographics*

The participant sample of learners in Grade 10/11 had some form of migratory experience due to movement and residential change between provinces and countries. At this stage of the research internal migration was flagged as a central theme to be addressed in the local context. The initial sample consisted of ten learners at the school but decreased by one due to issues of time and transportation. Of the nine learners who participated in the study, only one was identified as an African migrant youth (from Zimbabwe). The remaining eight learners were out-migrants from the Eastern Cape Province. Significantly, however, it was at this point that the distinction between African migrant and South African youth attending the school became blurred.

As the highest grades in this school were learners in Grade 10 and Grade 11 they were selected on the basis that they were the most proficient in English and this had the potential for easier communication and interaction. These grades were also selected based on the assumption that they are more aware, better informed, and thus more knowledgeable about the school and surrounding community and its social issues. Another reason depended largely on their availability at the time of the fieldwork which eliminated Grade 12 learners due to constraints on study time and upcoming exam pressure. Similarly, Grade 8 and Grade 9 learners were not included, as they were likely to be newer to the school, and still gaining familiarity with class schedules and the wider school environment.

Table 4.1 Participants' demographic data.

Participant	Grade	Age	Sex	Home Language	Nationality	Place of origin
1: AK	10	17	F	isiXhosa	South Africa	Eastern Cape → Gauteng
2: AQ	11	17	M	isiXhosa	South Africa	Eastern Cape
3: AM	11	16	F	isiXhosa; Afrikaans	South Africa	Eastern Cape
4: IT	11	16	F	Sesotho; IsiXhosa	South Africa	Eastern Cape → Gauteng
5: LS	11	17	M	isiXhosa	South Africa	Eastern Cape
6: LX	10	15	M	isiXhosa	South Africa	Eastern Cape
7: NW	11	17	M	isiXhosa	Zimbabwe	Bulawayo
8: NJ	11	16	F	isiXhosa	South Africa	Eastern Cape
9: SA	10	16	M	isiXhosa	South Africa	Eastern Cape

From the above data, it can be established that the participant sample was largely gender proportionate: (only one extra male to female participants). The home language of the vast majority is isiXhosa as reflected by their cultural and ethnic background which was both homogenous and diverse. In addition to this, three out of nine participants were in Grade 10 (33%), while the remaining six were in Grade 11 (67%). The age demographic was largely even, with most in the age range of 16 to 17 years, excluding one younger participant of 15 years of age. It is also important to note that these figures cannot be representative of the entire learner population at the school, nor of the Grade 10 and Grade 11 learner population as they were chosen solely on the basis of their time and availability during the fieldwork or research conduct.

A personal note needs to included here in respect of sensitivities. As this sample consisted of marginalised Black adolescents, this White researcher was conscious of the power ascribed by participants to her role as researcher. Therefore, issues surrounding multiculturalism, diversity and empowerment had to be unpacked with sensitivity. Each interview participant and member of the focus group was treated with dignity and respect. This researcher also attempted to facilitate the session without domination or judgement whereby participation was encouraged.

4.4 Data Collection Methods

Three qualitative data collection methods were chosen for this study: in-depth qualitative interviewing, a focus group discussion, and a form of participant observation. All activities took place after school hours, from 14h15 onwards on the school grounds. All interviews were conducted on a one-on-one (individual) basis, with timeslots allotted in 30-minute intervals. While the interviews were initially designated at 60-minute (1-hour) intervals, this was later shortened, as each of the nine participating learners would take part in a two-part interview process, including a life history interview as well as a walking interview. Owing to the demands and time constraints placed on the learners, it was important that they did not feel under pressure to participate for extensive periods of time and become distracted, frustrated, or even bored. No interviews were conducted after 17h30 to ensure the safety and wellbeing of the participants at all times.

As a buffer against any researcher confirmation bias and to minimise the observer-expectancy effect all question posed in interviews and the focus group discussion were open-ended, with additional probes to engage a deeper insight into the participants' lives and lived experiences. The influence of the observer-expectancy effect includes noting the participants' attitudes and general behaviour during the research activities, and the influence of the participants' choice of communication style, the kinds of information they divulged, as well as the types of ideas, thoughts, and opinions that they were willing to share with the researcher. The open-ended questions invited participants to engage more fully with their life experiences through dialogue and discussion while constraining the influence of the researcher/interviewer's own preconceptions, expectations and bias that could influence responses.

A predominantly conversational style was deliberately followed for these largely unstructured or semi-structured individual and group interviews. A set of questions was provided in the interview guide, alongside probes or probing questions but these were used mostly to guide the discussion rather than providing set questions as any rigid means of approach. This allowed for natural interaction to unfold whereby the participant became the main driver in assessing the relevance and significance of the topics and themes in the narrative accounts of their lives.

4.4.1   In-depth qualitative interviewing

There were two separate phases of interviewing with the participants: a life history interview and walking interview (otherwise known as a transect walk). The first interview was more extensive than the latter, with the walking interview functioning as a follow-up interview to ensure that enough time was spent with each participant to adequately interpret the data gathered and collected on their behalf.

The first interview (the life history interview) was used to elicit a form of narrative biography on the participants' personal history and family background; namely their interests and hobbies, their views on social, cultural, political and environmental concerns in and around South Africa, as well as their day-to-day lives and experiences at the school, at home, and in the local community in Kayamandi, Stellenbosch.

The second interview (the walking interview or transect walk) was used to enquire into spaces and places on the school grounds that were frequented or otherwise identified as significant to the learners' school life. While there were a variety of spaces and places external to the school mentioned by learners in the life history interview, the walking interview was limited to concrete observations of spaces and places located on the school premises. This is because the learners were required to remain on the school grounds for the duration of their participation in the research.

The walking interview as a method used in the qualitative social sciences can be said to have emerged in geography after the spatial turn, primarily due to an increased interest in mobility in the early 2000s (Mahoudeau, 2017). This form of interviewing is used as a means to engage with participants 'on the move'. Through the walking interview, the significance of context comes to the fore as "the data generated through walking interviews are profoundly informed by the landscapes in which they take place, emphasizing the importance of environmental features in shaping discussions" (Evans & Jones, 2011:849).

Over the last couple decades, social scientists and geographers alike have been using these techniques (Anderson, 2004; Carpiano, 2009; Kusenbach, 2003; Reed, 2002, as cited in Evans & Jones, 2011) which have varied from a wander through landscapes chatting with participants, to highly structured tours designed to elicit responses to specific, pre-determined places. Indeed, walking interviews are generally argued to generate richer data than sedentary methods because interviewees are prompted by meanings and connections to the surrounding environment and are less concerned with trying to give what they might perceive to be the 'right' answer. However, as with any other interview or research method, there are limitations. To be relevant, research questions need to be framed by a sense of 'place' (a location or general area that can be walked) and the act of walking will undeniably exclude certain types of participants and places and certain interviewing techniques. For this study, walking interviews provided access to richer understandings of place than those that could be generated by more conventional interviewing methods.

These mobility and mobile methods have attracted significant academic attention across the human or social sciences in recent years. Sheller and Urry (2006), for example, identified the formation of a new 'mobilities paradigm', as geographers became increasingly interested in new technologies that

have simultaneously made aspects of modern life more mobile and eased new ways of studying these phenomena.

Walking around means that both the researcher and the participant are more exposed to the multi-sensory stimulation of the surrounding environment, rather than insulated in a filtered 'blandscape' (Binnie, Edensor, Holloway, Milington & Young, 2007) within four walls. This lends immediacy as well as a kinaesthetic rhythm that makes for a different experience to sedentary methods from the perspective of both participant and researcher (Evans and Jones, 2011:851).

Another advantage of walking interviews is also their capacity to produce insights into attitudes and knowledge about the surrounding environment. Walking has long been considered a more intimate way to engage the surrounding landscape that can offer privileged insights into both place and self. A more commonly used approach is the hybrid method of interview and participant observation known as a 'go-along' (Kusenbach, 2003), whereby the researcher walks with the interviewees as they go about their daily routines, asking them questions along the way. However, such a method appeared too invasive and distracting to conduct with the learners (i.e. observer-expectancy effect). It thus seemed adequate to ask the participants to walk around the school and focus on spaces and places that they would frequent, e.g. where they usually spend their class and free time.

Mindful of the limitation of research activities on the school grounds, walking interviews were conducted in a show-and-tell format that provided the participant with the freedom to decide on the walking route and significant locales themselves. While pre-determined routes produce more appealing data in that they allow the researcher to garner opinions about specific places on the school grounds, this kind of data:

- Is not likely to enhance an understanding of the subjects' authentic practices and interpretations;
- Could further lessen the empowerment felt by participants in choosing their own route; and,
- Could detract from the informality and naturalness of the encounter.

However, following Kusenbach (2003), walking interviews presented the opportunity for the data to capture unnoticed habitual relations with the environment by allowing observations to be made around environmental perception, spatial practices, biographies, social architecture and social realms.

4.4.2   Focus group discussion

The focus group discussion took place after the completion of all individual interviews with all nine learners. The focus group took between 90 and 120 minutes to complete. The discussion was in two

parts. Firstly, participants were asked questions around key topics and/or themes that emerged in the individual interviews; follow-up questions then ensued that sought to confirm previous findings and to find any overlaps and differences emerging between the participants' narratives. Secondly, the focus group discussion was used as a feedback and reflection session during which the participants (i) reflected back on their research experience and how they felt about being interviewed, and then (ii) they were asked to consider the impact and influence of the researcher's involvement on the school premises.

There are multiple benefits of a focus group discussion: firstly, it involves an ongoing process of sense-making, in "establishing communication in complex environments where there are no common definitions between people" (Fusch, et al. 2017:931). In this way, it creates a solid foundation for "a shared narrative construction" through a process of collective negotiation while the researcher remains detached yet aware of how the discussion might unfold as a result of the composition of the participants. This includes:

- Their interpersonal relations and how these are continually shaped and reshaped via interactions between them; as well as
- The type of relationship that the participants foster with the researcher in his/her role as mediator or facilitator with the unfolding discussion being led primarily by the participants.

4.4.3   Participant observation

A number of observational checklists were compiled for engagement with the learners and school principal in the Observation Guide. This included common school facilities and amenities, as well as checklist of prospective resources and learning materials that might typically be encountered in the classroom environment. These checklist guides were used for different sites on the school premises, and to provide impetus for discussions surrounding the various meanings and significance attributed to these sites.

Participant observation, therefore, was an explicit, although underlying element of the research process, through an ongoing process of interaction, participation, and observation of the activities of the participants in their natural setting (the school grounds) (Kawulich, 2005).

Significantly, another implicit form of participant observation was encountered in the interviewing process via the interviews as separate and distinct social contexts in themselves. This was through the simultaneous personal construction of their narratives of lived experience which also presented their identities. Furthermore, a participatory approach with them as 'observers' meant that the researcher

took on the role of participant alongside them (Kawulich, 2005), making it possible to co-construct the participants' narratives, to include their experiences and the meanings attributed to them, as well as the researcher's own interpretation.

Fieldnotes also played a crucial role in the research process by providing a source of information regarding the specific context for their narratives, as well as for additional background records on identity performance, and the manner in which social and power dynamics were encountered, shaped, and changed in the research process. Fieldnotes were also particularly useful, in cases where participants would raise an idea or concern outside of the interview context, and where the data would otherwise not have been recorded without the use of an audio recording device. Fieldnotes were equally insightful for the purposes of making observations on non-verbal communication in the interview setting.

Observations generally include descriptions of the school's environment or immediate surroundings as deemed relevant for the research as this could potentially provide valuable insights into environmental factors influencing learners' school experiences. These observational notes also functioned as a supplementary instrument for data gathering, especially in cases where an audio recording device was inadequate as the primary source of information. In addition, observational notes were reviewed during transcription to identify non-verbal forms of communication that were not easily discerned from the audio recorded data. For example, in the focus group, participants were likely to speak over one another from time to time, and it thus seemed important to reflect on how the social and power dynamics played out in both one-on-one and group interactions. Here, the researcher's notetaking focused on, among others, the participants' performance, body language, gestures, behavioural cues and other potentially relevant information that could easily get lost in an audio recording. Both observational notes and the audio recording of the focus group discussion, therefore, enhanced an ongoing iterative process of data analysis and interpretation.

4.4.4   *Audio transcription and the interview context*

Poland (1995) defines verbatim audio transcription as the word-for-word reproduction of verbal data, where the written words replicate the recorded (audio) words. In terms of accuracy of the substance of the interview this included perceptions created and shaped during the conversation, and how these developed in the recorded interviews and focus group and the context in which it acquired new shape and form. Excerpts from verbatim transcripts pay attention to aspects such as pronunciation and irregular use of grammar in everyday speech, which have the potential to offer further insights into the dialogue that can enrich the conversation. The three distinct vocalisations and non-verbal

interactions that may be captured in a verbatim transcript include: involuntary vocalisations, response/non-response tokens, and non-verbal vocalisations (Poland, 1995).

4.5 Data Analysis

This section outlines how data was managed, processed and analysed. Thematic Analysis (TA), as a form of narrative inquiry, is here regarded as an analytical lens for the stories of the youth's migratory and schooling experiences. While the narratives remain unique, similar challenges and opportunities are identified, as described below in Chapter Five. Therein, key words and concepts drawn from the participants' narratives are portrayed and used to formulate particular emerging themes or topics through thematic networks. In Chapter Six, these themes are related back to the literature and theory previously discussed, and then linked back in response to the research questions.

4.5.1   Thematic analysis (TA)

Should qualitative research yield both meaningful and useful results, it is essential that the material is analysed in a methodical manner (Attride-Stirling, 2001:386). According to Attride-Stirling (2001:385), thematic analysis can be usefully presented as thematic networks, which provide web-like illustrations that summarise the main themes of the text data. In addition, thematic networks provide a web-like network as an organising principle with a representational meaning, that makes the procedures explicit from text to interpretation. Graphically presenting these web-like nets helps to (i) remove any notion of hierarchy, (ii) gives fluidity to the themes, and (iii) emphasises their interconnectivity through networks (Attride-Stirling, 2001:389). In sum, the three basic themes extracted through the use of thematic networks include:

- **Basic themes** – the lowest-order premises evident in the text
- **Organising themes** – categories of basic themes grouped together to summarise more abstract principles
- **Global themes** – subordinate themes encapsulating the principal metaphors in the text as a whole

Thematic analysis, therefore, moves beyond counting explicit words or phrases and focuses on identifying and describing both implicit and explicit ideas within the data, namely themes. Codes are then developed to represent the identified themes and applied to the raw data as summary markers for later analysis in the form of thematic networks.

4.5.2   *Grounded theory (GT)*

Alongside thematic analysis, Grounded Theory (GT) was used. Charmaz (2006:2) describes grounded theory as a set of methods that "consist of systematic yet flexible guidelines for collecting and analysing qualitative data to construct theories 'grounded' in the data themselves". Thus, it was employed due to its iterative approach towards theory generation, vis-à-vis a back and forth motion between data collection and analysis. Mindful of the fact that analysis depends largely on the kinds of data generated by researchers (which is based largely on the relationship established with the research participants via questions posed) the approach as well as the decisions made on what counts as data and how it is recorded provided an anchor or starting point for developing further categories and themes addressed later on.

For this reason, analysis began with a broader conceptualisation of space and place as a means to contextualise the study as a basis for regarding this concept in relation to that of ideas of identity, position, and belonging.

4.6 Ethical Considerations

In light of the ethical dilemmas that could emerge during the course of this research, it was important that all prospective participants receive the required consent documentation alongside an information sheet prior to their participation in the research. This documentation was used to ensure that all involved were fully informed regarding the research conduct, ethical procedures, and their rights as research participants, particularly their right to withdraw from the study at any time, and without negative consequence. To ensure confidentiality and anonymity was upheld at all times, codes and pseudonyms were used in the place of names, and any identifiable information or data of participants was removed.

As interviewing was conducted in two phases, the second walking interview was regarded as a follow-up to ensure clarification of meaning were representative of the experiences of the participants who voiced them. In this way, feedback form the participants extrapolated inductive interpretations (Fusch, et al. 2017:924), thus ensuring transparency and openness were upheld at all times. This further maintained a good relationship between researcher and participants to enhance the reliability and credibility of the research findings.

4.6.1   *Mitigating researcher bias*

The copious notetaking of sights and sounds by this researcher, including thoughts about the study and their interpretations, identified key themes to enhance the validity of the research. In addition,

the advantage of notes is that they also present a means for others to weigh-up the researcher's experiences in the field. This helps to identify and mitigate any personal biases that may have impacted the interpretation of data. Research bias is always a central concern particularly in ethnographic research, which is particularly susceptible due to the human factor (the researcher) being the primary instrument of data collection and analysis.

For qualitative field research, the ethnographer is often involved in learning the feelings, beliefs and interpretations of the interaction between people within their cultural terrain. Therefore, much of the information collected will often reflect how the researcher has responded to others in relation to the study. Furthermore, "the researcher operates between multiple worlds engaging in research, which includes the cultural world of the study participants as well as the world of one's own perspective" (Dibley, 2011 as cited in Fusch, et al. 2017:925). In this way, bias appears inevitable. Listening and understanding the perspective of others is often a difficult dilemma for ethnographers since personal "cultural and experiential background will also contain bias, values, and ideologies that can affect the interpretation of a study" (Bernard, 2012 as cited in Fusch, et al. 2017:925). Thus, the more prepared a researcher is to recognise their personal worldview and to discern this the more able he/she will be to understand and interpret the behaviour and reflections of others in the research.

