

PERCEPTIONS AND EXPERIENCES OF INTEGRATION FOR REFUGEE LEARNERS

By

Pushpagandhi Gramanie

**(Combined Masters in Education and
Training)**

2006

PERCEPTIONS AND EXPERIENCES OF INTEGRATION FOR REFUGEE LEARNERS

By

Pushpagandhi Gramanie

**A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of Combined Masters in
Education**

**In the
Faculty of Education**

University of Kwa-Zulu Natal

SUPERVISOR: Dr S. Singh

February 2006

ABSTRACT

Public opinion, media and literature describe refugees as generally suffering, traumatised, dependent, helpless victims without power, in need of constant guidance and support in order to find solutions to their predicament. Humanitarian assistance may be accused of perpetuating this dependency and disempowerment. To me this may be true of refugees in encampment. The perception portrayed in the various media is unfitting and a sharp contrast to the perceptions and experiences of refugee learners encountered in this study. I questioned for myself the potential image of refugee learners being powerless and helpless and felt that if all refugees shared that view outlined above, it would worsen their situation instead of empowering their aspirations, history and capacities. So I chose to ask the refugee learners.

This led to the purpose and core area of consideration of this study entitled " Perceptions and experiences of integration for refugee learners."

In this study I focused on refugee learners from African countries Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda and Kenya. It offers them a voice and makes them actors in their own stories. My study is intended to inform the reader of the personal experiences of refugees within a South African context shedding light on the specifics of access to and support from social services and other institutional and informal actors.

It was necessary to employ multiple research instruments to analyse the experiences of refugees who attend the site where I am currently based as an educator. Preliminary questionnaires completed by refugee learners revealed themes integral to their experience and perception of integration: living arrangements, social resources, and education. These themes were further explored one-on-one interviews, focus group discussion and a snap survey.

It is my view that institutional resources already in place by stakeholders are not fully utilised as refugee learners are often an after-thought in the service provision for citizen children. Refugee learners encounter difficulties in accessing education facilities and

living arrangements do not consistently meet protection requirements. As a result, refugee learners frequently experience isolation and confusion regarding their present and future stakes in South Africa. Based on these findings, this study will make recommendations for policy design and development of programme for refugee integration within the broader South African society.

DEDICATION

To my parents
Late Mr & Mrs E.M.Pillay

Who served as champions of education.

To loved ones who passed away during the process of this study
Sharmala Pillay, Farida Dawood and Thulsile Ntshangase

You were extraordinary women, who touched my life.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Although research is an individual effort, its success depends to a certain extent on the co-operation and assistance of other people. I would have been very limited in my sources and outcomes had it not been for the unwavering support and guidance of the following people:

- * An Almighty God, Yahweh Elohim of Israel for being the Light unto my path.
- * My supervisor, Dr S. Singh of the Faculty of Education at the University of Kwa-Zulu Natal for her leadership, guidance, critical comments and specific instructions.
- * Farida Patel for her navigational skills and constructive criticism.
- * Jayce Padayachee for insightful and interrogative exploration of ideas, as well as for editing the final copy.
- * The participants, many refugee learners, who were instrumental and pivotal to the research. You demonstrate daily, that with hard work comes success.
- * The non- refugee participants who offered to participate with such enthusiasm.
- * My husband, Michael Gramanie, for his constant motivation and unstinting support.
- * My children, Michael Cameron and Tiara - for allowing me time to complete my research. You are my anchor.
- * My mother-in-law, Poospavathie Patchappen, whose selflessness is an inspiration. Thank you for your patience, understanding and affection.
- * Friends and family who made the challenging journey of learning so enriching with anecdotes and stimulating conversation.

DECLARATION

I, Pushpagandhi Gramanie, declare that this dissertation is my own original work and that all the sources I have used are acknowledged by means of appropriate reference.

This work has not been presented previously for any other degree.

P.GRAMANIE

DATE

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

	PAGE
4.1 Table 1: Participants in Semi- structured interviews	32

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TOPICS	PAGE
Abstract	i-ii
Dedication	iii
Acknowledgement	iv
Declaration	v
List of Tables	vi
Table of Contents	vii-viii
CHAPTER 1	
<i>Spot the Alien, Crossing</i>	
1.1 Introduction	1-2
1.2 Statement of the problem	2
1.3 Critical questions	2
1.4 Rationale for Study	2-5
1.5 Literature Survey	5-11
1.6 Definition of concepts	11
1.6.1 refugee	11-12
1.6.2 community and locality	12-13
1.7 Methodology	13-14
1.7.1 Defining the sample	14
1.7.2 The research instruments	14
1.7.2.1 The Questionnaire	14
1.7.2.2 Semi Structured Interview	15
1.7.2.3 Snap Survey	15
1.7.2.4 Focus Group Discussion	15-16
1.8 Validation	16
1.9 Limitations of the Study	16
1.10 Outline of Chapters	17
1.11 Summary	17-18
CHAPTER 2	
<i>Moving beyond the legacy of entrapment</i>	
2.1 Introduction	19
2.2 Two Way Street	19-24
2.3 Conclusion	24-25
CHAPTER 3	
<i>Colouring within and outside the lines</i>	
3.1 Introduction	26
3.2 Aim of the study	26
3.3 Collecting data	27-28

3.4 Methodologies used	28-31
3.5 Sampling procedures	32
3.6 Sampling of subjects for the study	32-35
3.7 Measuring instrument	35-36
3.8 Validity	36-37
3.9 Conclusion	37-38