4.6.2   *Criteria for quality assurance in qualitative research*

Qualitative data pose complex issues that require responses obtained from participants to be done in a truthful way. Reliability or trustworthiness of the research refers to replicability of procedures and data generated under different circumstances that can field similar results (Bryman, 2012; Stiles, 1993). To enhance the validity of this study, issues of credibility, confirmability, transferability, dependability, and triangulation were addressed (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Credibility refers to the fit between participants' views and the researcher's representation thereof (Schwandt, 2001; Tobin & Begley, 2004). Approaches to increase credibility included continued engagement on the research site with extensive fieldwork (Erlandson, Harrison, Skipper & Allen, 1993). Access to Kayamandi was obtained through gatekeeper permission vis-à-vis Makupula High School. Face-to-face meetings with the school principal and participating Grade 10 and 11 learners on the school grounds further provided first-hand, lived experience of the school conditions, which together add validity to the study.

Transferability refers to the generalisability of the inquiry (Sandelowski, 1993; Tobin & Begley, 2004) even as individual subjective meanings are crucial to the study findings. The present study was based on comprehensive and extensive descriptions of the specific sample that is not generalisable to

other contexts. However, if a high degree of similarity exists between (i) times, (ii) people and (iii) settings in the original research and the applied context, the findings could be transferable (via proximal similarity) (Appleton, 1995; Lewis, 2009; Tobin & Begley, 2004).

Dependability requires technical accuracy in the recording and transcribing of data. Thematic analysis was used with specific codes created to describe the data. The recorded statements were transcribed line-by-line to form verbatim interview scripts that were checked by the researcher to ensure accuracy of the captured data (Roberts, Priest & Traynor 2006). Intensive engagement with the data and a range of verbatim examples were used to make solid links between the data, and interpretations were used to increase confirmability (Lewis, 2009).

Triangulation refers to the different methods of data collection used to enhance the consistency and the validity of the study (Halcomb & Andrew, 2005; Henning, Van Rensburg & Smit, 2004). Methods included the use of a demographic questionnaire, individual and focus group interviews. Two distinct interview styles were adopted, including a life history interview (sedentary) and a walking interview (transect walk) on the school grounds. Thereby a process of triangulation was followed to cross-check data collected. Verbatim accounts were used to validate findings (Johnson, 1997). The walking interview was used as a follow up from the life history interview. In addition, participants were asked to validate interpretations during the focus group (Bryman, 2001; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Roberts, et al. 2006). The researcher's subjectivity as a research instrument, in terms of reflexivity and the researcher's self, is described in section 4.4 of this chapter (Holloway & Biley, 2011).

In qualitative research, the importance of triangulation for ensuring reliability and validity of the data and results cannot be underestimated. What is vital is that the researcher mitigates bias not only through the correct use of data collection methods that are suitable for the research design, but also through the use of methods of triangulation. Denzin's (2012, as cited in Fusch, et al. 2017:927) work suggests that data triangulation is important for correlating people, time and space; using a variety of types of triangulation. This research study employed two forms of triangulation; theory triangulation, which uses and correlates multiple theoretical strategies, as well as methodological triangulation, "for correlating data from multiple data collection methods" (Denzin, 2012, as cited in Fusch, et al. 2017:927). The benefits of these forms of triangulation are that it adds depth to the data collected by considering multiple facets and points of view for analysis and interpretation.

4.6.3   *Mitigation of potential risks of harm*

While there were no direct foreseeable risks of harm or discomfort for any persons participating in the research, the focus on migration and marginalised groups was still a sensitive topic and a matter

of concern. For this reason, participants were encouraged to speak up if they felt any form of discomfort responding to any of the interview questions. They could also refuse to respond and/or skip a question at any point in the interview process. The participants were also informed of their right to withdraw from the study at any given time, without negative consequence.

To avoid perpetuating some of the major challenges faced by South African schools and to include matters of social stigma, bullying, discrimination, and other exclusionary practices faced by youth, it was important that these risks were properly managed. This was to ensure that the physical and emotional health and wellbeing of the participants was maintained at all times, therefore, a means to make referrals to counselling or related therapy services was set up. These details were provided to the participating learners, their parents, and relevant members of staff at the school should any participant need such support. Owing to the lack of counselling or therapy services available on the school premises, contact was made with the Good Hope Psychological Service (GHPS), which functions in Kayamandi and surrounding areas. Their contact information was provided in the consent documentation and information leaflet provided to participating learners and staff at the school. After a discussion with the school principal, the assurance was given that a counsellor/psychologist from Good Hope Psychological Service (GHPS) was not required onsite as initially sought, but one would be available onsite during the focus group discussion. While therapy and counselling services provided by the GHPS were claimed to be free of charge, the consent documentation provided the researcher's personal contact information in case any participants were negatively affected by the research engagement and independently sought counselling or therapy services from the GHPS. This ensured that any financial burden would not fall to any of the affected participants or their families and would be paid in full on their behalf.

4.6.4   *Data storage, protection, and retention*

In following the Office of Research Integrity (ORI) *Guidelines for responsible data management in scientific research*, all hard copy data was stored in a locked drawer at the researcher's residence with access limited to the researcher alone. All hard copy data was converted into an electronic format within the first year of data collection, after which this data was destroyed. All electronic data was stored on a password-protected computer, in an encrypted folder, to which only the researcher had access. A back-up copy was kept of all electronic data on the Stellenbosch University (SU) One Drive space, after consulting with IT about its security.

The data collected for this project has been stored for later or future access to explain subsequent research on migrant youth in the context of township schooling. Crucially this data is stored for an extensive period as this might help to establish precedence in the event that similar research is

published. Following the ORI guidelines, the proper storage and retention of data can aid in the protection of the research participants and the researcher in the unlikely event of legal allegations. Enough data should therefore be retained so that the findings of this project can be reconstructed with relative ease alongside any key fieldnotes and observations pertaining to the research.

To ensure that the rights of the research participants were properly maintained and upheld at all times, all data and information gathered and presented here has been stripped of any and all identifiers or identifiable information, so that any later publications of the findings cannot be traced back to the participants. The limited access to the data folders in storage is ensured through authorised access of the researcher and her supervisor on an encrypted password-protected system. As there is no set amount of time for which data may be stored electronically but the electronic database will be retained for a minimum of 3-5 years after the completion of this research project. Irrespective of whether or not the research findings are published at any later stage, the researcher will still be required to continue an assessment to discern the extent to which continued data retention and storage might pose a security risk. In future, the monetary cost of security for data retention may emerge as a more pressing concern. In this way all data is protected from physical damage, and data integrity is maintained through ensuring proper protection form any threat of damage or risk resulting from tampering or theft.

4.7 Reflexivity: Exploring 'Positionality' (Status)

The researcher's ability to be unbiased and state subjective assumptions throughout the research process is known as reflexivity (Roberts, et al. 2006). In describing another person's perceptual terrain (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) the researcher's responsibility is to offset any personal bias and subjectivity before data is interpreted (Burnard, 1991). Hence, this researcher aimed to achieve a state of conscious awareness of her presence and effect on the setting, and on the observed individuals and their ensuing reactions (Lewis, 2009). Reflexivity is used to critically analyse the researcher as an instrument, using self-awareness and critical self-engagement to reconcile multiple selves throughout the research process (Guba & Lincoln, 2005; Johnson, 2010). The researcher's self-reflexivity can prevent the unintentional disregard of subtle nuances or ambiguities in the data.

This researcher also considered it imperative by self-examination (or reflexivity) of her personal role in the research process to avoid ascribing age, gender, race, nationality, and other forms of identity with personal assumptions and bias. The importance of regarding researcher positionality is expressed by Bourdieu (1984, as cited in Wodak & Meyer, 2010:7) as follows:

> What is rarely reflected in this understanding of critique is the analyst's position itself. The social
> embeddedness of research and science, the fact that the research system itself … are also

dependent on social structures, and that criticism can by no means draw on an outside position but is itself well integrated within social fields.

Das (2010) has defined 'positionality' in a multi-dimensional manner by emphasising the complex positions occupied by an individual, and the interplay with social, structural, and organisational social fields and power structures that shape one's interactions with other objects and people. The endeavour of self-reflexivity is continually repeated by employing this self-awareness at all stages in the research process, and to think critically about *how* and *why* the research is being done (Wellington, 2000). Such reflexivity proved to be an essential part of this study as the researcher questioned habits of thinking about migration and marginalised youth in the township setting. This not only allowed for new ways of thinking and doing researcher it further helped to boost the study's credibility and trustworthiness as a whole (Patton, 2002; Winter, 2000). Furthermore, it can be argued that by analysing views of migrant youth on their experiences of migration and education, rather than their personal stories, the knowledge gained may be transferable to other similar contexts (Babbie & Mouton, 2001:277).

Professor Francis (2017:33) warns that "how researchers disclose our social identities, positions us in the research process". He argues that "our situatedness, frames of references, prior beliefs, political commitments, values, experiences, interests, wider aims in life, and social identities shape our research agenda". He continues that "our perception of this positioning impacts upon data production". In sum, Francis (2017:33) writes:

Reflecting on this positioning, whether privileged or disadvantaged ensures that researchers remain critically aware and trouble the power differentials between oppressor and oppressed, dominant and subordinate, normative and non-normative, and researcher and participants. In speaking and acting from a particular position, researchers bring to the research process their identities, history, and experience as they conceive it.

As a researcher, sharing a worldview will illuminate certain subjectivities. My standpoint is located and created historically, socially and contextually (Creswell & Miller, 2000) in the following personal story:

Being born in 1994 in Copenhagen, Denmark at a time when my South African parents were on a diplomatic post, and was considered a 'born-free', following the dismantling of the old apartheid regime and first democratically held elections in South Africa. My parents' professional mobility allowed me the opportunity to enrol in diverse school environments in South Africa and abroad. My first time in a South African school meant that I had begun my academic career in a school that had started racial integration.

Whereas my mother tongue is Afrikaans, my first spoken language was Hungarian. This was because my preschool and early adolescent years were spent in Budapest, Hungary. During those early years in the American International School of Budapest, I had to take extra English classes to learn English for the first time. In 2001, on moving back to South Africa, however, I lost my ability to speak Hungarian due to a fear of being perceived as an outcast speaking in a foreign tongue. Owing to the language requirements of the various schools I attended, English then became my primary medium of communication.

My early childhood experiences at a mixed-race school in the early 2000s laid the foundation for my perceptions regarding race relations at the time. Having enrolled mid-year in Grade 1, it was difficult to make friends. People had already clustered together in various social groups, and I found myself feeling left out. In the coming months, I formed some close friendships with a group of black learners at the school. A couple years later, I was invited to my friend's birthday party. When I arrived at her house over the weekend, I was distraught to find no one there. Later, I found that my friend had been in an argument with her parents over her friendship with a white girl. While we reconciled our friendship in later years to come, this was the first time that I came to the realisation that racial tensions existed in South Africa at all. Perhaps this was what sparked my interest in peoples' circumstances, their perceptions, and our collective ability and willingness to understand and learn to change.

After Grade 9, my parents received another post to Geneva, Switzerland. This was my most recent experience at an international school abroad. A deep respect was gained for humanity, and deeper insight and appreciation for diversity and difference was attained. This opportunity brought with it an international qualification that made it easier to gain admittance into a South African university. In 2014, after a temporary job position as shop assistant and cashier in Pretoria, I began my undergraduate degree at Stellenbosch University.

Recently, my parents moved to New York City, in the United States, after my father received a job offer to work as a consultant to the United Nations. During this time, I took up temporary work between my studies in an attempt to relieve my parents of their financial responsibility, while similarly taking on domestic work at home. Altogether, these factors have humbled me and made me more sympathetic to others who exist in far worse conditions, whose tenacity and work ethic I admire. Internally, a need and desire

has always existed to help others. This goal has found a focus in trying to connect and engage more deeply with marginalised people.

Lastly, the community context of Kayamandi was a challenge for all these preconditioned beliefs I had linked to townships. Initially, I had been afraid of crime or negative responses. As time passed, these fears abated. My presence at Makupula High was never questioned, and I found peace working with the learners. Undeniable physical, cultural and intellectual differences existed between me and the learners with whom I engaged. Assumptions of power and identity that emerged in the research process were continuously unpacked and addressed through permeable boundaries and open channels of communications (McIlveen & Patton, 2007; Patton & McMahon, 2006). The research process had an impact on many deep and subtle levels for all involved. I believe that it was a positive effect, based on equality, learning and respect.

4.8 Fieldwork Timeframe

The 2019 public school terms were published as follows:

Table 4.2 Public school term dates for 2019.

Term 1	(07) 09 January – 15 March
Term 2	02 April – 14 June
Term 3	09 July – 20 September
Term 4	01 October – (04) 06 December

Source: Independent School Association of Southern Africa (ISASA)

The best times for a brief introductory meeting at this public school was late January to finalise research and make arrangements for the recruitment of participants over February and early March. Data collection mainly took place during the second term of the school year, in April and May. This included two one-on-one interviews with each of the nine participating learners, an interview with the school principal, and a focus group discussion with all nine participating learners. In this way, a total of eighteen interviews were recorded with the learners alongside a single focus group discussion. To make allowances for extensive data collection, the fieldwork timeframe was developed, as summarised in the table below. The fieldwork activities took place during the second term of the

school year, following ethical clearance in March. Earlier months were used to gain and negotiate access to the school site and commence with the early stages of participant selection and recruitment. The table showing fieldwork timeframe is shown below.

Table 4.3 Research fieldwork timeframe

Fieldwork activity		Duration (months)
Finalisation of research proposal		January 2019
Introductory meetings with school principal		January-February 2019
Participant selection and recruitment		February-March 2019
Ethical clearance (REC: Humanities)		March 2019
Dissemination of consent documentation		March 2019
Interviews: Learners	Part 1: Life history interview	April 2019
	Part 2: Walking interview	May 2019
Interview: School principal		May 2019
Focus group discussion: Learners		June 2019
Audio transcription		April-July 2019
Write-up of research findings		April-September 2019
Thesis editing and review		September-November 2019

4.9 Chapter Summary

This chapter describes the qualitative research design and methodology used. Representation of findings and trustworthiness in qualitative research are discussed. Furthermore, the demographic details of the sample are given as well as a description of the phases in the research process. This includes a description of the use, benefits and limitations, of the life history and walking interview, and the implications of combining the individual interviews with a focus group discussion. The significance of space and place as a theoretical and methodological framework and its uses for participant observation and in the context of the walking interview are discussed. Awareness, sensitivity and self-reflexivity are considered in describing the 'essence' of the life stories in the sample of Makupula learners (Holloway & Biley, 2011). The emerging themes around migration and schooling drawn from the participants' narrative accounts are presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction

This study explores how learners attending the selected school in Kayamandi respond to their experiences as migrants and what forms of identity, position, and belonging they have formed in the school and community context. It is further engaged in the ways the young migrants respond within education to their situation.

This chapter seeks to organise and report on the study's main findings and to include the presentation of relevant qualitative (narrative) data. It is important to note that the data explored in this chapter is presented in an alternative fashion to how it is gathered: as a synthesis of the audio recorded data alongside a contextualised description. While the interview with the school principal is presented as additional background and historical research on the school, it also further foregrounds the findings of the participating learners' interviews. There are multiple points of intersection which provide a rich and fertile foundation for the data analysis and interpretation in Chapter Six. In employing a thematic approach, this chapter seeks to organise excerpts from the audio transcripts according to some of the key emerging themes which are:

- Navigating the complexities of the African migrant identity.
- Interrogating the meaning of feeling at home.
- Re-embodiment of the tourist.
- Social divisions.
- Sites of learning: bridging the computer lab/library divide.

5.2 Navigating the Complexities of the African Migrant Identity

In the literature review (Chapter Three), the contested nature of the African migrant identity was explored in internal and external migration and the formal classification used to identify persons involved in these migratory practices. While only one of the participants (NW) was identified as a migrant from another African country, and in the strictest sense he is classified as an African migrant youth – it can nevertheless be said that all of the participants are migrant youth, in the sense of a past move from one locale to another. NW tells of his experience at Makupula:

> *NW: When I was looking for a school, I first went to Kayamandi, and I was accepted. I paid the school fees and everything. But my class teacher, she said I can't go there because I can't speak the language. And ja, that was the only bad thing I experienced, and I felt like really sad, you know. But then the following week, I came here [Makupula], and the principal, he did tell me that he saw something in me, and he was okay with giving me the opportunity to actually study. And when I actually showed him that I did have potential because I won, like, a lot of prizes in Grade 8, [and when] he came up to me [he] said, he did actually see that, and I was grateful for the opportunity that he gave me. So ja, the school gave me a lot of opportunities for now, and there's still a lot of opportunities. And I'll be forever grateful for what the school did.*

The participant NW has a narrative that sheds positive light on Makupula Secondary. It shows that the school is living up to its vision and values, presenting a site of acceptance and growth, as well as providing a space and opportunity for learners from a plethora of social, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds. Indeed, whereas language is often presented as a barrier to education, the participant's willingness to learn, alongside the school's abiding support, truly reflects the importance of nurturing the positive qualities of young people, rather than instilling a sense of self-doubt. In so doing, learners are provided with an opportunity to grow not merely despite but in respect of their differences.

All in all, Makupula Secondary reflects the importance of building education institutions that can raise future generations of local and migrant youth out of the depths of poverty and inequality. While the school has only a handful of African migrant youth from other countries there are no discriminatory practices in the process of learner enrolment.

The time spent in secondary education by learners is roughly between 5-6 years, depending on the level of academic performance and the extent of learner dropout. Overall, Makupula High, a Model-C school based in a township community, appears to be doing relatively well academically with learners aged 15 to 17 years. One concern was that of late-coming, and another being the limited space available for the required educational facilities and amenities in close proximity to home, as a

result of the rapid growth in the local population. This was indicated in the interview with the school principal, as shown below.

> *School principal: Let me tell you a bit about one of the challenges we face here at the school. Otherwise the school is doing well, especially when it comes to results, and when it comes to Grade 12. But one of the challenges we have is that we are not doing well in Grade 10 and 11, especially in commerce subjects. It worries us…, it bothers us as a commerce school. But really, ever since our first Grade 12 in 2011, we have been obtaining over 80%. The challenge is that we have (and that especially affects the school) is the late-coming. The township is growing, and some of the learners are coming from far, so we've got that challenge, which is not an excuse as such, because when I was schooling in the Eastern Cape, we used to travel far, 7 kilometers, to go to school. So, it's not excuse.*

While the reference to late-coming may have to do with transportation issues affecting learners residing in settlements external to Kayamandi; the latter half of the principal's description indicates the mass out-migration from the Eastern Cape to the Western Cape province. This brings into question whether or not the migrant families who had relocated have actually managed to obtain a better quality of life to that of their previous place of residence, and whether or not they are able to obtain the necessary qualifications or work experience to improve their lives.

When it came to the participants' perceptions about being a migrant the memories were of hardship, pain, and the search for a better life through improved access to work and education opportunities. Some had been young at the time of migrancy and did not recall what happened but reported what they had been told. Others, who had changed residence more recently, were able to more poignantly and vividly reflect on the transition. All participants were either first or second-generation migrants, and many followed their parents who had been part of the mass out-migration (interprovincial) from the Eastern Cape. This included eight (88.9%) of the nine participants. Two of these learners, AK and IT, had a transitionary period in Gauteng and all eight still had family members in the Eastern Cape region whom they visited frequently. Finally, the last of the nine participants, NW, the only immigrant across national borders had arrived from Bulawayo, Zimbabwe having lived there for most of his childhood life (Figure 4.1). A vast majority of the participants stated the need to move to the Western Cape to search for better job and education prospects. As stated by one of the recent out-migrants from Gauteng, a 16-year-old girl in Grade 11, IT:

> *IT: Well … I used to live in Gauteng, Soweto, with my mother and father. And then they moved here in 2015. So, I was left there alone in Grade 7. I used to live with my aunt. And then, in 2016, I came here to live with them [parents]. In Gauteng, there isn't much job opportunities. So, here, we have a family, and … my aunt got a job for my mum, so she came over here then, from Pretoria.*

58

In IT's interview it was evident that members of her community often had to rely on their personal connections and family networks to find employment and education opportunities. A similar trend featured in a vast majority of the life history interviews. Take the case of AQ, one of the male Grade 11 learners.

> *AQ: I am from here in South Africa. But I'm not from the Western Cape, I was born in the Eastern Cape. So, you know the Black culture, so you know, mos, people come from there, and they come and live here for employment and school. My family migrated to the Western Cape when I was … between three or five years old. So they came here to live, so ever since that time, I've been living here. But I still go to the Eastern Cape, as I have family there. My grandmother lives there, so we go there … every December holiday.*

In this case, AQ's use of Afrikaans is significant. While a number of the participants had adopted some of the basic terminology used in Afrikaans (e.g. 'ja' for 'yes'—a common word in South Africa) it became evident that AQ's schooling experiences played a unique role in his language acquisition as one of the few multilinguals (rather than bilinguals) of the group. Indeed, language plays an undeniable role in identity formation, by providing new ways of being, doing, and thinking about the world.

> *AQ: I attended Grade R in our local school, and then I went to another school, a Coloured school until Grade 6, and then I came back here to the township… Ah, it was nice, and like, it helped me a lot – in terms of languages. Because now I can also speak Afrikaans. Which is good, especially here in like Stellenbosch, most people speak Afrikaans. So yeah, that helped me a lot. And I'm actually really glad my parents sent me to the school… So like when I went there my aunt used to work at a winery called Vredenheim, … in Vlottenburg. So yeah, she used to work there, and she wasn't able to speak Afrikaans. So she sent me there, and she said in Stellenbosch you know there are a lot of Afrikaners, so they speak Afrikaans, so she decided that I am going to go … attend school there, so that was my aunt, hey! So, she was sponsoring me in terms of, like, train tickets, and paying for my school stuff, and things like that. Because they needed a lot of things. They required a lot of money. So yeah, and then she died when I was in Grade 6.*

> *So, my family decided that, okay, I'm gonna go and attend school here, and I was fine with that, but most people were, like: 'Aren't you gonna suffer there?' 'You never did Xhosa', and I was like that's my mother tongue, I'm sure I'll be able to pull through… My aunt died when I was in Grade 6, I was 12 at the time, so then the following year, 2015, I came to attend school at iKhaya primary, which is also around here. So I only did one year there, and I was very good at Xhosa, and I was passing with flying colours. And I couldn't believe it. But you know, … that school helped me a lot with my English, because when I did the oral, I wasn't afraid of standing up and*

going in front, like I had that confidence. So yeah … I'm here now, and it's because of money issues like that, that I came out of that school.

Owing to migration, isiXhosa has become the primary medium (home language) spoken by Kayamandi residents, even as English, Zulu, and Sotho feature in community life. Although Albien (2003) had argued that schools in Kayamandi no longer offered Afrikaans as a language medium and had resulted in many struggling to acquire the dominant language in wider Stellenbosch (see Chapter Two), AQ's account appears to counter this some 16 years later. His exposure to a non-Xhosa medium school had a significant role to play, but it does not account for both formal and informal learning practices in which youth in township schools are often engaged, including peer-learning and exposure to different people and cultures.

As the interviews came to a close, the distinction between migrant and non-migrant became increasingly blurred, bringing the very notion of what constitutes an 'African migrant youth' into question. This was most pertinent in IT's interview.

IT: I don't think… um… there is a difference. There's no difference. African… South African … we are all in Africa at the end. So…, like… us having people from Africa, it's okay, I'm really cool with hanging out with … um… like NW, for instance. He's, he's from Africa, not South Africa. We interact quite well. He knows things I don't know. We share information, knowledge. And it's quite nice, because we… we get to know … their beliefs and their traditions. It's challenging, and it's exciting to have people from other countries to come here.

Similarly, many of the school staff have experienced parallel migratory experiences. One of the participants had a parent who taught at the school and many other staff members had migrated from the Eastern Cape to further work opportunities. The push factors, such as political unrest and a lack of resource availability and access to work and education in the place of origin, and the long history of labour migration in South Africa, is no better portrayed than in the work history and background of the school principal himself.

School principal: Yes, yes. Well I started teaching in 1983. I worked there [Eastern Cape] in 1983, until 1985. And then in 1985 I came back to work here at Cape Town. I worked at a school there (I think it was from July until December). Ja, and then after that, I went back to Eastern Cape. If you still remember, in 1985, the politics of … um … the unrest was very rife, in those days. And I went there to Eastern Cape, and I taught again from Eastern Cape from 1986 until 1991. It is then that I came back from Eastern Cape. But it's quite long I think I taught there for more or less 8 years. And then I started teaching here in 1991. And from 1991 until 2008, [when] I became a principal of Makupula High School. In fact, Makupula High School is an offspring

from Kayamandi High School because of the numbers were increasing drastically, and we had to divide the school into two. Then in 2008, then we started Makupula High School as a commerce school, because we agreed with the government body that we must make it a point that if we are starting a new school, it must be a school that is going to focus not again on physical sciences and history, it must be a new school. And it is then that we took a decision that Makupula must be a school … focused on commerce.

While the principal's migratory experience reflected a balanced perspective on his history of mobility and movement with an interplay of both positive and negative factors driving migration, the outlook was positive overall by reflecting his upward spiral in the field of education, as well as the continued growth and perseverance of the school. Similar to IT's views, AQ reflected on the opportunities brought forth for new social and cultural learning experiences through increased exposure to new and unfamiliar people and places.

AQ: Well, I like to do a lot of stuff. I like travelling and seeing new places. I like communicating with people from like opposite races, cultures, genders. Also, I like meeting new people, and helping where I can.

5.3 Interrogating the Meaning of Feeling at Home

A key question addressed in the interviews was based on the emerging theme of home. As indicated in the first chapter, this was drawn from the isiXhosa origins of the township name of Khaya-Mnandi. Indeed, a vast majority of the participants residing in Kayamandi and surrounding areas came from the Eastern Cape and from a Xhosa background, as indicated in the interview with the principal.

School principal: Ah, I would say that most of the learners are coming from the informal houses, well, they come from the Eastern Cape. You are right to say that most of the learners come from the Eastern Cape because most of them staying here in these informal houses are new to this community (because they are being built by people here coming from the Eastern Cape). Others, they are also coming from other areas; but most of our learners, they are coming from the Eastern Cape.

Interviewer: And, do most of them stay in Kayamandi?

School principal: Ah yes, most. I would say that 90% of our learners are staying in Kayamandi. There are learners that are coming from Franschhoek, they are few, and from, some from Kraaifontein, Kuilsrivier, Eersterivier… but 90%, they are coming from within Kayamandi.

In this way, it became poignant to reflect on where the participants felt most at home. The responses to the question "where is home?" could be divided into two categories. The first group were those

that associated home with their place of origin. Here, participants often responded with a statement surrounding their family heritage, history, and culture, irrespective of whether or not they themselves had actually lived in the region for any length of time. The second group comprised those who associated home with their destination or current place of residence. NW, from Zimbabwe, was a part of this latter group.

> *Interviewer: Okay, and NW, you're the only here who comes from abroad, right?*
>
> *NW: Uh, yeah, no. I come from just down the road [says jokingly]. Oh well, originally, I come from the second capital city of Zimbabwe [*insert: Bulawayo].*
>
> *Interviewer: Okay, alright, and what is the second capital city?*
>
> *NW: Oh, I dunno. I can't remember.*
>
> *Interviewer: Okay, and what about the capital city [*insert: Harare]?*
>
> *NW: No, no. I don't know. I don't know.*
>
> *Interviewer: Oh well, I think you're just bull******** me now. Oh! Excuse my language. I just meant that you are joking around. [laughter from group; shuffling in background].*
>
> *NW: Oh, oh no. Feel free, no, don't you worry. You are our friend, right? Yes, you know, because we are all friends here, you know? [nodding; agreement from other group members].*
>
> *Interviewer: [chucking] Oh alright. Well that's very nice of you to say.*

From the above interaction, the question regarding NW's place of origin could show the researcher's lack of understanding for his situation, but the participants appeared unoffended by this. NW's response was raw and honest. His willingness to admit that he did not know is not only admirable, but was a gentle reminder that, in this day and age, even with our information overload, knowledge is always partial, and only by acknowledging this can a space be created to learn and grow.

After an accidental slip-of-the-tongue, the reassurance from the participants was a pleasant one, and at that moment, there was a shift in power dynamics. Here, the seating arrangements played a vital role because this researcher would stand as one of the learners entered the room and remained seated among the participants before addressing any one of them rather than a presence looming over them as more important.

> *Interviewer: NW, can we begin with you? Where is home for you?*

NW: Home. I would say home is here.

Interviewer: Okay, and where is here?

NW: Everywhere here! Well, and especially here in Kayamandi. Because this is where I spend my day, every day. I wake up here.

Interviewer: Okay. IT, what about you?

IT: Joburg… in Soweto. I used to live there, almost my whole life. Then I changed when, I moved in 2016, and we came here because of the money situation, where my parents couldn't find a job in Soweto. So, they came down here and found a job. And ja, so it's home back there.

Interviewer: Okay, and do you still have lots of family that live there?

IT: Yeah. A lot of family. Like… here, it is just us.

Interviewer: And AQ?

AQ: Oh, my home is in the Eastern Cape. Because everyone in my family comes from there. The only reason we came here was because of education and to get to work. But if I was given a choice about where I want to live, I would say there. But because of the resources that we don't have there, we were forced to come and live here. Ja, but I would go back there.

Interviewer: Of course, and LX, what about you?

LX: Eastern Cape, as well. My entire family comes from there. Like my grandmom, my brothers, and everyone…. It is my first year here, so…

Indeed, the duration of stay had an impact on attachment to place. Additional factors such as familiarity and exposure were another. However, these were not the only factors influencing a sense of home. Family and friendship networks as well as cultural attachments played an equally significant part.

Interviewer: And AM, where is home for you?

AM: As for me, I do not know where home is. 'Cos almost after 2 [years], *OK… wait… let's say 4 years, I moved here...*

Interviewer: Alright. So, you are saying you have moved around a lot. Why would you say that is?

AM: Let's just say it is my family, and my parents. Because they don't, they are not able to live where they were staying...

Interviewer: Would you say this is due to financial reasons, or is there another reason?

AM: No, I wouldn't say so. Because firstly when I was living in Eastern Cape, we moved because my grandmother died and then there was no one at home staying so we had to move again. And then the second time, we moved from there to the town, because my mother found a job in there, so we had to move there. And then the third time when I moved, I moved… here…, to Kayamandi because… my mother moved here and… her sisters moved here, so I had to move to stay with her sisters. And then again, I moved from Kayamandi to Cloetesville… [indistinct].

LS: OK, well I would also say my home is in the Eastern Cape. Because my parents were born there, and they grew up there. So ja, they just come here for … the work and the school, because there are not a lot of resources there in the Eastern Cape. I would say my home is there. I am just a visitor here.

AK: My home is in the Eastern Cape. Because my parents were born there, and I was also born there. I only came here last year. I would say I am also just a visitor here.

NJ: I would say my home is here. Because I was born here. I studied here. Everything I do is here.

While the complexity of the nature and meaning of home was evidently subjective, it was of great interest to note how the two participants, LS and AK, referred to home as the Eastern Cape and considered themselves visitors or tourists in Kayamandi and the surrounding areas. It was quite a relevant and fascinating interpolation of meaning, as both, from economically under-privileged backgrounds took on the role of the tourist or visitor. While visitors or tourists to the Western Cape are often perceived as White, middle- or upper-class individuals from abroad; this appeared fitting and empowering for the young migrants. It instilled within them a sense of their own mobility, arising from their movement towards an area to improve their access to a quality education and improved work opportunities and prospects. In so doing, it addressed an alternative understanding of residential moves as temporary and transitory, based on a re-conceptualisation of the relationship between place and identity, and as a largely unconscious awareness of the relation of the body to its surroundings at both a physical and an emotional level.

5.4 Re-embodiment of the Tourist

This theme of tourism and being the tourist frequently arose in the context of the focus group discussion. As evidenced in discussing future job prospects and aspirations.

NW: Me? Oh, I want to be a criminal. In all honesty, I want to be a criminal. And I'm sorry for saying this in your presence, but I want to take from white people, so that they can be in danger. But, I'm just kidding. In future, I wanna be between a lawyer and an accountant. And my sole purpose, my sole reason for choosing these two careers is moolah [money]. [laughter]

Interviewer: Okay, alright. And IT?

IT: I want to be a business administrator.

Interviewer: Anyone else?

SA: I want to be an actual scientist, or a commercial lawyer, or [indistinct] *accountant.*

AQ: Tourism. Tourist. [group laughter] *Nah, one day, I want to be a lawyer.*

NW: Tourist… India. You know, just last year, this guy [pointing at AQ] *went to India. It just shows his passion for African and Asian states. No, but seriously, he did go, you can ask him. You can just ask him, you know, about his experience, because he has not been quite clear/clean enough to share it with us… As you can see, as his friends. So maybe he is going to open up to you, I dunno. You never know, mos.*

Overseas trips and visitations were generally perceived as a luxury that only a small handful of learners from places such as Kayamandi would or could have the opportunity to experience. This reality was evidenced in the interaction between NW and AQ during the focus group whereby NW appeared a little jealous of AQ, and quite understandably, with NW being the only learner from a location outside of South Africa itself. He was interested and curious to know more about AQ's experiences, since it was one NW himself was not offered. By sharing these experiences, the rest of the participants are offered a rich narrative of an alternative culture and history with minute details, such as the naming of historical sites and cultural monuments, as well as companies and organisations and other places and locations that serve to provide the learners with some key ideas about a location they might know little about. In this way, it provided a platform for the sharing of knowledge which could easily be found on the internet using the school Wi-Fi and computer lab, should they desire any further information and specific details.

Interviewer: Alright, so, AQ, would you like to share with us a little bit about your trip to India? Assuming you did go…

AQ: Ah, I did go. So, ja, I was chosen here at school.

NW: What for? [chanting]

AQ: Later [speaking to NW]. *So, I was chosen here at school. I really, I don't know why. Like they just said "go."*

NW: Ladies and gentlemen of the jury [repeats phrase three times; interrupting AQ]. *You will never know, as a person, you will never go … like… out of that door, not knowing what you want, behind that door. I rest my case.*

AQ: So, um, so I went to India with the Leadership Collective, called 360+ Leadership. So, so we went there for three weeks. And we were learning… um… leadership skills. So we go to places, sometimes we go to listen to … people that are in leadership positions and… like… companies, and they would tell us… like… the important things that you have to do in order to like get to the top. So one of the companies we went to was Infosys, and Doctor Reddy's, and Doctor Reddy's is like a company that produces medicine and other…, like... drugs [pharmaceuticals]. *So, so we spent 3 weeks there, it was quite fun, and we went to like… a few places… like… sometimes… like… the other time we went to the Taj Mahal, and we went to the Red Fort, and we went to… like… Bangalore, the Himalayas (the mountains) we climbed them. So yeah, I did enjoy my time there, and I learnt a lot of stuff, and I met a lot of people, and the food was… jo… it was nice but when I first ate it, I got diarrhoea, which wasn't so fun.* [group commentary]. *We also ate a lot of spices, also. Spice it up, so, I'm glad I went.*

Interviewer: That's great. Wonderful. So, tell me, has anyone else gone on any trips like AQ?

AM: Ah yes. When I was in Grade 7, I went to Limpopo (Labelabela) for a farewell. So, we had, we went there for three days and two nights.

Interviewer: That's nice, and was it fun? Sounds like a memorable experience for you.

AM: Yes, lots of fun.