CHAPTER 4

Constructing realities through blue lens

4.1 Introduction	39
4.2 General profile of the refugee learners	39-40
4.3 Data Analysis	40-41
4.3.1 Local understandings of integration	41-43
4.3.2 "Building bridges": Factors that supported integration	
4.3.2.1 Expectation of relationships	44-47
4.3.2.2 Responses to locality	47
4.3.2.3 Personal safety	47-48
4.3.2.4 Human rights	48
4.3.2.5 Education	48-49
4.3.3 "Burning bridges": Factors that hindered integration	
4.3.3.1 Safety and Stability	49-50
4.3.3.2 English language skills	50-51
4.3.3.3 Access to Social services	51-53
4.3.3.4 Cultural understandings	53-54
4.3.4 Grey Areas	54
4.3.4.1 Living Arrangements	55
4.3.4.2 Employment	55
4.3.4.3 Healthcare	55-56
4. 3 Summary	56-58

CHAPTER 5

You have left me wandering about 59

5.1 Introduction	60
5. Recommendations	60
5.2.1 Access to public relief and social assistance	60
5.2.2 Resettlement as a protection tool	60-61
5.2.3 Networking	61-62
5.2.4 Relationship with the mass media	62
5.2.5 Funding	62-63
5.3 Conclusion	63-65

BIBLIOGRAPHY	66-70
APPENDICES	
Appendix A	71-77
Appendix B	78

CHAPTER ONE

Spot the Alien, Crossing

The refugee situation begins with a mass movement of people across a border due to gross violations of human rights, massive insecurity or war in their home country. When the refugees have reached safety in a new country their first priority is to find shelter and enough food and water to survive. After these basic needs have been attended to and the initial shock of displacement has subsided, the refugees begin to turn their minds to the future. (Brown, T.1995:113)

1.1 Introduction

The title "Spot the alien crossing" is adapted from Williams, V (1999) who conducted studies on people living in urban environments who have been legally classified as refugees.

South Africa is changing and is in the process of becoming a more multi-ethnic and multi-cultural society. The largely peaceful transformation in South Africa in the first half of the 1990s was a remarkable study in the possibilities of peaceful conflict-resolution. The process of transformation and negotiation ended in the first general election of April 1994. Whereas previously, political emancipation occupied centre-stage, the main concern more recently was to overcome the economic divide between the races. In this quest, greater transparency is required in the approach adopted for refugees who also desire to occupy the seat of negotiation in a similar quest, to be recognised and afforded an opportunity to be integrated, to be assembled with those of the same ilk without apprehension.

The majority of countries hosting refugee populations are developing and poor countries and South Africa is one such country (Bouillon, A. 2001; Handmaker, J. 2001). This deduction is based on my reading for this study and conversations with refugee learners. The background reading and interaction with refugee learners for this study revealed that refugee learners are people who bring with them material assets and resources. They are people who demonstrate tremendous courage, determination and potential to thrive, a potential demonstrated time and again.

Refugee learners in particular demonstrate great resilience and survival skills in various contexts. Thus, the overarching inspiration to promote a better quality of life for refugee learners is to achieve and facilitate integration.

The purpose of this study is to identify local perception and experiences of integration of refugee learners. Such understandings could then be used to shape a framework to ensure that it was clearly relevant and accessible to the local school and wider communities with a resettling refugee community. This study was conducted with communities of refugee and non-refugees learners who attend the same school. Collectively, a total of six in-depth semi-structured interviews were held with refugee and non-refugees learners. This was further complemented by questionnaires, focus group discussion and snap survey data.

1.2 Statement of Purpose

The purpose of this study is to explore the perception and experiences of integration for refugee learners in respect of their access to and support from Social services and other institutional and informal actors.

1.3 Critical questions

1.3.1 What are the perceptions and experiences of integration for refugee learners in respect of their access to and support from Social services and other institutional and informal actors?

1.3.2 To what extent are the experiences of integration for refugee learners in respect of their access to and support from Social services and other institutional and informal actors, impeded or supported?

1.4 Rationale for study

A refugee's life is never an easy one, but it is especially tough on young people who are robbed of what should be the most formative, promising and exciting years of their lives. At a time when they should be full of hope and dreams for the future, they are instead faced with the harsh reality of displacement and deprivation. Despite the many hardships, young refugee learners are driven to excel because they know that it may be the only vehicle to realise their personal aspirations.

South Africa prides itself as having one of the most progressive constitutions in the world. The Bill of Rights guarantees a host of basic political, cultural and socio-economic rights to all who are resident in the country. Yet there have been persistent reports in local newspapers that citizen intolerance of non-citizens, refugees and migrants has escalated dramatically since 1994. The lack of research exploring the feelings and attitudes of the refugees in respect of their perceptions and experiences of integration particularly, in respect of their access to and support from Social services and other institutional and informal actors was noticeable during my reading for this research. There is no current research paper or book known to me that explores this issue. Instead, many researchers tend to concentrate extensively and exclusively on the lived experiences of refugees in camps, repatriation, xenophobic attitude towards refugees and so on (Turton, 2004; Morris and Bouillon, 2001).

My first interaction with refugee learners was in January 2000. It was for me a unique and unusual experience. My observation and curiosity generated a host of questions about the refugee learners with whom I have since developed an umbilical conduit. I began asking myself: how do refugee learners integrate with the community at school which is a foreign milieu, where the medium of instruction is probably a third or fourth language to many of them? What are their experiences of integration that may shape their behaviour, attitudes and manners? What are the social challenges that these learners experience which impact on their being? To what extent are refugee learners made to feel welcomed or unwelcomed at the school? What is the broader community interaction socially and culturally? What means of support do they have? Do they have parents or are they unaccompanied minors, (that is, refugees who have come to South Africa without adult family support)?

The relationship that developed between us convinced me that these children are as important as all other learners and cursory conversations with them revealed painful yet fascinating vignettes about their past and the fact that these vignettes have never been documented and or analysed prompted me to embark on this study.