With a sociological lens on space and place, the notion of 'habitus', as coined by the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002), comes to mind. Habitus, or ingrained habits, skills and dispositions is the way that individuals perceive the social world around them and react to it. These dispositions are usually shared by people with similar backgrounds. According to Palmer (2017) "tourism is itself a particular social context embodied by tourists as they engage in the practices that define the tourist habitus". The author further argues: "we transfer all the cities and towns that we have visited, all the places that we have recognised, into the incarnate memory of our body" (Pallasmaa, 2012:76, as cited in Palmer, 2017. In this way, the tourist habitus emerged as experienced by a number of the participating learners in terms of Kayamandi being a temporary home, alongside the transitory nature of school life.

5.5 Social Divisions

Currently, around the globe youth are mobilising as groups of people by organising movements and demanding attention on issues that specifically affect them. Migrant youth are, however, often marginalised from local and national development gains and as such are particularly vulnerable to economic shocks, social instability and conflicts. As a result, the findings suggest that these young persons are particularly aware of the past and ongoing struggles faced by their families and the wider local community. They are frequently left behind and ignored, despite widespread development in other age groups. According to the literature, experiences of African migrant youth in times of global economic, social, human rights and environmental challenges require dedicated research (Columbia Global Policy Initiative (CGPI), 2014).

Typically, the exclusion of young people from development programmes and activities occurs in numerous ways. Firstly, as an age cohort the youth are less likely to be involved in governance and decision-making processes as a result of economic, political, and social barriers that prevent their participation. Secondly, as beneficiaries of services, youth are also likely to face marginalisation due to their membership in excluded demographic groups, that include women, indigenous, ethnic minority, migrant, and the economically impoverished. Thirdly, young people are often marginalised within these groups due to their age. As such, this layered marginalisation not only infringes on the basic human rights of the youth, but also have a negative impact on the cohesion and stability of the societies in which they live.

5.5.1 *Race and racism*

After speaking with AQ about his past experience and history at a school with mostly Coloured learners in the Western Cape in parallel to his current life in a predominantly black African township school, it seemed important to allow him the opportunity to impart his own knowledge and experience of race in his schooling in post-apartheid South Africa.

> *Interviewer: OK, alright. Now that's very interesting, all of this. Perhaps I can ask you, do you think racial segregation in schools still exists?*
>
> *AQ: Well, I don't really like the kind of relationship we have, like the kind of gap we have, not financially, but like we don't have much control over that. Like we all need an education, so we can all work and get money, and all of that stuff. But the relations are just… they're just crazy. Because even teenagers my age, I remember I went to a tournament, last year, just in Stellenbosch (in town). So I was playing against this white kid, like a tennis match, and he was behaving so unprofessionally, like he was just treating me as if I'm some sort of amateur. So I … retired from*

that match, like no, no I'm not gonna play further. But … jo, the culture here, but I think… I dunno… whether they learn it from their parents, like our history doesn't give us this side of full coverage of what happened. But I'm sure… like… white people and black people… like… like… there is still pride between us… like… I'm sure that there are still many black people who are still angry with white people, but there are also black and white people who are actually reaching out and trying to build a relationship with one another. So yeah, I think it is still a matter of forgiveness. Forgiving each other, coming together and reconciling.

But yeah, I think it depends on us now. Like… they always say now, "Jo, the future belongs to you guys now". You know, I think it is because of the culture, you know, like… all we see is, most of our mothers working in the kitchens for the white people, you know? Like… all they see (the white kids) is just the son of my mother's maid, or something like that, son of her gardener, or something like that. So I think it is a matter of looking down on each other, and looking too much up on each other. I don't even like that when black people have to treat white people like as if they are royalty or something like that. Like… I think that's a huge problem for a lot of us, because, like… even if you go to Checkers, for example, like… if I would go with you now, like you would see what I'm talking about. Like… I go and stand there, and they don't even say hello, but it is a black person. Like… they don't even say hello, they just go "plastic?". Like… it's just crazy. And when a white person comes, "hi" [imitates female voice], like… it's just, jo. It's ja, you know, no one is perfect. Even the black people is just as racist as the white… it's crazy, man.

Interviewer: So do you think this is like internalised inferiority? Do you think they, as black people, just feel the need to be polite to white people?

AQ: No, I don't think they are being polite. They are just afraid of what white people might do, because if I work in a shop and then I treat a white person with disrespect, they know that person has a lawyer or something, so they could call the manager. So like yeah, they know if they do that to another black person, they don't really care, but I also think they don't really know their rights. I also think it is a lack of knowledge. Like… when you go to a shop you have the right to be treated with respect, the person selling to you must be polite to you, if you understand. So I think it's a lack of information between us, also.

Participant AQ spoke extensively and in-depth about the underlying culture and mindset of racism, while similarly elaborating on a sense of internalised racism among South Africans. Indeed, in any work place environment, power dynamics are bound to come into play. This is particularly acute in domestic work, as AQ illustrated. Jobs such as domestic work or gardening are not only underrated, underappreciated, and underpaid; but similarly, in South Africa, appear to be constructed largely on racial lines. Money becomes equated with value to an extent that the amount one earns becomes the sole indicator of one's value and merit as a human being. In this way, the depiction of the relationship

between cashier and customer illustrates how uneven the social and power dynamics become, shifting in accordance with preconceptions around race and class identification. In so doing, the distinction between race and class blur when it is assumed that a person's monetary wealth influences their sense of power and authority over another, and whereby such accumulation of monetary wealth is primarily driven by the colour of their skin.

> *AQ: So… like… if you go to Checkers. You just notice how like a white person is treated and a black person is treated. Like… if you go to the deli, so they like… touch their nose, touch their ear, touch their body and then touch your food, the food that they are gonna serve you, like… you are going to complain, right? To the manager, or talk to them. Like… they will be polite to you, like… that's what they would do. But now let's say I go there, and say the same thing, how do you think they will react? Based on what I've told you.*

> *Interviewer: Well, based on what you've told me, they'll assume you're from a lower-class background based on your race, and perhaps, they'll just criticise you? Ignore you, even?*

> *AQ: Ja, ja. Exactly. They'll criticise you, and probably say something like "no no, what? Who do you think you are? Do you think you are authority? Or Royalty?" and stuff like that. So jo, that's very very big, and it's everywhere.*

> *Interviewer: And what would you say we can do to fix this? What can you do? What can I do?*

> *AQ: Oh I dunno… [chuckles] What can you do? … I dunno. I think it's to do with the culture. I think it has to do with how you teach the younger kids. You know, it starts small. 'Cos everyone learns something from when they are small. Like even from my culture … like I learned that when I walked here, they would call you 'mlungu' or 'umlungu', you know [it] means 'white person'. So, you know we grow up with those cultures, you know both black and white. Especially in the public service places, like… if you go to home affairs, like… you'll notice the same thing. I remember last year I was applying for a passport to go to somewhere. Like… the service we got was terrible… that happened right here in Stellenbosch. And then when I went there with a white person, the guy just pulled my ID out, and he just knew I was there for my ID. But when I went alone, he was just … Jo, it's crazy. And no one is perfect, like Black, White, Coloured. Because even the Black people are racist to each other, they undermine each other. So how can we fix that, if we are not one?*

In a participatory approach toward research, it is vital to engage with the participants as fellow human beings. In this way, the interview style was largely informal and conversational. For this reason, therefore, it seemed important to share something of this researcher's life experience with the

participants in the hope that together solutions could be found to help cope with a racist mindset, and with more institutionalised and systemic forms of racism.

> *Interviewer:* *You know, I definitely think there is a lack of empathy and understanding here, a kind of 'othering' in fact.*
>
> *Let me tell you a story from my end, as a white young* [woman] *in South Africa, I saw something that I could not take. I was visiting a friend and his mother once, and they had a cleaning lady there. There was a giant meal spread on the table, and we were all seated around the table ready to eat. The mother commented on how the lady had helped her with the cooking, but now she was in the back doing dishes and cleaning. I felt guilty eating, and so badly wanted to offer her a place at the table to eat alongside us* [although] *racial inequality never seemed so pervasive or normalised. But I could not offer her a place, or the food that we ate, as it was not my home, and not my family.*
>
> *Should I have spoken up? Should I have said something, maybe to the mother? Should I have spoken with her?*
>
> *AQ:* *Ja, you know, maybe she is eavesdropping. I dunno. I would come and invite this lady to come and eat actually. Because I've seen some reality shows, like where they actually make friends with the maid. It's just, it's just a good relationship. So yeah, I do think it is race sometimes. And I suppose it does happen subconsciously. Like they don't notice that they are doing it. So it's not like, like that person is black, and they can't really come to join. But sometimes I think they just subconsciously feel that they should have the lady cleaning while they eat. I think the culture that exists within us, that is the problem.*
>
> *I think there are ways and things that can be changed. Somewhere, somewhere. Like last year, I went to India. So we were 33 people, and there were Indians, Nepalis, Africans, Americans, Spanish people, it was … a huge mix. So we spent three weeks together, and you know, the atmosphere wasn't perfect, but you know it was good. We could talk. We could have a decent conversation with each other.*
>
> *And I think if that would happen here… Last year I went to a camp, a Legacy camp, with the guys, with some kids from Paul Roos* [High School]. *And we spent six days together, and we actually built like a relationship, and it was nice…. And I was like the only black person, and there was … one Coloured friend of mine that came, and then the rest were … White, like 22-25 White kids. And the camp actually worked out quite well and we would… like… have these conversations about manhood stuff, and it just jelled nicely. So I think that if we built relationships with each other, it will help a lot. And I think South Africa would also benefit … from it … if we started having good relations with each other whilst we are still young, because in the workplace, it is*

very difficult to be friendly with each other, because you are not used to being with white kids or black kids. They don't really get involved in university activities. Like I had this friend called Albert, and he used to ask… like… 'Jo, so when are you gonna go to university?' And I was like… 'No, I don't want to go to Stellenbosch, man'. Like seriously, like I don't want to go to the university, like I'm sure it would be [a] last option or something.

Oh, and like something else that you said to me, like… there's this man I know that went to Free State University, and you know that place is just like Boer there, Boer, Boer, Boer. Like, it's White people only. And like you know he HAD to build a relationship with the people there, and with the guy, and he speaks fluent Afrikaans, and… oh… you know another thing that he told me? You know, like… that Afrikaner people really like someone that tries. And I remember I went to his house, and his parents don't speak much English, they don't always speak English, so I had to speak Afrikaans. So you know… also us getting out of our comfort zones would also help a lot. Like the guys, like… Afrikaans people could learn Xhosa, you know, and you know? … I dunno if it's just a dream, or if it might happen, you know.

Throughout the excerpt of the life history interview with AQ, as shown above, a decision was taken by the researcher to break from the traditional manner of conducting interviews. Here, both interviewer and interviewee provided real-life examples of events and interactions witnessed, in which both were complicit. In so doing, it was hoped to make intentions and thoughts transparent, so as to ensure that both were on equal footing. It was not intended for AQ, or any other participant, to feel that they were subjected to the study, or merely subjects from which to extract information. Rather, an interview context was created which was interactive by embodying an environment in which knowledge and information was shared and meaning co-constructed through narrative production and reproduction.

Altogether, it was evident that there were no simple solutions for social ills. Yet, to reach out to these youth appeared to be a step in the right direction by someone who had entered Kayamandi with no certainty of a welcome.

5.5.2 Ethnic identity and xenophobia

When asked about xenophobia, and the recent spate of xenophobic attacks, one 17-year-old male participant from the Eastern Cape, AQ, had this to say:

AQ: Well there was an attack a few years ago, but it doesn't happen as much now. Especially… like… here in Kayamandi. I'm not sure about other townships here in the Western Cape. But it used to happen a lot, there was a lot of xenophobic attacks to the guys, most of them work at the

71

shops, sell at the shops, and I think all of those things were either about your race, what colour you are, where you are from, or what language you speak.

Following AQ's response, it was decided to raise the issue of xenophobia again with LS. It was impressive that, as learners from less privileged economic backgrounds and a poorly resourced community, how informed they were of these social ills and how critically they engaged with them. The participants shared a rather balanced perspective on the matter, and it appeared many had done their own independent research to understand the phenomenon. The majority were aware of the mindset that foreigners were taking away work and education opportunities from South Africa, but similarly reflected on how politically charged this notion was, and how it managed to divert attention from the government's responsibility to create further work and job opportunities for the working-age in South Africa (Africa Check, 2016a&b).

> *Interviewer: And what about xenophobia, have you seen or experienced anything that? Do you know what it is?*
>
> *LS: Yes, yes… I know what xenophobia is. I have seen it, here, in Kayamandi, I think in 2010. It was happening. They were hitting the foreigners who come from other African countries, because they were hitting them to tell them to go home. The shops that are owned by the foreigners, they were damaged, and things were taken, the food, everything. And the money. And they beat them, and the police in town stopped that. And then it stopped. And* [since] *then it has never happened. And then I see it* [again] *on the news, I think 2017, between 2017-2018, it was happening in Durban.*
>
> *Interviewer: Mmm, yes. I have heard this view from some people, that foreigners are stealing jobs and work opportunities from the locals. What do you think of this?*
>
> *LS: Yes, but they are hardworking, they are hard workers. While us, from South Africa, we are lazy… They say that in Kayamandi, South Africans… they are lazy.*

The self-reflective nature of LS's comments regarding hard work and laziness among South Africans was pleasantly surprising, especially since LS was, himself, South African. In light of NW's migrant status, it was of interest to note his counter argument to the issue of xenophobia.

> *NW: I think like… when I started learning here in 2016, like… everyone just like made me feel like… I've been here for a hundred years, you know, like… the teachers, and the students, like… I just sort of fit in easily, so like… I never felt like I was affected by any of that, because like… I never faced any discrimination, or anything like that. Like… everyone just saw me as one of them, and I saw them as 'we are in this together', you know? It's been like that ever since I came here, so like… I never faced anything xenophobic.*

When I came here, I wasn't aware of the xenophobic attacks. But like… I saw it on the news when I was here. But it never directly affected me, but, I did feel bad, you know, for those… affected by it. But I think it's because they feel threatened. Most of the reason is they are taking our work, our money… From my point, I do understand how they feel, but I don't understand why they go to that extent, when you can just apply for the same job as that person. And if your qualifications are more than that person's, then you just take the job. But I do feel what they feel when they say that, but I don't strongly agree with it.

5.6 Sites of Learning: Bridging the Computer Lab/Library Divide

In the interviews with the principal and participating learners, one of the main concerns raised in the discussion on sites of learning on the school grounds was about the lack of use of the library facilities. Instead, there was a shift towards situating the hub of learning to the computer lab. Even so, there were issues pervading both sites, particularly in terms of the finite space and limited resources available for independent learning and research.

School principal: And one other challenge that we have got here is that we don't have [a] library. The one that we have, it was not initiated by us. It was through the help that we got from two students who were sent here that volunteered from the United States of America. They organised some money, some of which came from their own pockets, but we started with this library from a class that was renovated. But, it's a small library. So, we've got a challenge now, because we can't take the whole class to that library, so that's a big challenge. As a result, now, we are still thinking of ways of extending that library room into a bigger one, so that one would be able to take the whole class to that place. Because the challenge is that if you take half of this class (of your class) to the library, who's going to remain behind with the other group? As a result, now, it's no longer functioning (the library). That's why we are now busy trying to get help financially so that we can extend it, so that we can have a bigger library. That's what we really need.

At the same time, one other thing that we are really blessed with, we have computer 'centres', uh, computer labs. We have got the big one, which is used for the Computer Applied Technology [CAT*], then the other lab was sort of donated by…* [indistinct]. *The second one which was donated is very small. There are so many learners that are interested, so as a result now, we need to group them* [the learners]. *But we always hope that in the near future maybe there will be a good Samaritan who will come up and help us, so that we can have a big library, and so that we can have a big computer centre. Because kids are really showing an interest, even Saturdays they come, and even during the holiday, they come to the computer lab, ja. But we hope that in the near future we will be able to get some funds so we can build a bigger computer lab. So that at the end we can also be able to help the community. Ja.*

Interviewer: Okay. Tell me more about the library situation.

School principal: Well the library is a problem because learners are no longer showing an interest. Because our strategy was that learners are not showing interest and we thought that it would be better that we could extend it so that we can introduce a period of library, so that the teacher can take all his or her learners in their classroom to the library. So then you would have to plan your lesson for that day for the library. So that at the same time we can encourage, we want to encourage them, so that they can use the library, and the books that they can read. So, for instance, then the teachers can prepare lessons so that this encourages the learners to go to the library and do some research on a topic, and so that they use the books available in the library. But the problem is the library is very small. And, on average, our classes are 45.

When asked about the school library, the learners often compared it to the local Kayamandi library. Participant IT, a keen book reader in the group, was particularly disappointed by the lack of variety and depth of the school library, and often shifted her focus towards the Kayamandi library as a better alternative. Outdated school textbooks were often disregarded and left in an empty room on the school grounds to gather dust. Other learners, such as AQ, preferred using the internet for independent research and learning, vis-à-vis the computer lab and free Wi-Fi services provided by the school

Further concerns were raised by the participating learners regarding the librarian and discipline. The library was described as inadequate, often noisy, without proper management or administration. This stood in stark contrast to views pertaining to the computer lab. For these reasons, it seems best to recommend that the library and computer lab space are integrated, in one form or another, so as to function together and optimise the usage of space. Of course, further communication between the learners and staff are required prior to any consideration of such implementation. In addition, limited resources and available finances are likely to continue to influence the school's capacity to improve their learning facilities.

5.7 Chapter Summary

From the outset, it was evident that the participants presented themselves in unique, lively, and assertive ways. At the initial meeting, there were immediate questions as to the purpose of the research and how the information would be used. A request to record the activities on audio was discussed and a decision was made to accept this provided that the data was used for research purposes only. The participants who spoke in these terms demonstrated an awareness of the research process more typical of educated adults than other children their age. In a similar vein, their level of awareness around resource availability and infrastructural constraints appeared different to the researcher's schooling experiences with her own peers in a privileged environment. The descriptions of current

circumstances go a long way to highlight their potential as a group of aspiring and determined young learners despite the daily hardships they face.