Centenary Secondary is a public school built then by the state in 1975 to cater exclusively for learners of Indian descent from Asherville, Springtown and Springfield areas. That ethos remained until the late 1900's when the mission statement of the

school was revised to align itself with the five year plan for the transformational development of the school. Since 1998 a revision of the admission policy of Centenary Secondary -that once served the purposes of the state, and kept learners segregated - was gradually transformed with the increasing intake of learners of all races, including learners of refugee status. Similarly other schools have since relaxed their admission policies. Whilst most learners who attend this school reside within a five-kilometre radius the school does not preclude learners offering to travel via public or private transport. There are several other secondary schools within closer proximity to the residences of refugee learners. However the decision, refugee learners take with their parents or caregivers, to attend Centenary Secondary is primarily because of the open-door policy of the school and its continued alliance with NGO's who interact with refugees. It was a natural choice for me to explore the particular site as I am located here and it is the basis of this research I conducted from January 2005 to December 2005. It is my intention to highlight the integration priorities defined by refugee learners themselves and to offer viable solutions to address the acute needs of refugees as identified in this study.

Although there has been much research done in the field of refugees there is not much undertaken on perceptions and experiences of integration for refugee learners in an urban learning context. It is hoped that this research will contribute to the creation of (a) framework to inform leaders, N.G.O's, service providers and other stakeholders and participants to (b) interrogate their existing practices and policies (c) rescind and or reformulate their policies relating to support services that they offer to refugees.

What is integration? Many studies on refugee integration indicate that refugees have different understandings of integration than do the institutions, which design integration programmes (Valtonen 1998; Hjelde 1995). "Full and Equal Citizens", as outlined in the South African Constitution does not offer a definition of integration. The concept has proved very difficult to define, and is often used with different emphases and meanings by different groups. Analysis of existing definitions of the term 'integration' showed that although there was considerable variation in the use of the term. There were a number of recurrent themes and issues reflected in such definitions. For this reason, this study sought to understand integration as how refugee learners themselves perceived their goals and needs when settling in the locality of

Durban. To a refugee integration needs included secure housing, full time education, special language training, friends and community support, option to remain, and a secure future: To learn English...To go to school...To study...To help the community.

This qualitative study was thus designed as a key phase of the wider need to revise the current admission and language policy at schools as well as to inform social services and other institutional and informal actors whom refugees interact with. The focus of the study was not on measuring the level of integration achieved in the areas studied, but discovering how local populations judged the extent to which integration had been achieved. Refugees' views were clearly important in this, but so were the views of the wider communities in which they were settling. This study thus addressed the views of both refugee and non-refugee learners concerning integration and the factors which influence integration at the local level. Local level refers to the immediate context of the community they learn and live with.

The specific goals of the study were:

- to identify local understandings of the concept of integration;
- to identify factors seen locally to support, or disrupt, the process of integration.

1.5 Literature Survey

A substantial volume of refugee studies has been dominated by agency requirements for conventional forms of policy analysis, project appraisal and programme evaluation with the focus placed primarily on refugee campsites. Moreover, bureaucratic activity, in any field, creates difficult phenomena to analyse. Whilst there exists powerful conceptual tools to analyse public administrative practice, that is not the focus of this study. Furthermore, agencies do not necessarily yield data about their latent characteristics, practices and objectives. This is especially so in the cases concerning refugee assistance agencies (Zetter, R.1998: 3).

One of the most significant problems presently for refugees is that repatriation is not necessarily a spontaneous occurrence. Indeed, it is now generally understood that refugees who have lived through violent experiences such as war or torture may suffer severe psychological distress during resettlement, given the fact that traumatic events are rarely isolated incidents, but rather violent processes which persist in destroying the psyche long after their actual occurrence, even when far distant from danger (Manz 1995:161) Permanent resettlement and its founding principle of non-refoulement¹, however, may afford refugees some degree of psychological assurance by implying that they should never again have to "face their perpetrators or the scene of violence, and thus they may cope with their memories and experiences of violence in a setting vastly removed from that in which the trauma occurred" (Newman, J.2003: 35).

One of the durable solutions promoted by United Nations High Commission for Refugees (hereafter referred to as UNHCR) in protracted situations is local integration, where refugees are offered permanent asylum and integration into the host society by the host government. As set out in international refugee conventions,² local integration refers to the granting of full and permanent asylum, membership and residency status, by the host government. It takes place through a process of legal, economic, social and cultural incorporation of refugees, culminating in the offer of citizenship (Kibread 1989:469). Refugees with this status expectedly enjoy a range of human and civil rights, often referred to as 'refugee rights' which are set out in the

¹ The principle of *non-refoulement* is central to the security offered by host nations to refugees, providing a basic guarantee of protection. Refugee advocates and commentators alike, all agree *non-refoulement* is a fundamental principle of international refugee protection. After all, what's the point of offering protection if refugees can be sent back to face persecution at the whim of governments?

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) has raised concerns that despite wide recognition of the importance of *non-refoulement*, this principle has not always been observed by states. Signatory nations to the 1951 Convention have been guilty of disregarding the principle of *non-refoulement* in domestic refugee law and policy.

² Article 34 of the 1951 refugee Convention calls for host states to integrate refugees: "The Contracting States shall as far as possible facilitate the assimilation and naturalization of refugees. They shall in particular make every effort to expedite naturalization of refugees

1951 Convention and other international instruments,³ and include the right to marry, to practice one's own religion, to own property, to work and seek employment, and to have access to education and housing.

During the Cold War, permanent asylum and local integration were widely practiced particularly in asylum countries in the West. In developing countries, the full offer of permanent asylum and integration was less widely implemented. Many host governments, particularly in Africa, permitted refugees to settle amongst the local host community without official assistance- a practice known as self-settlement. However, the legal aspects of local integration, which require that refugees be granted full refugee status, permanent residency and other human and civil rights, were seldom granted by host governments in developing countries (Jacobsen, K:2001:1).

Research conducted by UNHCR on refugee related issues reveal that in recent years, even the practice of allowing self settlement has been restricted, and only a small number of governments, including Uganda, Mexico and Belize, have offered refugees who cannot or do not wish to repatriate, the opportunity for local integration. In both developed and developing host countries, the preference is for temporary protection and restrictions on refugees, including encampment, until repatriation take place. Local integration with its connotation of permanence, has fallen out of political favour, and the term is now a loaded one arousing negative reactions in host governments and donor agencies alike (Jacobsen, K: 2001:2).

Refugees were increasingly associated with security problems and increased criminal activity. In addition, refugees were seen to impose economic and environmental burdens on the host community, and were blamed for a variety of social ills and problems affecting the local population in the hosting area. In these circumstances, host governments sought to impose restrictions on refugees, and began to insist that they stay only temporarily (Jacobsen, K: 2001:2). To quote one observer, "In a

³ 1981 UNHCR Executive Committee Conclusions defines 16 basic human standards that asylum seekers should enjoy pending local integration

refugee context questions of development and human capabilities are put on hold – the situation is supposed to be merely temporary after all.”⁴

In recent years there has been little research on the process of local integration and its consequences for refugees and their hosts. There has been even less research addressing the pertinent issue of perceptions and experiences of integration for refugees in respect of their access to and support from social services and other institutional and informal actors. There is however, extensive research conducted by agencies throughout the world where the refugee population exists with tremendous focus on encampment and its challenges, much of which is conducted by refugee agencies. This study seeks to remedy the ‘research gap’ by exploring perceptions and experiences of integration for refugee learners in respect of their access to and support from social services and other institutional and informal actors at a local level.

According to Zetter (1998) being a refugee " is a universal rather than a unique phenomenon" (p4) with so many dimensions and aspects for research and discussion. Yet, research conducted in the area of refugees in general, focus predominantly on the following issues :

Consistent and effective steps in safeguarding displaced people at risk (Hyndman, 2000);

Plight of refugees, their use of services, their access to housing and employment and government policies designed to assist them. (Boyle, Halfacree and Robinson, 1998:194);

Xenophobic attitude towards refugees, particularly those from other African countries as local people see no distinction between refugees, immigrants (legal and immigrants) and asylum seekers. (Morris and Bouillon.2001: 90; Handmaker, J and Parsley, J.2001); and

Analysing and describing negative and harmful aspects of refugees' lives and living conditions. (Cernea and Mc Dowell 2004:4; Strachan and Peters 1997:vii)

⁴ Minimum Standards and Essential Needs in a Protracted Refugee Situation. A Review of the UNHCR Programme in Kakuma, Kenya. UNHCR/EPAU/2000/05, November 2000. http://www.unhcr.ch/evaluate/reports/epau00_05.pdf

Little research has been conducted on experiences of integration in South Africa. Research by Denis Kadima on refugees and immigrants in Johannesburg reveals that since the 1994 elections, both immigrants and locals have perceived a new level of discrimination against refugees and foreigners in schools. Refugees are considered synonymously with foreigners and associated with some negativity (Morris and Bouillon.2001: 116). Similar themes have been explored by human rights and refugee agencies in South Africa focussing on xenophobia (UNHCR; South African Human Rights Commission; Handmaker, J and Parsley, J.2001; Kollappen, J. 1999.)

In the review of literature with regard to refugee children and education in South Africa, The Draft Refugee White Paper (submitted by the white paper for refugee affairs task team) is fairly silent about the education of refugee learners and does not respond to the responsibility of the state in managing refugee learners at South African Schools. The only mention is made in Section 6.2 Public Education and Awareness where the document suggest that in order to counter the perceptions of refugees, efforts should be made to include human rights education in order that a culture of peace, tolerance and understanding may be fostered among the youth (Article unpublished: 2002).

Access to education, moreover, has also been identified as a fundamental human right. Article 28 of the United Nations 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) states that "Each child has the right to education" (CRC 1989). Refugee children are covered by this treaty, since all CRC rights are to be granted to all persons under 18 years of age (Article 1) without discrimination of any kind (Article 2)"

In an extract from the UNHCR Country Operation Plan (Overview) for South Africa, 2006 it is stated that:

UNHCR will continue to promote repatriation for those refugees who are able to return home in safety and dignity. In 2005, South Africa signed the legal framework for the voluntary repatriation of Rwanda refugees, paving the way for UNHCR to launch promotional activities. However, many Rwandans in South Africa have already indicated their reluctance to return home and projected numbers for voluntary

repatriation during 2006 should therefore remain modest. Resettlement will continue to be managed as an alternative durable solution in support of refugee protection (p.4).

This study will implicitly and/ or explicitly provide clarity and understanding to the following aspects of whether refugees are locally *de facto*⁵ integrated:
are not in physical danger (and do not live under the threat of refoulement);
are not confined to camps or settlements, and have the right of return to their home country;
are able to sustain livelihoods, through access to land or employment, and can support themselves and their families;
have access to education or vocational training, health facilities, and housing;

These descriptors will feature prominently in the discussion in this study because it explores actual experiences in tandem with perceptions of both refugee and non-refugee learners to determine to what extent local integration is enabled or impeded. It also discusses the context in which local integration occurs – i.e. the variables that characterises integration. Consideration is given to the main obstacles to local integration and examination of the conditions that enable or inhibit local integration focussing not on including government policies and external assistance but rather on relations between the refugees and the host community, and the attitudes of the refugees themselves.

Kibreab (1989) argues that, given the absence of burden-sharing, the economic problems, the inability of governments to provide essential goods and services to their own citizens, and the high population growth rates, the “most realistic” approach for African host countries is the local settlement option. He argued that refugees should be kept in spatially segregated sites where the cost of their subsistence could be met by “international refugee support systems.” He said, “All other talk about integration is wishful thinking based on inadequate understanding of the economic, social and

⁵ Although no formal definition exists, the term is used in a number of Western European countries as to refer to persons, who are found not to meet the definition of the 1951 Convention but nevertheless are considered to be in need of international protection due to the conditions in their country or origin.

political realities of the present day Africa.” (Kibreab 1989: 474). Kibreab’s position is reflected in the widely held view of host governments that refugees should be restricted to camps or settlements because there they are less likely to compete with locals for scarce resources.