The findings drawn from the participants' narratives attest to their resilience in a poorly resourced community. The lack of external resources available appears to promote their resourcefulness and ability to adapt and as such the participants show a genuine appreciation for what schooling and education has to offer. Their views also reveal an awareness of how wider social processes impact their school and daily lives since none of them complain about their struggles in terms of limited access to learning materials and computer technologies. Similarly, what is provided to them, is not taken for granted. All of the participants made regular use of the computer lab facilities and were eager to engage in independent research and learning. This extends into leisure and play, with many engaging in extracurricular activities that will enrich them socially, culturally, and even spiritually. In addition, despite finite experience and limited exposure to foreign cultures and ways of life beyond the school grounds and local community, all of the participants exhibit a sense of openness to diversity and an understanding and respect for difference.

CHAPTER 6: ANALYSIS

6.1 Introduction

In re-negotiating place-identity among migrant youth in Kayamandi schooling this chapter synthesises and discusses the results of the research questions, literature review, and conceptual framework employed. Finding patterns and emerging themes is one result of the analysis. Finding ambiguities and inconsistencies is another. Consequently, this chapter endeavours to interrogate the findings, and consider the practical and theoretical implications thereof. Analysis is a multi-layered approach. Firstly, it seeks out emergent patterns among the findings, as the initial round of analysis. It then goes on to examine whether the literature corresponds with, contradicts, and/or deepens interpretation and understanding of the phenomena of migration.

To address the research questions, therefore, the focus of this study is to analyse how space and place have been socially and materially constituted by the participants and co-constructed through their life narratives. This study explores the social phenomena of mobility and migration: particularly how a particular sample of youth negotiate their identities and positions in relation to the changing dynamics of local sites in and beyond the school environment. The subsections to the four main research questions link back to the key themes as well as the relevant theory and literature covered in Chapter Three. These are repeated below:

- Configurations of space and place.

  → RQ1: How is space and place understood and experienced by the participants?

- Intersections of identity, position, and belonging.

  → RQ2: What forms of identity, position and belonging are identified by the participants as relevant to or significant for their lives?

- Spatial relations and place-identity.

  → RQ3: How might these conceptions of space and place relate to a sense of identity, position, and belonging for the participants?

- Reflections on research relations.

  → RQ4: Is there a space and a place for a white woman, from a privileged background, in research with youth in a township school in South Africa?

6.2 Configurations of Space and Place

This study argues that space becomes place through the ways in which people relate to other people and objects embedded within them, and the meanings they attribute to these relations. Thus, space is open, unfamiliar and undefined: it is a realm of open possibility. On the other hand, place is familiar, acquainted, safe and warm. As such, Tuan (1979:6) suggests home is the epitome of place when he says that "what begins as undifferentiated space becomes place as we get to know it better and endow it with value".

In terms of humanistic geography, this study focused on how a particular group of people perceive and interact with places and spaces. While the layman would treat the concepts of space and place as synonymous, even interchangeable, a humanistic geographer, on the other hand, distinguishes between the two on the basis of environmental experiences. Whereas Kayamandi would begin as a largely undifferentiated space for recent immigrants from the Eastern Cape; it could take a few months, sometimes years, before they were able to know their way around the neighbourhood and navigate the winding roads between the mix of formal and informal housing. Enrolment at the local school site allows young residents an opportunity to become better acquainted with the locale, and the degree of inclusion within social groups on the school premises further acts as an extension for inclusion within the wider local community. Even so, most of the participants view Kayamandi as a temporary home. This corresponds with Osman's (2003) findings that 60% of the general population of Kayamandi regard the township only as a temporary home.

While the main sites under investigation in this study were those in Kayamandi, and particularly those on the school grounds; there were a few additional sites in the wider Stellenbosch area: namely, the convenience store at Checkers (located in Andringa Mall, Stellenbosch). This is relevant because some learners typically spent their time after school hours in the Kayamandi area, engaged in a variety of cultural and sporting activities, including soccer. However, many others often walk along Bird Street or commute by taxi to visit the shopping mall. In the latter case, the majority of race-related concerns seemed to occur only in Stellenbosch and surrounding areas, whereas Kayamandi itself appears to be a safe zone due to their familiarity with the local environment and terrain, and the sense of belonging around connections with family and friends. Only one or two of the participating learners resided in other townships and this required a great deal of time commuting, often by train, between home and school. One such participant was LS, who commuted by train from Mbekweni with a population of 97.08% Black African and the majority language being isiXhosa as spoken by 86.99% (Census, 2011, as cited in StatsSA, 2016a). Owing to the long transit of roughly 2-3 hours to and from school, LS was unable to participate more fully in extracurricular activities unlike his peers. As

a result, he spends most of his time after school either commuting or completing homework and assignments for school. As learners, the participants spend most of their time on the school property, which has become a secondary home for many. They provide a space for engaging with others their age, most of whom reside in the Kayamandi area. In addition, the school grounds presents a site for both work and leisure, allowing for opportunities of both formal and informal learning.

There is also the threat of shack fires in the community. Although Kayamandi can be more or less equally divided in terms of formal and informal housing arrangements, they are not immune to the threat of a shack fire. In the case of largely informal townships such as Mbekweni where the main mode of accommodation is in the form of a shack (informal structure). These are vulnerable especially during the hot summer months or winter lightning storms which threaten the residents' health and wellbeing in terms of smoke inhalation, or worse. According to ILO News, on 2/1/2019, such a fire broke out in Mbekweni and destroyed over 70 informal structures; leaving approximately 250 people homeless.

Makupula Secondary, as the offspring of Kayamandi High, has manged to build its own identity as a separate commerce-orientated school. It presents its own unique set of challenges which include the limited availability of space and resources to expand its learning facilities, particularly, the school library. The computer labs, on the other hand, are the key distinguishing sties of learning for the participants. The participants' general disinterest in making use of the school library was offset by their emphasis on the various benefits associated with the computer labs, alongside the free Wi-Fi access provided by the school. While South African township schools, compared to private schools, often face the reality of having almost no computers or Information Technology (IT) at their disposal, this is not the case at Makupula Secondary.

Schools based in township communities often face severe challenges such as poor basic infrastructure, few material resources and no electricity in some places. The lack of access to information and communication technology (ICTs) in townships and poorly resourced communities further increase the division between 'the haves and have-nots' in basic education (both primary and secondary education). In order to address this problem, digital literacy is now considered important enough to be a part of the curriculum in schools globally. As such, teachers should be provided with the skills to integrate IT technologies in their lessons to enhance the learning process. Digital literacy is important because it has many positive effects on skills development and successful learning. In this context, the increasing amount of data available as digital sources are much easier to access, and also do not deteriorate or provide outdated information, as in the case of traditional paper-based

(print) resources for learning. Altogether, this growing use of online media and information technologies has helped to eradicate literacy problems to enhance school learning.

The computer labs are particularly useful when learners do not have mobile phones, which is often the case among learners in a township school. However, while there are positive trends towards adopting technology in the classroom it is not universally available as a full menu of technology to all learners. Many schools such as Makupula Secondary still struggle with near-crippling budget cuts and teacher shortages, which result in having to make some difficult choices in the provision of learning tools and materials. The United Nations' 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development Goals (SDG4) in education commits member nation states to provide inclusive and equitable quality education at all levels. Against this backdrop it is important that all schools in South Africa develop their internet connection, irrespective of their location or size, to improve the quality of education. To achieve this, all schools need a functioning computer laboratory and a teacher that is qualified to train basic computer literacy skills. While Makupula Secondary has at least two functioning computer labs, and a Computer Applied Technology (CAT) educator; it is vital that the teaching staff is provided with further training to be able to explore practical skills and strategies to help learners to think critically about the information around them. Young people, as the majority in South Africa, still have the highest rates of unemployment (StatsSA, 2016a). Access to data is essential to their education and employment (as well as being a constitutional right) to be informed citizens, actively making use of their newly acquired digital literacy. This also involves the provision of community telecommunications networks as a path to self-empowerment.

The internet provides learners with instant access to answers beyond what is available in their textbooks. In fact, it appears that majority of the participants far prefer "googling" to find answers to their questions than spending hours paging through reading materials with potentially outdated matter. The gift of the internet to the classroom thus provides teachers the chance to give their learners a more holistic view of any given subject while still providing learners with guidance to find the right sources. Another benefit of technology in the classroom is student workplace readiness. Mobility is the next great trend in the workplace, and students who use technology in the classroom today will be more adapted to using it in the future. The importance of technology in the classroom goes even beyond simple digital literacy: it promotes workplace soft skills like critical thinking, independent research, and cross-technology proficiency.

Of course, the presence of computer labs on the school premises is not without its limits. Indeed, the interview with the school principal shed light on the limited availability of computers because they need to be shared between several learners at any one time. Very few, if any, learners had access to

their own laptop, and only a handful to a mobile device. In cases where a learner had access to a mobile phone or laptop for conducting online research, this independent learning and research experience was often limited to the school grounds for free and unlimited Wi-Fi access. This then means learners spend more time on the school grounds not only after school hours, but over weekends, to readily access and make use of the computer facilities and free Wi-Fi services.

On the other hand, while some learners were proud to show off their mobile devices, some displayed distaste for a reliance on technological devices by preferring to spend time outside, studying and socialising with their peers. This diverse range of approaches towards technological innovation reflects a mix of local culture and tradition with contemporary Western trends. It also shows cultural sensitivity in that by recognising the importance of their own culture, the learners also value diversity. In other words, they adapt their communication and behaviours to be compatible with other cultural norms without losing their own. They further showed a willingness to learn about the traditions and characteristics of other cultures, while enthusiastically sharing their own.

Beyond the educational facilities provided by the school, there were few, if any, green areas on the school premises beyond the small eco garden at the back of the school grounds. The backdrop of the eco garden comprised a number of cramped corrugated-iron shacks. The school's eco garden produced a single vegetable that they grew plentifully. A tall green water tank is used with pipes for irrigation. To the side of the eco garden were some old and discarded plastic and wooden chairs, and a few rusted and broken desks. During the walking interview, the participants were eager to show me the eco garden, which shows a collective sense of achievement, although none of the participating learners had been directly involved in the creation and upkeep of the vegetable garden.

6.3 Intersections of identity, position, and community belonging

The main focus of this study was the contestation over the term 'African migrant youth'. This study considered the more inclusive notion of migrant youth influenced by the internal and external migration trends in to Kayamandi that involved cross-border and interprovincial migration. It appears that the vast majority of residents in Kayamandi represent some form of African migrant identity as evidenced by the popularity of isiXhosa (originating in eastern South Africa) as the medium of communication between locals. Significantly, the findings reveal that participants shared an inclusive notion of African identity that saw little or no difference between those who originated in South Africa or those from another African country. In this way, it appears that South African youth familiar with youth from other African countries share a cosmopolitan outlook on the world, despite the fact that most have never set foot outside national boundaries.

In this study, therefore, migrant youth was defined as those who had moved within or across country borders with their families to seek seasonal or temporary work. As migrant youth, they most often came from non-English speaking homes with isiXhosa as their mother tongue. While enrolled in a Xhosa-medium secondary school, there were limited resources available but adequate translations of academic work, such as textbooks. The findings reveal that despite disadvantages of constant mobility and academic interruption, hard work outside school, and socio-economic hardship the majority of participants fared relatively well academically. This suggests that certain disadvantages make it difficult for the migrant youth to study, such as:

- a lack of resources and available funding;
- issues related to time, distance, and transportation (e.g. the case of participant LS; learners who have to travel long distances between home and school);
- an expectation among working parents for their children to work alongside them;
- taking care of their younger siblings; and,
- attending to other domestic responsibilities.

As a result of these day-to-day issues, many migrant youth face unemployment, or decide to remain in the migrant labour force.

The idea that beliefs about 'who we are' are created in a social context reflects the basic sociological theory that human beings are socially created, rather than mere prisoners of instinct. In this study, identity is understood as a social, historical and relational construction in the sense that identity is related to the society in which people exist. People are, at least in part, socialised into their identities. This is because an identity is created against a social backdrop that tries to make social interaction meaningful, understandable and well-organised by categorising people in various ways. Thus, identities are shaped through our interactions with other people, objects and places in the world (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

Race and ethnicity, in this study, was found to be one of multiple forms of identity which the learners personified in their daily lives. Chisholm and Sujee (2006:149) have argued that the tendency to focus on the integration of Black African learners into formerly White, Indian and Coloured schools has resulted in a lack of understanding and appreciation for ethnic and pan-African diversity in schools. This was a key concern of this study as it endeavoured to address the variety of African ethnic groups present in Makupula Secondary, and the extent to which this school has become more inclusive. For example, while a vast majority of the participants were of amaXhosa heritage, some also had a Sotho background (e.g. where the father came from the Eastern Cape, a Xhosa-speaking region, and the

mother from Lesotho, whose first language was Sesotho). As such, other elements of culture were incorporated into those that originated in a specific region or location in and beyond South Africa. Indeed, taking NW's experience in a school with a majority Coloured learner population, he had incorporated Afrikaans into his language use and choice of words, reflecting that he had come to identify with elements of the Cape Coloured youth with whom he had attended school.

In this study, multiple forms of identity were explored, including biological and physiological markers (such as skin colour) and cultural markers (like clothing, food, among others). The main markers of identity in the lives of the participants were their age, gender, class, race and ethnicity. Interestingly, when the participants were asked to describe themselves in three words in the life history interview, their descriptions were not limited to these identity markers but were rather based on other self-descriptive categories surrounding their character or personality traits. For example, while NW and AQ described themselves as more outgoing, funny, and curious; participants AK and AM describes themselves as kind, introverted, and friendly. Others describes themselves in terms of their interests or tastes, and in terms of the kinds of activities in which they liked to engage. For example, participant SA frequently spoke about his passion for choir singing and his love for music; whereas participants such as IT described herself as a bookworm, who frequently visited the local library to immerse herself in fiction.

This is not to say that because race is a social construct that it has little or no impact on social relations. From the participants' accounts, it is evident that races interact in the centre town of Stellenbosch, with certain power differentials, as witnessed in places like the Checkers store. Here, power is differentiated in terms of work status or position – as a "Black" cashier person (often female) or as a "White" or "Black" customer (male or female). In the unfolding discussion, the participants were able to reflect on the manner in which the cashier would respond to the customer on the basis of their racial identity. Generally, the view put forward was that the cashier would generally be more polite to a White person, and that this was generally done out of fear. On the other hand, the cashier would act indifferently towards another Black person, as the individual is perceived as less of a threat, and perhaps, in a relational though assumptive fashion, as more familiar and similar at a social and cultural level. It was assumed that the latter (Black) generally came from a less privileged background, while the former (White) were generally perceived to come from higher socio-economic backgrounds with more material power and resources to subjugate others.

The term 'intersectionality' was coined by scholar Kimberle Crenshaw (1991) to explain how individual aspects of our identities (gender, race, ethnicity, class, and more) intersect and, in turn, shape how we are treated, what kind of education and jobs we get, where we live, what opportunities

we are afforded, and what kind of inequities we face. Such that, while all of the participants self-identified as Black African, it would be of interest to note how differences in their gender, age, ethnic identity, and so on shape their schooling and migratory experiences. For example, LX considered himself to be the youngest (15 years of age) in his year group (Grade 10) at the school. While only a year's difference between him and his peers, he often felt left out and excluded in class activities and mentioned that he was often teased by other class members. However, LX seemed comfortable enough to raise the issue of age discrimination in the focus group, and it is assumed that no one else in his class was therefore present. The response from other participants in the group was affirmative, and he seemed to find consolation form those who sought to reassure him of his intelligence and the emphasis that other learners in his grade were likely jealous of this factor.

Ageism. Sexism. Racism. Classism. Xenophobia. Such terms reflect beliefs that posit the superiority of one identity over another: adult over youth, men over women, Whites over non-Whites, the wealthy over the poor: in other words, the group and its 'other'. Historically, these terms have been used to bring attention to discrimination and bias. They further challenge ideologies that perpetuate hierarchical structures and limit a subordinate group's opportunities and freedoms. Intersectionality, however, offers an additional frame to understand the way multiple systems of oppression intertwine and overlap across individual experiences (Bowleg, 2012; Crenshaw, 1994).

According to this view, it was important to investigate how the youth of Kayamandi perceive their community and also to find out how they conceive their social surroundings and themselves. For example, while soccer was identified as a sport informally practised by many in the local community; some of the female participants identified the sport as largely male-centric. This came across in IT's interview when she argued that there was no "soccer for girls", as soccer was generally perceived as a boys-only activity. While there were at least two female participants in the group who were interested in playing soccer, and would, at times, play soccer informally on the school grounds; it seemed unlikely that they would consider playing soccer at a more professional level out of fear that they would be perceived by their elders or male counterparts as not 'girly' enough. In the context of a soccer-loving township community such as Kayamandi, it appears to be imperative, therefore, that sports and related extracurricular activities are re-conceptualised to promote a sense of gender equality and a more inclusive social climate and environment. In this way, promoting the active involvement of all interested individuals residing in the area, irrespective of normative social divisions (gender, or alternatively, biological sex, age, and so on) is a means to attain a more wholesome community engagement. This sense of gender equality was already evidenced in other extracurricular activities on the school premises, such as the choir, with a mix of boys and girls. One

83

of the male participants, SA was an example of a learner who was passionately involved in this activity.

6.4 Spatial Relations and Place-identity

This study has explored the sociology of space to examine the social and material constitution of education or school space. Through this theoretical framework, the concern was to understand the social practices, institutional forces and any material complexity for how humans and spaces interact. Such theories of space and place originated in humanistic geography, which emphasises that the notions are relational, socially co-produced and dynamic. The construction of place, including public space, is intricately bound to issues of access control, power relations and identity building. Yu-Fi Tuan (1979) used this understanding to consider "the ways in which (i) people think and feel about space; (ii) how they form attachments to home, community, and nation; and (iii) how feelings about space and place are affected by a sense of time. He suggests that place is security and space is freedom: we are attached to the one, and long for the other". Tuan's analysis is both thoughtful and insightful.