While further debate is required, 'speaking the language of states' can reinforce the protection of refugees by ensuring that the quality and quantity of asylum is increased.

1.6 Definition of concepts

Operational definition is essential in research because the data must be collected in terms of observable events (Ary, et.al.1996:29). The operational definition of a concept is to some extent an arbitrary procedure, depending on anyone. The concepts selected to be defined in this study is to give the reader the context within which I use them. The concepts to be operationally defined are: refugee, community and locality.

1.6.1 Refugee

Current operational definitions of refugee are enshrined in the 1951 Convention and the 1967 Protocol (UNHCR pamphlet). Becoming a refugee or a displaced person means that one, by some degree of force, has to move from one’s place of residence to another place (Brun, 2001:15). International law defines refugees as people who are unable or unwilling to return to their countries because of well founded fear of persecution based on their race, religion, nationality, political opinion or belonging to a particular group (Goodwin-Gill, G.2004: 1; UNHCR pamphlet). The Oxford Dictionary defines refugee as 'person taking refuge in foreign country from religious or political persecution, or from war, earthquake etc'. Adelman offers an extension to this definition by adding the following:

...they may simply be fleeing wanton killing and indiscriminate violence, compulsory military service in a war they did not support, or may be subjected to coercion and intimidation but not outright persecution (p.7).

An excerpt from his keynote address on World Refugee Day 2003, the former Minister of Education, Professor Kader Asmal stated: "The word 'refugee' suggests protection, comfort and hospitality. But the word 'refugee' suggests loneliness,

separation from loved ones, impermanence, and waiting... Refugees are a special category of people recognised as warranting protection by the international community. They are children, women and men who have been forced to flee conflict, persecution and serious human rights violation, and who find themselves in countries such as our own."

South Africa is obligated to protect and assist refugees by virtue of been a signatory to the 1951 Convention and 1967 Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees and the 1969 Organisation for African Unity (OAU) Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa. (REFERENCE- Kader Asmal address)

The term 'refugee' is today used in a broader context than the legal definition of the 1951 Geneva Convention which was formulated in response to those displaced in Europe as a result of the Second World War. Having examined the various definitions on refugees, for the purpose of this study a refugee will be defined as a person who is forced to seek refuge in a host country -South Africa , primarily due to political unrest in home country.

Refugees are registered with the Department of Home Affairs upon arrival and are provided with interim documents validating their identity and status as refugee. This document allows parents, guardians or caregivers to submit upon application for placement at an institution of learning. The admission policy of the school informs the process from thereon. The principal is in part protected by the South African Schools Act 1997, which makes provision for the admission of refugee learners with appropriate documents.

1.6.2 Community and Locality

Some literature focuses on community as a geographical area; some on a group of people living in a particular place; and others that looked to community as an area of common life. It is helpful for this study to begin by noting that "community can be approached as a value" (Frazer 2000: 76). As such it may well be used to bring together a number of elements, for example, solidarity, commitment, mutuality and

trust. Community can also be approached as a descriptive category or set of variables. In practice the two are entwined and often difficult to separate (Frazer 2000: 76).

Territorial or place community can be seen as where people have something in common, and this shared element is understood geographically. Another way of naming this is as 'locality'. Willmott (1989) argues that it is legitimate to add a further understanding of community – that of attachment – as communities of place or interest may not have a sense of shared identity.

Anthony P. Cohen's (1982; 1985) work around belonging and attachment is a great help in this respect. He argues that communities are best approached as 'communities of meaning'. In other words, "community" plays a crucial symbolic role in generating people's sense of belonging' (Crow and Allan 1994: 6).

Cohen (1985) argues that 'community' involves two related suggestions that the members of a group have something in common with each other; and the thing held in common distinguishes them in a significant way from the members of other possible groups (p.12). Community, thus, implies both similarity and difference. Here I want to suggest that a sense of belonging and the concrete experience of social networks (and the relationships of trust etc. that are involved) can bring significant benefits. However, the sense of attachment and quality of social networks varies greatly between the different 'communities' that people define.

1.7 Methodology

A significant way to engage the refugee learners in "telling their stories" was to undertake this research with them. In order to understand the perceptions and experiences of the refugee learners it was critical to adopt a research methodology that suitably characterises such research. The literature study thus far reveals that there is limited evidence which elucidates refugee perception and experiences of integration. Hence, in order to explore and document or record experiences of refugee learners it was appropriate to undertake this qualitative study. The collection of data was through preliminary completion of a questionnaire, followed by one on one semi-structured interview schedule with refugees and finally a group discussion with select

group of refugee learners and group of non-refugee learners. In addition, a snap survey of the views of other refugees and non-refugees was conducted over two successive days. All questions formulated were intended to offer insight into the critical questions (outlined in page 2. Chapter 1,1.3)

What are the perceptions and experiences of integration for refugee learners in respect of their access to and support from social services and other institutional and informal actors? and,

To what extent are the experiences of integration for refugee learners in respect of their access to and support from Social services and other institutional and informal actors, positive or negative?

1.7.1 Defining the Sample

This study was conducted at Centenary Secondary School, which is located in the district of Asherville, neighbouring Sydenham and Overport. Asherville was previously demarcated for Indians only, in terms of the Group Areas Act. This school was built 30 years ago by the State Education Department and maintained substantially by the Department of Indian Education. Presently, there are forty five refugee learners at this school - 26 of whom participated in this study either through one or more of the following: completion of questionnaire, semi-structured interview, group discussion or snap survey.

Of the twenty-six there were 17 male and 9 females. They are from grade 8 to grade 12. The first language for many of the participants is either Swahili or French.

1.7.2 The research instruments

In order to gather data I administered questionnaires, semi-structured interviews, snap survey and group discussions with groups of refugee and non-refugee learners at Centenary Secondary.

1.7.2.1 Questionnaire

According to Schumacher and Macmillan (1993:238) the questionnaire is the most widely used techniques for obtaining information from subjects. A questionnaire is relatively economical, has standardised questions, can ensure anonymity and questions can be written for specific purposes. One of the disadvantages of a

questionnaire is that much emphasis is placed on writing. As a preliminary exploration, questionnaires were offered to all refugees to elicit responses to the critical questions. The responses guided the research thereafter.

1.7.2.2 Semi-structured interview

A semi structured interview schedule with refugee learners was used to obtain relevant information on what are the perceptions and experiences of integration for refugees in respect of their access to and support from social services and other institutional and informal actors? And, to what extent the experiences of integration for refugee learners in respect of their access to and support from Social services and other institutional and informal actors, were supported or impeded?

The interviews were conducted by me personally as I am of the opinion that this was the most effective way of obtaining relevant information for the following reasons:

semi-structured interview allow greater flexibility;

minimal disruptions are placed on the respondents answers;

one can gain insight into the character and intensity of the respondents attitudes, prejudice, beliefs, affinities through gentle probing -particularly on individual personal learning experiences that may be emotionally laden;

and allow me, the researcher, the opportunity to analyse both the verbal and non-verbal responses

I constructed the semi-structured interview schedule that comprised primarily open-ended questions. This format allowed respondents to offer freely as much information as they wish on the subject of learner perception and experiences of integration.

1.7.2.3 Snap Survey

General views of the greater refugee and non-refugee learner population would be additional data that serve to correlate with and support findings.

1.7.2.4 Focus group discussion

The focus group suggests participation or interaction of a select group (twenty refugee learners) with each other rather than the researcher. Focus groups are continued settings, bringing together a specifically chosen population to discuss a particular

theme or topic where the interaction with the group leads to data and outcomes (Cohen, Manion and Morrison.2000). The motivation for use of this instrument was to allow me the opportunity to 'fill in the gaps' in the extraction of data from questionnaires and one- on- one semi-structured interview, to clarify learner responses hence rendering greater validity and reliability to the data that was be generated.

1.8 Validation

Validity is generally concerned with the extent to which an instrument measures what it is supposed to measure (Ary,D et al. 1996z; 262). To strengthen validity of the instrument, in this case the questionnaire, a pilot study was conducted with five randomly selected refugee learners. Furthermore, to strengthen content validity, one-on- one individual interview and subsequent focus group discussion was conducted on participants, including those in the pilot study. Guidance in the form of clarity of questions was given when requested.

1.9 Limitations of the study

Though this study was carefully considered and constructed there are a few limitations that need to be acknowledged and fore-grounded:

The sample was purposively drawn from refugee learners of a specific site;
Such a sampling technique does not give equal chances to other potential participants from other sites to be considered for the study. This type of sample is not fully representative of the entire population of refugees. From such a sample it is not possible to generalise as it is a non-probability sampling;
Only one site with twenty-six refugee learners participated in the study;
Questionnaires, individual interviews and focus group discussions may not necessarily concur with each other because of the researcher being unable to speak in the home language of the participant and an interpreter was not considered because of cost factors.

1.10 Outline of chapters

In Chapter 1, I presented the orientation of this study. The reader was gradually introduced to the actual research to be undertaken, the experiences of integration for refugee learners in respect of their access to and support from Social services and other institutional and informal actors.

Chapter two deals with the literature review. The focus is on the studies and research undertaken in the context of refugees, attempting to guide discussion towards perceptions and experiences of integration of refugees in different contexts.

Chapter 3 focuses on methodology with a discussion on various methods that were used to collect relevant data for the study. The qualitative approach was selected to enable me to obtain information directly from the people involved and affected by the situation. Exposition of the empirical research design and procedures of exploration are explained in detail. A questionnaire borne with general questions was initially offered for completion in a pilot study. This was subsequently edited and offered to remaining participants. Each questionnaire was collected. The responses to the questionnaire in the pilot study informed the selection of participants for the semi-structured group discussion with refugees and non-refugees. The final focus group discussion was intended to fill in the gaps. Snap survey data was used to strengthen findings or prompt review of position of myself, as researcher.

Chapter four presents the analysis and interpretation of data and the presentation of findings with key factors identified within the community as supporting processes of integration. Finally, chapter five deals with the summary of the research, conclusions, and recommendations and limitations of this study.

1.11 Summary

Organisations such as the UNHCR and NGOs are also influential in enabling local integration, which UNHCR views as the next best outcome for refugees, if repatriation cannot occur. However, in all host countries UNHCR must work with the host government, and where the latter is opposed to integration UNHCR can at best

try to influence the government, but cannot determine the outcome. While these powerful organisations are catalyst that can contribute to effective integration, much also depends on the human factor: the refugees and host.

CHAPTER 2

Moving beyond the legacy of entrapment

'When Is a Refugee not a Refugee?' (Andrews, B. Lacey. 2003:3)

2.1 Introduction

"Beautiful City! So venerable, so lovely, so unravaged by the fierce intellectual life of our century, so serene" (Dougill, 1998,pp146 and 151)

Rhodes had a tremendous attachment to Oxford so much so that he was dying in Africa while thinking of Oxford. This is an aide memoire of the power places have to call forth an emotional response in us, a power which is especially powerful when skilfully and artfully linked to the ideology of nationalism.