As this study suggests, "place and identity are inextricably bound to one another. The two are co-produced as people come to identify with where they live and shape it, however modestly" (Gieseking, Mangold, Katz, Low & Saegert, 2014:73). They are, in turn, shaped by their environments, creating distinct environmental autobiographies. Subsequently, in exploring narratives held in "the memories of those spaces and places that shape us, we are able to deepen our understanding of identity formation and the role of place in social and psychological development" (Gieseking, et al. 2014:73). A sense of place identity derives from the multiple ways in which place functions to provide a sense of belonging, construct meaning, foster attachments, and mediate change. In other words, the 'place identity' of a person can inform their experiences, behaviours and attitudes about other places.

Place identity is a versatile concept upon which many psychological theories of human-environment relations are built. For example, "anthropologist Setha M. Low and social psychologist Irwin Altman's (1992) concept of 'place attachment' defines the ways in which people connect to various places, and the effects of such bonds of identity development, place-making, perception, and practice" (Low & Altman, 1992:1-12). Both concepts help us to understand where and why people feel at home, as well as why displacement – forced or voluntary – can be so traumatic for individuals and groups.

During the focus group discussion, the nature and meaning of home was greatly contested. The question of "where are you from?" compared to "where is home?" resulted in a wide variety of

responses, which did not necessarily imply the same thing. Earlier it was established that while most of the participants came from the Eastern Cape Province, very few came from the same area. The various towns and locales named by the participants were Mthatha (Umtata), Sterkspruit, Queenstown, and Naledi. Exploring the history and geography of these locations, therefore, offered key insights into the impact and influence of apartheid spatial planning and the formation of human settlements and migration trends in post-apartheid South Africa.

For example, Mthatha (Umtata) falls under the OR Tambo District Municipality which is the poorest district in the Eastern Cape in terms of all poverty statistics. It scored the lowest on the human development index (HDI) at 0.45 and the largest poverty gap in the province between 2011 and 2018. The number of people living in poverty is similarly the highest in the district (64.6%), with unemployment at 65.5% and a literacy rate of 42.2%.

This appears to relate to the area's history of economic activity. In 1973, a summit meeting of the Black homeland leaders was held at Umtata when they decided to federate their own states after "independence" in South Africa. In 1976, Transkei was granted independence as a so-called Bantustan, a nominally independent state not recognised outside of South Africa in which Mthatha served as the capital. At the end of apartheid, however, some sections of the African businesses and professional community migrated to traditionally White areas of economic activity. This was widely suggested to be due to economic recession In the Mthatha municipality, despite a number of construction projects underway which offered some hope for renewal. Indeed, participants who migrated from this locale were more likely to have done so for economic reasons in the hope that migration to the Western Cape Province would improve access to work and education opportunities.

Another example is Komani, formerly known as Queenstown, in the mid-Eastern Cape Province. Currently, it is the commercial, administrative and educational centre of the surrounding farming district. It was founded in early 1853, under Sir George Cathcart who named the settlement, and then fort, after Queen Victoria. The town prospered from its beginnings until the worldwide depression of the 1930s, and again thereafter. Since then the area has been plagued with severe natural disasters. In the 1960s, the majority Black population were moved east to the township of Azibeleni, as part of the attempt to move African people back to the so-called "homelands". The area has in the past had very severe weather, and in 2002, heavy snowfall around Queenstown caused a severe disaster as the area was not funded nor adequately prepared to handle natural disasters. Then, in 2004, the surrounding areas of the Eastern Cape were affected by strong gale-force winds and heavy rainfall. While Queenstown managed to escape much flooding and some wind damage, power shortages soon followed. Other natural disasters have included droughts and veld fires (wildfires). Participants

moving from this location were more likely to have done so over environmental concerns and the threat posed by natural disasters.

Whereas the historico-political context given above in relation to Mthatha and Komani refer to one primary example of internal migration in South Africa, it is useful to correspond this with an overview of the push-pull factors lending to external migration to South Africa also. For this, Zimbabwe was selected, in line with the participant sample. One of the more commonly cited reasons for Zimbabwean immigration to South Africa is that of economic opportunities. The protracted economic and political crisis in Zimbabwe is indeed a driving force, with a 95% unemployment rate in Zimbabwe and the eroding value of the Zimbabwean dollar. Poverty and the infringement of basic human rights are further concerns that lend toward a rather pessimistic outlook on the future of Zimbabwe. While South Africa is in the midst of its own economic and political crisis, it often remains the only viable prospect for many Zimbabwean migrants. Since 2009, the unemployment rate in South Africa sat at 24% when compared to Zimbabwe's 94%. In addition, South Africa is geographically accessible. While the consistently high rate of African migration to South Africa, such as the case of the Zimbabwean immigrant, is due in part to the colonial and apartheid era regional history of labour migration; today, permanent emigration appears as a relatively new and emerging phenomenon. There are two major waves of emigration that are relevant to this case. The first is that of ethnic Zimbabweans known as Gukurahundi, beginning in the 1990s. Here, the Ndebele fled the country to seek refuge in neighbouring South Africa. However, in the case of participant NW, this was likely to have occurred before his time. The second wave was triggered by the exacerbation of economic woes in Zimbabwe since 2000. These are tied in with both social and political implications. They culminated in the enactment of the Fast Track Lan Programme, hyperinflation and poor living standards in the country. In all cases, South Africa was the primary destination. From 1994 onwards, the South African government displayed increasing hostility to skilled immigration from the rest of Africa. However, this has not served to limit the number of immigrants, with Zimbabwean immigration described as the "largest concentrated flow" in South Africa's history. This local hostility toward Zimbabweans led to xenophobic attacks across the country in recent years. While migrants previously consisted of young people migrating alone to look for work, since 2000, there have been an increasing number of women, children, and the elderly who are unable to work and require humanitarian assistance. Migrants also now include professionals like teachers, doctors, nurses and engineers who have applied to stay in the country legally through visa applications in critical skill areas. These Zimbabweans have contributed positively toward the economy of the country. A large number of Zimbabweans in South Africa has also sought political and economic asylum.

86

6.5 Reflections on Research Relations

This study contends that there is an urgent need to conduct further research with learners and staff in township schools, more generally, irrespective of the gender, age, class, or race demographic of the researcher or participants. This study has attempted to break down preconceptions surrounding the Kayamandi community to bridge the divide between life in the township and wider Stellenbosch.

The difference between insider and outsider status is, however, not just methodological, but also equally political. In migration research, the 'outsider' position is sometimes referred to, with colonial connotations, as "white research on black lives" (Agyeman, 2008).

For the white researcher, then, critical questioning of the historical ethnic privileges and the grasp of experiences is required. As Agyeman (2008:82) notes, "when researching the Other in the role of an outsider, this also means addressing the role of self in research and engaging in critical questioning of one's own role and scope". How to access the life experiences of the Other without misrepresenting it has long been a concern in a number of research traditions, ranging from issues of disability, feminism and ethnically Black research traditions. Feminist debates have addressed issues such as whether researchers can only speak on behalf of their own social groups or whether there is legitimacy in speaking on behalf of the Other. Justification for this often arises from the fact that disempowered and marginalised groups often lack access to a public forum where they can be heard, so social researchers see their role as "giving a voice" to them. By contrast, other researchers see commonalities with their respondents as a particular strength.

While there were limitations based on this researcher's own social identity and positionality in terms of the 'where' and 'how' it would be appropriate to conduct the research, there were also some benefits. Firstly, treating the participants as research subjects, rather than objects, was fundamental. Secondly, employing a participatory approach to this research brought a fuller and deeper understanding of the participants' life experiences that included the similarities and differences. This required a balance between gaining access to the participants' world while ensuring it was not an intrusive invasion of privacy. For these reasons, the research activities were limited to the school grounds, resulting in only partial observations of the school and community environment. Many of the participants' life narratives relied heavily on personal memory, and much of the information gathered required additional background and historical research for the purpose of developing a fuller understanding and appreciation of each participant's narrative.

For these reasons, it was important to address the White researcher/Black participant dichotomy frequently encountered in social or human research. To achieve this, participants were asked about

their emotions towards the researcher when being personally interviewed and again to reflect on the research experience as a whole during the feedback phase of the focus group discussion. This was to elicit an honest and open response about their experience. This appeared to be the case, as shown in the extract below.

> *Interviewer: Let's turn these reflection questions. Anyone want to share how they felt being interviewed by me?*
>
> *NW: Sjo, you want the truth?*
>
> *Interviewer:* [pause] *Yes, yes. I want to know the truth.*
>
> *NW: Haibo! The first time I heard that you are going to be interviewing us, I was… like… 'What the hell?... Why?' I thought maybe it was a typical white person, feeling sorry for us.*
>
> *I just thought, basically, that it's this white person, and that as a white person they are just using it for their own personal gain. Because when the principal explained, he told us it is for an assignment for Stellenbosch. I thought… I don't know what you are doing, because a white woman… it just doesn't feel right.*
>
> *But once we did the interviews, and I went on, I actually realised she's not all about that. She's just someone who wanted to find out a little bit more about something else, like… that they don't know. That maybe she actually cares and wants to know more about us. So, it was a nice surprise.*

In the follow-up participants were asked to reflect on what they regarded as positive or negative about taking part in the research, including the data collection methods. Overall, the participants seemed to enjoy taking part in both one-on-one interviews, namely, the life history and walking interview. They felt that this combination allowed them to reflect more deeply on their migratory and schooling experiences as a whole and it provided them with an opportunity to follow up on these. However, there was a mixed review regarding the combination of interviews and focus group discussion. All of the participants seemed to share the sentiment that it was easier to speak about their lives and experiences in a one-on-one setting. Whereas, in the focus group, the more out-going participants, such as NW, took the lead, while the more introverted and shy learners often sat quietly and required some encouragement from the researcher and also an active acknowledgement of their contribution. Such participants as AM and AQ had a preference for the individual interviews, and only engaged occasionally in the focus group and when addressed directly.

One aspect that emerged was the provision of snacks and beverages for the walking interview. While all participants were provided with fruit, a pre-packaged sandwich, and a juice box during the life

history interview, this proved a costly endeavour for the researcher. As a result, it was decided to supply homemade sandwiches for participants in the focus group with purchased juice. The concern was that the participants would be less likely to eat the homemade food provided but this is far from the case. In reflection, the learners all seemed to enjoy the homemade sandwiches far more than the pre-packaged version purchased from the same Checkers store that had serendipitously featured in the interviews and focus group context.

6.6 Chapter Summary

In this chapter, it is contended that the study of space and place as a theoretical and methodological framework is well-suited to furthering insight into the social and material constitution of home and school derived from the participants' narratives of migration and school-life. The school environment represents a temporary home-away-from-home through the fostering and nurturing relationships with their peers, while the school staff take on the role of a second parent or carer, motivating and nurturing learner growth.

Place-identity, borrowed from the literature on humanistic geography, is a core concept employed to focus on human-environmental interactions. This chapter attempts to highlight both the various challenges and opportunities which face the young on a day-to-day basis. This emphasises the interplay between the physical and material manifestations of place and space and the cognitive and emotional development of the youth through lived experience. It also encompasses their use of space in engaging with other people and use of objects in terms of place (the locale).

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

This study sought to bring the complex relationships involved at the intersection between migration and schooling in South Africa. From the outset, the researcher has sought to resist assumptions about the Kayamandi community, as well as any personal preconceptions of the "poor Black African youth" and the "White saviour complex" in the choice of this research engagement.

The research reveals the impact or influence of migration on school and community building exercises. What this study finds is that much of the Kayamandi community is built around a shared migrant identity, based on a common language and cultural heritage of the amaXhosa. Those who move through a similar field in future are urged to suspend normative assumptions about what counts as a rich life and what determines the success and failure of education in township communities, and elsewhere.

7.2 The Remnants of Apartheid Spatial Planning

This study navigates the methodological and theoretical use of space and place to interrogate the ongoing impact of apartheid spatial planning on the living conditions of migrant youth in one township school in Kayamandi, Stellenbosch, Western Cape Province, South Africa.

The study explores the social and material constitution of systemic racism and discriminatory migration through the lens of circular migration. In this sense, it examines the brutal impact that apartheid spatial planning continues to have on marginalised groups and communities, such as the township of Kayamandi. Such macro-level processes have exacerbated poverty and inequality through the unequal distribution of resources, a general lack of opportunity and access to decent work and education which took place alongside forced removals.

In addition, in townships and city centres alike, safety poses a major concern. Joblessness and the various environmental factors have led many young people from under-privileged backgrounds and in poorly resourced communities to join gangs, resorting to crime on every level; namely, crimes of opportunity to organised crime in the City of Cape Town. A sense of helplessness and inferiority among young and old in under-privileged communities without any opportunities or possibilities for improving their lives have led to drug and alcohol abuse.

Two decades after the end of apartheid, Cape Town remains undeniably segregated along racial and economic (class) lines which still negatively define the daily lives of its residents. A history of colonialism, the effects of migrant labour, and the implementation of the Group Areas Act in 1950 meant that Black, Coloured and Indian people (People of Colour) were forcefully relocated to the outskirts of the major cities. The relocation of these families was considered an atrocity in itself – with whole households and their families uprooted, and communities that have existed for generations, ultimately destroyed. The impact of this history is still present today visually and statistically upon the landscape.

However, while South Africa's townships are marked by structural ills that make them prone to shack fires, and townships like Kayamandi are evidence of former homelands or Bantustans with high unemployment rates, poverty, and a history of disenfranchisement that contributes to gang violence, alcoholism and drug addiction. Living in areas that were never functionally designed for people who were seen as citizens has led to, among others, high transport costs to work, poor service delivery, insufficient access to healthcare, inadequately resourced schools, poorer police presence; however, these realities encountered in the daily lives and experiences of the youth are presented in this study as a counter-narrative. They are rather seen as a means to empower the participants through the research process in acknowledgement of their value and worth as human beings and as members of the promising future generation of South Africa.

Altogether, spatial apartheid is a key concept to understand the importance of landscape planning. It also raises questions about the resources and political will needed to address injustice that run deep into central government itself. Recognising this disadvantaged history forces the reader to consider how an environment shapes one's circumstances and opportunities in ways that go far beyond simple economics.

As evidenced in the social and cultural landscape of Kayamandi and "its close proximity to the Stellenbosch town centre, there appears to be little movement between them" (Fuchs, 2010). Stellenbosch residents have generally perceived the Kayamandi community as separate and distinct from the town. Kayamandi residents' attitudes, in turn, reflect this same dynamic in that they are reluctant to make use of the town's infrastructure for themselves. This is understood in terms of the "historical apartheid separators that have become internalised and perpetuated as a marker of community identity" (Cubizolles, 2011).

Even so, the findings of this study suggest that this dynamic is increasingly being placed under scrutiny and challenged by the youth who are making their own way into the town and visiting Andringa Mall with friends and similar sites for leisure purposes. Whereas the working-age

Kayamandi residents who are employed as domestic workers, security guards, and cashiers in and around Stellenbosch only have a daily walk or commute down Bird Street for work-purposes; the Kayamandi youth are beginning to challenge this trend. Increased collaboration at the individual, community, institutional and organisational level provide similar attempts to challenge this perceived separation between Kayamandi and wider Stellenbosch (Fuchs, 2010; Traub, 2010).

7.3 Summary of Key Findings

The six key findings that emerged in the conduct of this research study are as follows:

1. Migration is one of the key attributes defining humanity in the contemporary world. This study further makes the case that we are all migrants, in one way or another, in the world today. It is also argues for the importance of taking into account both internal and external forms of migration to more fully regard the impact and influence of migration trends on the social and cultural landscape of South African schooling.

2. In exploring the contested nature and use of the term 'African migrant youth', this study highlights its limitations in accommodating internal and more localised forms of migration which influence the shape of schooling experiences among South African and African migrant youth alike.

3. Following Yu-Fi Tuan's (1979) humanistic perspective on space and place, this study examines how the participants feel and think about space and place, and how these factors help to form attachments to home. Based on personal experiences, the participants' viewpoints give unique and introspective responses about what constitutes home and what values are attributed to a sense of home. Overall, the study found that social contacts were the most influential, based on their relationships and interactions with both school members and the wider local community, as well as the degree and extent of their involvement and participation in activities in and beyond the school grounds.

4. One group describe a transitory sense of home rather than identifying Kayamandi as home. Feng & Breitung (2017) state that "in times of global mobility, home must be understood as a multi-scalar and context-dependent concept, which is socially constructed through experiences and imagination". These participants are of the belief that they are merely visitors, or tourists, temporarily residing in and acquiring an education in the locale. As learners, the majority of time was spent on the school

grounds. In this way, the school comes to embody a second home, a home away from home.

5. In using spatial theory to regard sites on the school premises and their social and material significance for the participants, this study focuses on distinguishing between ambiguous or undifferentiated spaces versus places of belonging existing on the school grounds. While the school principal and, by extension, the school staff appeared to imbue the library as a prestigious space, the participating learners regard it as a largely inadequate space. Together, these render the library as a largely unused and neglected space. On the other hand, the computer lab was described as a place of interactive engagement as the centre of learning and heart of school life. For these reasons, it seems relevant to suggest that the library is incorporated with the computer lab facilities to enhance independent research and integrate more traditional ways of conducting research (books, textbooks, and so on) with more contemporary modes of knowledge acquisition (computers, information and communication technologies (ICTs), and other technological innovations used in the classroom).