2.2 Two Way Street

It is natural to ask the question: Where does this power of place that is referred to in the introduction, come from? Particularly, since it is an effective means of arousing collective sentiment and mobilising common action in the hands of poets, intellectuals and politicians. Renee Hirschon's search for the answer is pointed out in the following comment: " 'in most societies', place and personhood are conceptualised as 'inextricably bound up together' (2001,p.2)" This raises further challenges as one would question how this 'inextricable link' between personhood and place come about. As an analogy,I refer to it as 'The Two Way' street. Furthermore, as Turton (2004:3) expounds:

"what about the 'world we live in' as it is so often called, the industrialised world of late modernity where the individual's lifespan is becoming 'separated' from the externalities of place(Giddens, p.146); where '[f]amiliarity (with social events and people as well as with places) no longer depends solely, or even primarily, upon local milieux'(Giddens,op.cit.,p.147); and where there consequently exists a 'generalised sense of homelessness' (said,1979,p.18, quoted by Kibread,1999,p.385)? "

Spurred by globalisation, the theory of place, as it is called by anthropologists serves the purpose of this study. Behind the relatively unchanged exterior of the refugees there must have taken place, a conceptual change of the utmost importance, personally, historically, socially, culturally: a change in the way refugees collectively imagine the world, and their place within it.

Refugee status is considered the "perilous territory of not belonging" (Peteet, J. 1995:170) with the refugee "hover[ing] at the edges of [his/] (my own addition) her adopted society, an alien body" (Menon 1999:163). Such is the plight of many refugees within Kwa-Zulu Natal particularly when they do not have documents for prolonged periods of time.

Appadurai (1996) chooses neighbourhood as an alternative to place, on the ground that neighbourhood 'suggests sociality, immediacy and reproducibility' (p.204) Hence 'locality' may be synonymous with 'sense of place'. Irrespective of its setting, be it modern or pre-modern, the one aspect that is underlined, is that retaining a sense of place includes building of houses and settlements, to rituals of all kinds. Rituals of naming and initiation are portrayed as particularly important to place-making, because, "with their spatial and temporal symbolism, they are designed to produce 'local subjects, actors who properly belong to a situated community of kin, neighbours, friends and enemies". (op.cit., p.170). What is evident is that locality is everywhere an 'inherently fragile achievement' (Turton.2004.p.15). For us to further understand how this theory may be applied to the local refugee community it is worthwhile to explore Appadurai's (1996) analysis of context presented in Turton's discussion. Let me present his ideas that support my present purposes through the following extraction:

Neighbourhoods- the substantive social forms' in which locality is realised- imply contexts in two sense. First they are contexts" they provide the 'frame or setting' for the conduct of meaningful human action and for the production of local subjects' (Appadurai, op.cit.p184). Second they require and produce contexts: they have to be carved out from 'some sort of hostile or recalcitrant environment', which may include other neighbourhoods. In this sense, "the

production of a neighbourhood is inherently colonizing' because it involves the assertion of socially...organized power over places and settings that are viewed as potentially chaotic or rebellious" (p.183-1814)." (Turton. 2004.p.15)

It has been rightly pointed out, by Gavin Kibread and David Parkin among others, that the way people experience movement to a new place, and the extent to which this is a shocking and disruptive experience, is determined by the conditions under which they move. (Kibread,G.1999,p.406; Parkin,D.1999.p.309). Turner contends that if a refugee has faced intense traumas in his home, this compounds the experience of alienation and may inhibit success of integration into the asylum country (1995:63).

In the case of the refugees the interviews endorse the idea that what makes the difference is the relationship between the contexts that neighbourhoods create and those they encounter. This is classified as 'social power'. The South African context is different, to those portrayed in most other contexts that examine and comment on refugee camp which are described as "context- produced" rather than "context-generative". They include contexts such as concentration camps, urban slums, ghettos, and prisons. South Africa does not have a policy on encampment and therefore refugees (and asylum seekers) have the freedom of movement and could generally settle anywhere. In reality, a significant community of refugees choose to live within close proximity of each other.

The tendency for refugees to cluster in certain areas due to safety concerns, shared language, culture and economic status is not unique to the South African context. In the South African context, a worldwide paradox appears to exist when certain foreigners live in close proximity for, amongst other reasons, mutual protection and group identity.

An understanding of group identity must be coupled with relative deprivation, defined as 'the perceived discrepancy between what a person obtains and what he believes he is entitled to obtain' (Deutsch, M. 1985,p.51). A variable that is central to an understanding of distributive justice is what Deutsch calls the scope of moral community"(p.4). This variable determines to whom a specific perception of justice is applicable. The scope of a moral community permits a number of actions that would

otherwise be forbidden as 'as the narrower one's conception of one's community, the narrower will be the scope of situations in which one's actions will be governed by considerations of justice' (p.4)

Zetter argues, identity is one of the key points of analysis in refugee life and mechanisms of refugee control (1991). Malkki confirms this, writing, " identity is a highly mouldable, dynamic key element in the creation of peoples' (self-) images, especially when it comes to refugeeness" (1992:308). As is well documented, refugees (and immigrants) commonly grapple with changing identities in strange foreign contexts, often in unknown languages, among unknown people, amidst an unknown land. Indeed, their professed alienation and identity confusion is easily understood, given the social and cultural transformations that occur upon entry. It is highly probable that reconfiguration and ambiguities of personal and social identity will occur.

Malkki (1992) describes the inseparability of identity from place and implicitly suggests that when natural ties to land are severed so too are individual identities. To what extent this may be applicable to the present participants in the study cannot be fully documented. However, an aspect that can be considered with South Africa's history of apartheid, with separation between races, races may find it difficult to welcome and 'embrace' people who were alien to them before. Thus when it comes to refugees, local who " ha[ve] no history of incorporating strangers may find it difficult to be welcoming" (Morris,A.1998.p.1125).

If a host population perceives the incoming refugee s 'one of us', positive and generous conceptions of distributive justice will apply. As Loescher argues "...in the Third World, the remarkable receptivity provided to millions ... has been facilitated by the ethnic and linguistic characteristics they share with their hosts (1992:42) Conversely, if the refugees are seen as members of an 'out group', they are likely to receive a hostile reception (ibid).