6. Massey (1994) argues for "a complex mixing in place of different people of multiple identities". Place is dynamic. Despite the broader processes of change at the national level, South African schools have been viewed as places that inherently protect and preserve particular local histories and 'ways of doing things'. However, this notion is largely outdated as central to the apartheid geographical imagination, which sought to construct places as inherently fixed. Instead, this study seeks to emphasise the multiplicity and diversity of African identity encountered in predominantly Black African school environments, noting the various manners in which traditional Xhosa culture has been incorporated into new and alternative forms of an urban African identity.

7.4 Recommendations for Further Research

In the present study, Makupula High is identified as a site that would provide rich data due to its location on the original school grounds and as the oldest of the two secondary school structures. In comparison, Kayamandi High had upgraded facilities which indicated a different ethos.

While this research had initially sought out African migrant youth attending the two local secondary schools, there were time and fiscal constraints, alongside a potentially overwhelming data set. In addition to this, it was difficult to get into contact with Kayamandi High, via email or telephone. The

lack of correspondence led the researcher to assume that the school could not afford to accommodate this research project at the time.

On the other hand, the administrative office at Makupula High were quick to respond, and the school principal was pleasantly inviting, and welcoming to researchers with an interest in the school who might be able to provide assistance to improve conditions at the school. For the above reasons, it would be of interest to consider further research that might accommodate learners from both secondary schools. This might be of use for cross-analysis of the data procured, as well as to further regard the intersections of racism and xenophobia in terms of the views and experiences of the youth detailed in this study.

In drawing on the study of space and place, it would be useful to consider a visual ethnography, through the inclusion of photographs depicting the everyday spaces and places that the participants inhabit and occupy. This would be helpful for social and landscape research to aid decision-making on optimising land use and to improve the functions of the learning facilities available on the school grounds. In addition, a participatory approach towards data collection and analysis might fully include the participants in the research process through taking their own photographs of places and spaces that are socially and culturally significant to them.

While a participatory approach was employed in the research, further attempts to actively engage with people, especially those who are marginalised and/or silenced in the research process might enhance the community's agency and provide a means to develop action and applications that come out of the research for the greater benefit of young people in such communities. Furthermore, it would also help to develop insight into the integration of traditional and rural schooling as it is meant to overlap with the contemporary and urban schooling practices.

Finally, as this study was conducted in English because the researcher had little knowledge of the isiXhosa language, future researchers could consider how language and its meanings influence conceptions of space and place, as they develop new and alternative social and cultural learning environments and diverse learning experiences.

Appendices

Appendix A: DESC/REC Ethical Clearance

UNIVERSITEIT
STELLENBOSCH
UNIVERSITY

NOTICE OF APPROVAL

REC Humanities New Application Form

12 March 2019

Project number: 7242

Project Title: Renegotiating space and place: A case for African identity in schooling in Kayamandi

Dear Miss Lize-Maré Combrink

Your REC Humanities New Application Form submitted on 6 February 2019 was reviewed and approved by the REC: Humanities.

Please note the following for your approved submission:

Ethics approval period:

Protocol approval date (Humanities)	Protocol expiration date (Humanities)
12 March 2019	11 March 2020

GENERAL COMMENTS:

Please take note of the General Investigator Responsibilities attached to this letter. You may commence with your research after complying fully with these guidelines.

If the researcher deviates in any way from the proposal approved by the REC: Humanities, the researcher must notify the REC of these changes.

Please use your SU project number (7242) on any documents or correspondence with the REC concerning your project.

Please note that the REC has the prerogative and authority to ask further questions, seek additional information, require further modifications, or monitor the conduct of your research and the consent process.

FOR CONTINUATION OF PROJECTS AFTER REC APPROVAL PERIOD

Please note that a progress report should be submitted to the Research Ethics Committee: Humanities before the approval period has expired if a continuation of ethics approval is required. The Committee will then consider the continuation of the project for a further year (if necessary)

Included Documents:

Document Type	File Name	Date	Version
Data collection tool	Policy Analysis	02/07/2018	1
Proof of permission	WCED Research Approval Letter	04/11/2018	1
Proof of permission	WCED Revised Research Form	04/11/2018	1
Proof of permission	WCED Letter from Supervisor	04/11/2018	1
Data collection tool	Interview Guide	06/11/2018	1
Data collection tool	Observation Guide	06/11/2018	1
Recruitment material	Recruitment Poster	06/11/2018	1
Default	Response Letter (REC Modifications)	07/11/2018	1
Proof of permission	GoodHopePsychologicalServices[Correspondence]	20/01/2019	1
Research Protocol/Proposal	Research Proposal	06/02/2019	3
Parental consent form	Consent Form for Parents and Legal Guardians	06/02/2019	2
Assent form	Assent Form for Learners	06/02/2019	2

Page 1 of 3

95

Informed Consent Form	Informed Consent Form for School Staff	06/02/2019	2
Proof of permission	Letter to Kayamandi High	06/02/2019	1
Proof of permission	Letter to Makupula Secondary	06/02/2019	1
Default	Data Storage	06/02/2019	1

If you have any questions or need further help, please contact the REC office at cgraham@sun.ac.za.

Sincerely,

Clarissa Graham

REC Coordinator: Research Ethics Committee: Human Research (Humanities)

National Health Research Ethics Committee (NHREC) registration number: REC-050411-032.
The Research Ethics Committee: Humanities complies with the SA National Health Act No.61 2003 as it pertains to health research. In addition, this committee abides
by the ethical norms and principles for research established by the Declaration of Helsinki (2013) and the Department of Health Guidelines for Ethical Research:
Principles Structures and Processes (2nd Ed.) 2015. Annually a number of projects may be selected randomly for an external audit.

Investigator Responsibilities

Protection of Human Research Participants

Some of the general responsibilities investigators have when conducting research involving human participants are listed below:

1.**Conducting the Research.** You are responsible for making sure that the research is conducted according to the REC approved research protocol. You are also responsible for the actions of all your co-investigators and research staff involved with this research. You must also ensure that the research is conducted within the standards of your field of research.

2.**Participant Enrollment.** You may not recruit or enroll participants prior to the REC approval date or after the expiration date of REC approval. All recruitment materials for any form of media must be approved by the REC prior to their use.

3.**Informed Consent.** You are responsible for obtaining and documenting effective informed consent using only the REC-approved consent documents/process, and for ensuring that no human participants are involved in research prior to obtaining their informed consent. Please give all participants copies of the signed informed consent documents. Keep the originals in your secured research files for at least five (5) years.

4.**Continuing Review.** The REC must review and approve all REC-approved research proposals at intervals appropriate to the degree of risk but not less than once per year. There is no grace period. Prior to the date on which the REC approval of the research expires, it is your responsibility to submit the progress report in a timely fashion to ensure a lapse in REC approval does not occur. If REC approval of your research lapses, you must stop new participant enrollment, and contact the REC office immediately.

5.**Amendments and Changes.** If you wish to amend or change any aspect of your research (such as research design, interventions or procedures, participant population, informed consent document, instruments, surveys or recruiting material), you must submit the amendment to the REC for review using the current Amendment Form. You may not initiate any amendments or changes to your research without first obtaining written REC review and approval. The only exception is when it is necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to participants and the REC should be immediately informed of this necessity.

6.**Adverse or Unanticipated Events.** Any serious adverse events, participant complaints, and all unanticipated problems that involve risks to participants or others, as well as any research related injuries, occurring at this institution or at other performance sites must be reported to Malene Fouche within five (5) days of discovery of the incident. You must also report any instances of serious or continuing problems, or non-compliance with the RECs requirements for protecting human research participants. The only exception to this policy is that the death of a research participant must be reported in accordance with the Stellenbosch University Research Ethics Committee Standard Operating Procedures. All reportable events should be submitted to the REC using the Serious Adverse Event Report Form.

7.**Research Record Keeping.** You must keep the following research related records, at a minimum, in a secure location for a minimum of five years: the REC approved research proposal and all amendments; all informed consent documents; recruiting materials; continuing review reports; adverse or unanticipated events; and all correspondence from the REC

8.**Provision of Counselling or emergency support.** When a dedicated counsellor or psychologist provides support to a participant without prior REC review and approval, to the extent permitted by law, such activities will not be recognised as research nor the data used in support of research. Such cases should be indicated in the progress report or final report.

9.**Final reports.** When you have completed (no further participant enrollment, interactions or interventions) or stopped work on your research, you must submit a Final Report to the REC.

10.**On-Site Evaluations, Inspections, or Audits.** If you are notified that your research will be reviewed or audited by the sponsor or any other external agency or any internal group, you must inform the REC immediately of the impending audit/evaluation.

Appendix B: WCED Research Approval Letter

Western Cape Government
Education

Directorate: Research

Audrey.wyngaard@westerncape.gov.za
tel: +27 021 467 9272
Fax: 0865902282
Private Bag x9114, Cape Town, 8000
wced.wcape.gov.za

REFERENCE: 20180912–6303
ENQUIRIES: Dr A T Wyngaard

Miss Lize-Maré Combrink
201 Andringa Walk
Andringa Street
Stellenbosch
7600

Dear Miss Lize-Maré Combrink

RESEARCH PROPOSAL: RENEGOTIATING SPACE AND PLACE: THE CASE OF AFRICAN MIGRANT YOUTH IN SCHOOLING IN KAYAMANDI

Your application to conduct the above-mentioned research in schools in the Western Cape has been approved subject to the following conditions:
1.   Principals, educators and learners are under no obligation to assist you in your investigation.
2.   Principals, educators, learners and schools should not be identifiable in any way from the results of the investigation.
3.   You make all the arrangements concerning your investigation.
4.   Educators' programmes are not to be interrupted.
5.   The Study is to be conducted from **17 September 2018 till 17 September 2019**
6.   No research can be conducted during the fourth term as schools are preparing and finalizing syllabi for examinations (October to December).
7.   Should you wish to extend the period of your survey, please contact Dr A.T Wyngaard at the contact numbers above quoting the reference number?
8.   A photocopy of this letter is submitted to the principal where the intended research is to be conducted.
9.   Your research will be limited to the list of schools as forwarded to the Western Cape Education Department.
10.   A brief summary of the content, findings and recommendations is provided to the Director: Research Services.
11.   The Department receives a copy of the completed report/dissertation/thesis addressed to:
            The Director: Research Services
            Western Cape Education Department
            Private Bag X9114
            CAPE TOWN
            8000

We wish you success in your research.

Kind regards.
Signed: Dr Audrey T Wyngaard
Directorate: Research
DATE: 13 September 2018

Lower Parliament Street, Cape Town, 8001
tel: +27 21 467 9272   fax: 0865902282
Safe Schools: 0800 45 46 47

Private Bag X9114, Cape Town, 8000
Employment and salary enquiries: 0861 92 33 22
www.westerncape.gov.za

Appendix C: School Permission Letter

UNIVERSITEIT
STELLENBOSCH
UNIVERSITY

LETTER REQUESTING PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH: MAKUPULA SECONDARY

Mr. C.B. Ndlebe
Makupula Secondary School (Principal)
91 Makupula Street, Kayamandi, Stellenbosch, 7600
021 889 7159 | 082 897 8275
makupula.sec@wcgschools.gov.za | charlesbndlebe@gmail.com

Dear Sir

I hope this letter finds you well.

My name is Liz Combrink. I am writing to you as a master's student (sociology) at Stellenbosch University. The purpose of this letter is to request your assistance with my research project, preliminarily entitled 'Renegotiating space and place: the case of African migrant youth in schooling in Kayamandi. Please take some time to read the information presented below regarding the purpose of my research, and how I would like to involve learners and staff at your school.

Introduction to the project:

In the wider context of this study, I seek to grapple with the multiplicity and complexity of African identity in Kayamandi. This study makes use of spatial theory to explore the significance of African migration in the history and geography of the school and township life among the youth. In this way, I seek to explore the schooling and migratory experiences of a small sample of South African and African migrant youth attending your school. In so doing, I regard the social and material meanings of space and place for the youth, and what meanings these spaces and places have for their individual and collective sense of identity, position, and community belonging.

Participant selection and recruitment:

For my study, I would like to involve a small sample of 6-12 learners in Grade 10 and Grade 11. While it would be of interest to include any African migrants attending the school, and who may be willing, interested and able to participate, one's nationality or citizenship is not considered the only criterion for selection or inclusion in the study. For this reason, I would like to extend this invitation to include any interested, willing, and able South African learners as well. All participating learners

99

will be requested to take part in two one-on-one interviews (life history and walking interview) as well as a focus group discussion. In addition to this, I would like to briefly interview you, as the school principal. The information provided in this interview will be useful as additional historical and background research on the school to facilitate an understanding of the interconnections between schooling and migration in Kayamandi.

Research involvement:

The fieldwork is expected to take around 8 weeks (2 months) to complete, with 2-3 visits to the school site per week, during school hours. Some form of mediated access would be recommended, but not required. As a qualitative research study, interviews will be conducted using open-ended questions, in a largely informal and conversational manner. Participating learners will be requested to take part in a total of two one-on-one interviews (30-60 minutes each), as well as a group interview, in the form of a focus group discussion (not exceeding 120 minutes). I would like to make use of an audio recording device during the interviews, and will ensure that I have requested permission from all of the participants do so, and that they are fully informed before the use of any such device. Interested staff members will be interviewed similarly in a brief one-on-one interview, which should not exceed 30 minutes. Learners and staff will be informed when information and/or data is being collected on their behalf, and will be requested to sign and return the required consent documentation prior to their participation or involvement in the study.

Confidentiality:

Potential participants will be informed about what the research entails and what I aim to investigate. They will be reassured that they will not be harmed in any way, have the right to remain anonymous, and will be informed that they have the right to opt out of interviewing or reject answering any one of my questions. For ease of data gathering and collection, I intend to audio record the interviews and focus groups with learners. All audio recorded data and information will be transcribed by me, and no one else. I will ensure that the participants have been de-identified during the transcription process, through the use of pseudonyms. Any hard-copy data will be scanned and kept electronically, after which the hard-copy data will be destroyed. All of the data and information will be stored electronically, on a password protected computer, in an encrypted folder, that only I have access to. While I may share some of my data with my research supervisor, Prof Dennis A. Francis, this will be done on a strictly confidential basis. Any and all data and information collected will be used strictly for research purposes. The school and all persons involved the research will be de-identified through the use of codes and pseudonyms. This will be done to ensure that the right to anonymity and confidentiality is upheld and maintained, at all times.

Compensation and transportation:

There will be no monetary payment for participation in this study, as I am not receiving any external funding for conducting my research. However, all participants will be fairly compensated for their time, through the provision of snacks and/or non-alcoholic beverages during the interviews and focus group discussion. All research activities will take place at a time convenient for the participants, so as to ensure that the research does not cause any disruption to the normal school schedule. As the school has been very welcoming and accommodating, with the provision of safe parking on the school grounds; should any of the participants require transportation to their place of residence after an interview or other research-related activity, please do not hesitate to ask.

Counselling and psychological services:

While there are no foreseeable risks of physical or emotional harm for any persons participating in this research project, some of the subject matter that may be explored could pose as a sensitive topic for some. For this reason, should a participant feel unease or discomfort at any time during their participation in this study, it would be important that they are aware of their right to withdraw from the study at any time, and without negative consequence. Participants are also permitted to skip a question or refuse to respond, and continue to participate in the research, should they so desire. To avoid perpetuating some of the major challenges faced by South African schools, today, to include matters of social stigma, bullying, discrimination, and exclusionary practices, it would be important that these risks are managed effectively. This means that no personal information collected on behalf of any one participant will be shared or revealed to any other persons (including other participants), without their explicit informed consent. To ensure the physical safety and wellbeing of all involved, all research will be conducted solely on the school grounds. While this study is meant to be a fun learning experience for all involved, I would like to ensure that a counsellor from Good Hope Psychological Service (GHPS) is made available and on-site during the focus group discussion, should I receive permission to do so. While a counsellor will not be present during the one-on-one interviews, should a participant show any signs of discomfort, unease, or emotional distress at any time, I would like to advise that the respective participant make contact with the GHPS, "a registered non-profit organisation offering free psychological service to poorly resourced communities in the Western Cape." The contact information has been provided to you below, and will be readily available in the consent documentation for the participants.

Good Hope Psychological Service, GHPS

Website: https://www.ghps.co.za

Email: ghps@telkomsa.net

Phone: 021 887 7913

Ethics approval:

In addition to obtaining permission from the Western Cape Education Department (WCED) to conduct my research, my research project must also receive approval from the Departmental Ethics Screening Committee (DESC) and the Research Ethics Committee (REC) at Stellenbosch University. I have received research approval from the WCED to conduct my research between 17 September 2018 and 17 September 2019. DESC/REC approval is an assurance to you that my research project is well planned and coordinated, and will be executed with integrity and ethical responsibility. Ethical clearance from the REC: Humanities was received on 12 March 2019, expiring on 11 March 2020.

Contact information:

I would greatly appreciate your school's participation and involvement. If you have any further questions, queries, or concerns, please feel free to make contact with me directly, at any time. Alternatively, you may contact my supervisor. The contact information has been provided to you below.

Liz Combrink (Researcher)

Phone: 071 186 9716

Email: 18465900@sun.ac.za

Prof Dennis A. Francis (Researcher Supervisor)

Phone: 021 808 2202

Email: dafrancis@sun.ac.za

Thank you for your time, patience, and consideration. ☺

Kind regards,

Miss L. Combrink

Postgraduate student (MA in Sociology) | Stellenbosch University

Appendix D: Consent Documentation

[Assent Form for Learners]

STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY
ASSENT FORM FOR LEARNERS

You are invited to take part in a study conducted by **Miss L. Combrink**, a master's student from the Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology, at Stellenbosch University. You were approached as a prospective participant because you are a migrant youth and learner between Grade 10-11 at the selected secondary school in Kayamandi.

1. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The aim of this study is to explore the links between the schooling and migratory experiences of migrant youth in secondary school (high school) in Kayamandi, today. For this reason, I further regard the meanings and significance of space and place for the participants' sense of identity, position, and community or group belonging.

2. WHAT WILL BE ASKED OF ME?

If you agree to take part in this study, you will be asked to take part in two kinds of research activities, including three interviews and a focus group discussion. *All of these activities will take place on the school grounds, in a venue arranged with the school principal. Kindly note that these will take place <u>only</u> on school days, and <u>after</u> school hours, from 14:30 to 18:30.*

There are two interviews in which you can choose to take part: **1. life history interview** and **2. walking interview**. Each interview will take between 30-60 minutes to complete. They will be conducted on a one-on-one (individual) and face-to-face basis. You are not obligated to take part in both, and may choose to be involved in only one, and still be considered a participant in this study.

There will be a **focus group discussion** once all of the participants have been individually interviewed. As a group activity, this is expected to take no longer than 120 minutes (2 hours), so that each participant is given a fair chance and equal opportunity to speak and share in the discussion.

3. POSSIBLE RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

There are no direct foreseeable risks of harm or discomfort for any persons taking part in this study. However, there are aspects of the research *(for example, questions on race and ethnicity, or xenophobia and discrimination)* which may be considered sensitive topics for the persons involved. For this reason, **you may request to discontinue or withdraw from the study, at any time, and without penalty. You may also choose to refuse to respond to, or skip, a question asked by the researcher, and still take part in the study.**

Furthermore, should you feel any emotional unease, discomfort or distress as a result of participating in this study, please make sure to speak with me (the researcher) or with someone you trust (at school or at home) who could assist and/or support you during this time. Should you be interested in seeking out help through counselling or psychological services, kindly make contact with the Good Hope Psychological Service (GHPS), "a registered non-profit organization offering a free psychological service to poorly resourced communities in the Western Cape" [website: https://www.ghps.co.za]. Contact details have been provided to you below.

Good Hope Psychological Services (GHPS)
Email: ghps@telkomsa.net
Phone: 021 887 7913

While these services are understood to be free-of-charge, should there be any financial burden or monetary cost, kindly speak with the researcher, who can make arrangements to ensure that the burden of cost does not fall to any affected persons or their families.

4. POSSIBLE BENEFITS TO PARTICIPANTS AND/OR TO THE SOCIETY

Participation in the research will provide you with the opportunity to acquire first-hand knowledge and experience with the research process. In addition, this study makes use of a participatory approach toward research, ideal for young persons in a school context. In this way, the approach is geared toward enhancing critical thinking among the youth, while providing them with a safe, open, and non-judgemental atmosphere, where they are able to freely share their personal views, ideas, and experiences. In covering a broad range of possible topics of discussion, I am also able to provide an open space for learners to raise their own issues, interests, and concerns; thus extending the discussion to regard views and experiences relevant and significant for the young persons involved.

This study also has long term benefits, such as promoting the voices of the youth and marginalised groups, while also allowing for the expression of their unique and diverse life experiences. The findings also has long term benefits for South African society, more

generally, by contributing to the limited body of research and knowledge on the links between migration and schooling in South Africa.

5. PAYMENT FOR PARTICIPATION

There will be no monetary payment for those who participate in this study, as this can distort the ethical integrity of the research. As participation is only requested after school hours, and on school days, it is unlikely that any additional financial cost or burden should be incurred by those who choose to take part. However, to compensate for their time and effort, each participant will receive a small snack and/or beverage during the interviews and focus group. As the researcher is not receiving any external funding for the research, snacks and beverages will be an expense paid by the researcher herself.

6. PROTECTION OF YOUR INFORMATION, CONFIDENTIALITY AND IDENTITY

Any information you share with me during this study and that could possibly identify you as a participant will be protected. This will be done by ensuring that the school and all participants (learners, school staff) have been de-identified through the use of codes and pseudonyms. The final written report or thesis will not include any identifiable information that can be traced back to any one or more of the participants.

All of the data and information collected on behalf of the participants will be stored electronically, and kept on a password-protected computer, in an encrypted folder, which only I, the researcher, have access to. After which, any and all raw or hard-copy data will be destroyed. The only person with whom I may share my data is that of my supervisor, Prof D.A. Francis, and with whom I will speak in strict confidentiality.

For ease and accuracy of data collection, I would like to make use of audio recording for the interviews and focus group discussion. Audio recordings will not be shared with anyone. I will ensure that I have requested permission from the participant(s) involved, before I make use of an audio recording device. All audio will be transcribed by me, the researcher, and no one else. All names will be replaced with a suitable pseudonym or alias, during transcription. Excerpts of the audio transcripts will then be selected for inclusion in the final written report or thesis.

7. PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

You can choose whether to be in this study or not. If you agree to take part in this study, you may withdraw at any time without any consequence. You may also refuse to answer any questions you don't want to answer and still remain in the study. The researcher may withdraw you from this study if the information gathered on your behalf be highly sensitive, or pose any significant risk or threat of harm, stigma, or trauma, should the information be released.

8. RESEARCHERS' CONTACT INFORMATION

If you have any questions or concerns about this study, please feel free to contact me, the researcher, and/or my supervisor, using contact information provided.

Liz Combrink (Researcher)
Email: 18465900@sun.ac.za
Phone: 071 186 9716

Prof Dennis A. Francis (Supervisor)
Email: dafrancis@sun.ac.za
Phone: 021 808 2202

9. RIGHTS OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

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 participant, kindly contact the Division for Research Development, at Stellenbosch University.

Ms Maléne Fouché (Division for Research Development)
Email: mfouche@sun.ac.za
Phone: 021 808 4622

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DECLARATION OF ASSENT BY THE PARTICIPANT

As the participant I confirm that:

- I have read the above information and it is written in a language that I am comfortable with.

- I have had a chance to ask questions and all my questions have been answered.

- All issues related to privacy, and the confidentiality and use of the information I provide, have been explained.

By signing below, I _____ *(name of participant)* agree to take part in this research study, as conducted by Miss L. Combrink.

_____   _____

Signature of Participant   **Date**

DECLARATION BY THE RESEARCHER

As the **researcher,** I hereby declare that the information contained in this document has been thoroughly explained to the participant. I also declare that the participant has been encouraged (and has been given ample time) to ask any questions.

_____   _____

Signature of Researcher   **Date**

Assent form for Learners, 2019

5

107

[Consent Form for Parents/Legal Guardians]

DECLARATION OF CONSENT BY THE PARENT / LEGAL GAURDIAN OF THE CHILD PARTICIPANT

As the parent/legal guardian of the child I confirm that:

- I have read the above information and it is written in a language that I am comfortable with.

- I have had a chance to ask questions and all my questions have been answered.

- All issues related to privacy, and the confidentiality and use of the information I provide, have been explained.

By signing below, I _____ *(name of parent/legal guardian)* agree that the research may approach my child to request that he/she take part in this research study, as conducted by Miss L. Combrink.

_____   _____

Signature of Parent/Legal Guardian   **Date**

DECLARATION BY THE RESEARCHER

As the **researcher**, I hereby declare that the information contained in this document has been thoroughly explained to the participant. I also declare that the participant has been encouraged (and has been given ample time) to ask any questions.

_____ _____

Signature of Researcher   **Date**

Consent form for Parents/Legal Guardians, 2019

5

108

Appendix E: Interview Guides

[Life History Interview]

Learner interviews

Interview 1: Life history interview

This interview will be used to ask questions about your personal background and history, to establish where you come from, who you are, and where you see yourself in the future.

IDENTITY If you could describe yourself in three words, what would you choose? 1. Age 2. Gender 3. Race and ethnicity 4. Culture and heritage 5. Nationality 6. Language	**HOME** Where is home? 1. Where were you born? 2. Where did you live growing up? 3. Where do you live? 4. Describe your daily routine. 5. Tell me a bit about your family. 6. What do you (like to) do at home?
INTERESTS What are you good at? What do you like doing? 1. Role models 2. Spending free time 3. Food and drinks 4. Indoor and/or outdoor activities 5. Hobbies, sports, other activities	**RELATIONSHIPS** Do you feel like you belong? 1. Introvert or extrovert 2. Friendship 3. Peers and teachers (classroom) 4. Extracurricular activities 5. Romantic relationships 6. Family life
SCHOOL How do you feel about school? 1. School rules and regulations 2. School uniform 3. Breaks, food and lunch 4. Subjects and classes 5. Previous/future education 6. Teachers and staff 7. Future job and career prospects	**VIEWS, OPINIONS, BELIEFS** How do you feel about living in, and going to school, in South Africa? 1. African vs South African 2. Discrimination 3. Xenophobia 4. Government and politics 5. Market and economy 6. Safety, health and wellbeing

[Walking Interview]

Interview 2: Walking interview (transect walk)

This interview involves a combination of qualitative interviewing and participant observation. By participant observation, I mean that the participant(s) take on the role of "the observer," while the interviewee/researcher similarly comes to embody the role of an additional participant within this interview context. While this interview will be audio-recorded, noise disturbances (due to movement in an outdoor and public space) is likely to increase the researcher's reliance on field notes and/or observational notes.

At this stage of interviewing, I will walk with the participants around the school premises. While fun and thought-provoking, the school has requested that I do not leave the school grounds with the learners at any point during the interviews. This is to ensure the safety and wellbeing of all participants involved. For this reason, the interview focuses purely on sites located on the school premises, exploring different types of learning environments available to the learners on the school grounds.

In this way, the walking interview (or transect walk) relies on the use of sense perception (i.e. the five senses: sight, sound, touch, smell, taste) to enhance the participants' memory and recollection of their lived experiences. Walking around their classrooms and regularly visited sites on the school premises may provide some impetus to stimulate and drive the interaction toward a focus purely on school-related activities and experiences. In this way, this interview has a narrowed concern when compared to the previous interview (life history interview), which was able to explore participants' past lived experiences beyond the school grounds.

[Focus Group Discussion]

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION

Facilitator's welcome, introduction and instructions to participants

Welcome and thank you for offering to take part in this focus group. You have been asked to participate as your point of view is important. I realize that you have a lot to do, and I appreciate your time in joining today.

Introduction: This focus group discussion is designed to explore your current thoughts and feelings about the school environment, as well as your past experiences in other provinces, countries, or locations. The focus group discussion will take no more than two hours (2 hours). I would like to record (audio/voice) the discussion to facilitate its recollection, and so that I can go through the information that has been gathered.

Name cards: Please ensure that you have been provided with a name card (with your name on it!). This is so that I can easily identify *who said what* and *when* in the audio (voice) recording.

Anonymity: Despite being taped, I would like to assure you that the discussion will be anonymous. The tapes will be kept safely in a locked facility until they are transcribed word for word, then they will be destroyed. The transcribed notes of the focus group will contain no information that would allow individual subjects to be linked to specific statements. You should try to answer and comment as accurately and truthfully as possible. I, and the other focus group participants, would appreciate it if you would refrain from discussing the comments of other group members outside the focus group. If there are any questions or discussions that you do not wish to answer or participate in, you do not have to do so; however please try to answer and be as involved as possible.

2

Ground rules:

1. The most important rule is that only one person speaks at a time. There may be a temptation to jump in when someone else is talking, but please wait until they have finished.
2. There are no right or wrong answers!
3. You do not have to speak in any particular order, but please raise your hand if you would like to add on to what someone else is saying or contribute to the discussion in any way.
4. When you have something to say, please do so. There are many of you in the group, and it is important that I obtain the views of each of you.
5. You do not have to agree with the views or opinions of other people in the group.
6. Kindly note that the focus group discussion will be audio (voice) recorded.
7. Please say your name when you start speaking, as this will make it easier for me to know *who said what* and *when* in the audio (voice) recording.
8. Should you feel uncomfortable taking part, please ensure that you have spoken with me before the start of the discussion.
9. Please note that you are welcome to leave the discussion at any time, should you feel uncomfortable, or have somewhere else to be.

3

Brief introduction

- **Do all of you know each other?** Is there anyone in this group that does not know someone else?
- **Let's go around in a circle.** Please state your name, and your grade. Then briefly say something that you really like to do, whether at home, at school, or elsewhere.

Guiding questions

I am just going to give you a couple of minutes to think about your experiences at this school and/or in Kayamandi. Is there anyone who would like to begin, and share anything about their experiences here?

- "Where do you come from?"
- "Where is home? How would you describe home?"
- "What kinds of activities do you take part in at the school?"
- "What kinds of activities are you involved in the local community?"
- "Which subjects do you like most/least at the school?"
- "How do you think the school can be improved?"
- "Do you feel accepted at the school? Do you feel like you belong?"
- "Do you feel like you are a part of the local community in Kayamandi?"
- "Do you have all the necessary facilities and amenities at the school?"
- "Are there enough resources available for you at the school?"
- "Have you faced any form of discrimination in or outside of the school, based on your age, gender, race, ethnicity, etc.?"
- "What do you think about your school uniform?"
- "Where do you usually like to spend your free time in Kayamandi/Stellenbosch?"
- "Are there any places/spaces considered safe in or outside your school?"
- "Are there any places/spaces considered unsafe in or outside your school?"
- "What kind of work does your parent/legal guardian do?"
- "Where do you see yourself after you finish Grade 12?"

4

Feedback and reflection

- "What did you like most/least about taking part in this study?"
- "Do you think the researcher/facilitator was approachable and easy to talk to? Please explain why/why not."
- "Did you experience any difficulties taking part in this research project?"
- "Did you get a chance to take part in the research on a day and at a time that worked / was suitable for you?"
- "Did taking part in this research project interfere with your day-to-day schedule?"
- "What do you think can be improved in the conduct of this research project?"
- "Were the questions you were asked relevant to your life and experiences?"
- "Are there any other questions you wish you had been asked, and were not asked?"
- "Is there anything else that you would like to add?"

Concluding points

- Thank you for all of you for taking the time and making the effort to coming to the discussion today.
- It has been a privilege to get to know all of you, over this short span of time.
- Please know that your stories are an asset and vital contribution to my project, and I hope that you have all had a bit of fun taking part.

5

[School Principal Interview]

School principal interview

Key areas/points to consider

- Personal background and history
    - Family history
    - Educational background
    - Occupation/job history
    - 'Home'
    - Role and position in the school
    - Communication with teachers and pupils (learners)

- School policy
    - Overall vision and values
    - Rules and regulations
    - Admissions policy
    - Learners and staff enrolment
    - Financial cost
    - Support: Government, Department of Education, NGOs, etc.

- School organisation / structure
    - Learner and staff enrolment
    - Learner grades
    - School programme
    - Class times
    - Lunch breaks
    - School facilities and amenities

- List of subjects (Gr.10 & 11) taught at Makupula Secondary
    - Use and benefits
    - Limitations and issues
    - Classroom management
    - Teaching methods

- o Conflict resolution

- School resources
  - o Provision of stationery and other materials for school
  - o School textbooks
  - o Notebooks
  - o Exercise books
  - o Pen, pencil, ruler, eraser, etc.
  - o Reading books (library)
  - o School diary (?)
  - o School uniform
  - o Food and beverages

- Final question: How can I be of service to the school?

Appendix F: GHPS Correspondence

Fwd: Fw: Good Hope Psychological Services - Psychologist needed for MA Research Project

Carien De Klerk <carien@ghps.co.za>
Fri 2019/01/11, 10:39 AM
To: Combrink, L, Miss [18465900@sun.ac.za] <18465900@sun.ac.za>; GHPS Sbos <ghps@telkomsa.net>

Dear Lize-Mare

Thank you for your email. We would love to assist you. Because we are a NGO we have long waiting lists and our therapists are always very busy. However if I understand you correctly it will only be 3 times in 6 months? I am sure one of our staff members would be able to help, if we are informed well in advance of the dates, we can plan around it.

Kind regards,

Carien de Klerk
Director
Good Hope Psychological Service
(021) 887 7913 / 078 123 7908
www.ghps.co.za

Statement of Cofidentiality: The contents of this e-mail message and any attachments are confidential and are intended solely for the addressee. This transmission is sent in trust, for the sole purpose of delivery to the intended recipient. If you have received this transmission in error, any use,reproduction or dissemination of this transmission is strictly prohibited.

---------- Forwarded message ---------
From: Goeie Hoop <ghps@telkomsa.net>
Date: Mon, Jan 7, 2019 at 8:09 AM
Subject: Fw: Good Hope Psychological Services - Psychologist needed for MA Research Project
To: Carien de Klerk <cariendeklerk@gmail.com>

From: mailto:18465900@sun.ac.za
Sent: Wednesday, December 19, 2018 1:24 PM
To: ghps@telkomsa.net
Subject: Good Hope Psychological Services - Psychologist needed for MA Research Project

Dear Sir/Madam,

This email is addressed to the **Good Hope Psychological Services**, with whom I am making contact in the hope of enquiring into the possibility of hiring a counsellor / psychologist for my research with youth at **two secondary schools** in **Kayamandi** during the first half of **2019**.

In accordance with the requirements stipulated by the **REC (Research Ethics Committee)** at my university of study, **Stellenbosch University**, I would require the psychologist / counsellor to be **onsite** on the days that I conduct **focus group interviews** in order to assess the degree of discomfort and provide counselling necessary services, as required.

In following these stipulations, I would require the counsellor / psychologist to be on the school site for a maximum of **3 hours**, on **2-3 visitations** to the school site.

While I am aware that these services have been freely provided to poorer and needy communities, I would be happy to provide some **compensation** for these services.

I look forward to hearing back from you, and engaging with you further on the possibility of such a collaboration.

Warmest regards,

Lize-Mare Combrink
MA Sociology student | Stellenbosch University
phone: 0711869716 | email: 18465900@sun.ac.za

VISION 2040 | VISIE 2040 | UMBONO 2040

Stellenbosch University has launched its Vision 2040 and Strategic Framework 2019–2024. Click here to find out more.

The integrity and confidentiality of this email are governed by these terms. **Disclaimer**
Die integriteit en vertroulikheid van hierdie e-pos word deur die volgende bepalings bereël. **Vrywaringsklousule**

117

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