Recently, South Africa has started to recognise refugee rights in areas such as health, education and social welfare. These improvements have come after sustained and intensive advocacy by UNHCR and its partners. In an Appendix to the overview of

Country Operations Plan for South Africa it is stated that the Department of Home Affairs, with the support of UNHCR has acquired a new refugee registration system and is putting in place a refugee database. Both were operationalised in 2005, ensuring refugee registration and the availability of planning data is in accordance with UNHCR standards. Despite major gains during the past two years, still more than half of the recognised refugees remain without a proper identity document. Without documentation, refugees cannot meaningfully pursue employment opportunities or access local services. (p.2) In addition the same document mentions that despite intensive advocacy, progress regarding refugee access to the country's social safety net, including 'social grants', has remained elusive. This is particularly critical in view of the increasing number of refugees needing medical attention. (p.3)

What has becoming increasingly evident from my reading is that the financial outlay per person, provided by UNHCR has been reduced in order to cater for more refugees. However, a gap remains between the needs of the refugees (even as identified under the restrictive criteria and imperatives of the existing UNHCR policies), and available funds. There is no government programme providing specific assistance to asylum seekers and refugees.

Refugees face serious obstacles in their pursuit of self-reliance and local integration. In an Appendix to the overview of Country Operations Plan for South Africa it is acknowledged that South Africa has an official unemployment figure of 27.8 per cent (March 2004) as well as widespread xenophobia. (p.5). UNHCR has been actively involved in the "Roll back Xenophobia" campaign. New opportunities for co-operation are offered by the creation of a separate anti-xenophobia unit within the Department of Home Affairs. To promote self-reliance, UNHCR has been supporting a variety of programmes including English classes, vocational training, job placement and small business loans.

One of the main issues UNHCR was concerned about is the appropriateness of current policies and practices with regard to its work with urban refugees. UNHCR is seeking to identify ways of responding to ever growing refugee problems in a broader context, by addressing the needs of entire caseloads rather than dealing with individuals and small groups. This suggests that providing for individual needs is not the focus; rather

to share limited resources with as many refugees as possible. It is evident from discussion papers of the UNHCR that UNHCR is no longer in a position to continue to support individual refugees. The problem lies with the donor, who may not be able or willing to commit support for long-term care and maintenance of urban cases. This places the UNHCR in a dilemma. Whilst there is no mandate to assist refugees, the question arises as to how broadly the organisation should interpret its mandate to protect. In the Discussion Paper on Policy and Practice regarding Urban refugees the UNHCR outlines that urban refugees constitute less than 2% of UNHCR's refugee caseload (and less than 1% of the total caseload of concern to the High Commissioner) yet demand a disproportionate amount (estimated at between 10-15%) of the organization's human and financial resources (p.2). This translates in our present context to small urban caseloads, a low priority.

Full protection of refugees requires the attainment of a degree of self-sufficiency and local integration with the host community for the duration of their exile. Refugees should not be ignored, nor their needs diminished. Assisting refugees to become self-sufficient will enable refugees to lead a productive life, which would make them assets rather than liabilities to the host country and facilitate their integration within the local community. Furthermore, allowing refugees to use their skills or develop new ones while in exile will facilitate meaningful reintegration into their countries of origin if and when they are able to return (should they make that choice).

2.3 Conclusion

This chapter discussed how people experience place and how it becomes "inextricably bound up" with their social and personal identity. Turton aptly captures the crux in the following quotation: "we must treat it[place] not as a stage upon which social activity is carried out, but as a product of social activity- and a fragile one at that" (Turton, D.2004.p17). One cannot underestimate the power 'place' has on an individual.

Refugees worldwide tend to be influenced by the same push and pull factors, which can sometimes make it difficult to identify them from among the massive populations of illegal migrants. Significant variations in the way in which urban refugees are defined, protected, assisted and offered durable solutions, inevitably create pull

factors with access to better or longer material assistance. Contextual factors necessitate interaction with organisations such as social services. In turn, this impacts on integration, and to what extent that is impede or supported.

The next chapter focuses on the research methodology.

CHAPTER 3

Colouring within and outside the lines

"...boundaries are socially constructed and hence malleable, even though in particular contexts they may be treated as timeless and unalterable ..."

[extract taken from Insight, I(2000). *The two faces of education in ethnic conflict: Towards a Peace- building Education for Children.*]

3.1 Introduction

The title "Colouring within and outside the lines" is adapted from Miller, S.I. (1999).

In this chapter I provide a description of the research methods employed with supportive explanations for my choices. Selecting the most effective methods to frame my research was difficult and complicated and I had to rethink my choices in order to ensure that the refugee learners are at all times fore-grounded and their responses not marginalised. The discussion papers on encampment, which I read and re-read, and the contrasting urban context I was working in, influenced the choices I finally made. My discussion addresses research design in a sequential manner and deals with the following questions:

- How data was collected.
- Methodologies that were used.
- Sampling procedures.

3.2 Aim of the study

The specific goals of the study were:

- to identify local understandings of the concept of integration;
- to identify factors seen locally to support, or impede the process of integration;

3.3 Collecting data

The issue that I was investigating was such that there was no original data available. In this case, I had to use collection techniques such as interviews or questionnaires to extract the data from a group of respondents. This is known as collecting primary data. Primary data was collected during the period spanning January 2005 to December 2005. Data from the interviews was largely attained by way of an intensive semi structured in-depth staggered group interview with 6 participants in totality. The first was with four refugee learners and the second, with two non-refugee learners. They were offered open-ended questions to respond to. The broad questions posed to refugee learners included:

- * What does integration mean to you?
- * How do you feel about the community you live with?
- * How do you feel about the people in the community you live with?
- * Have you experienced situations of tension or uneasiness/ hostility?
- * Which social services do you have need for?
- * Describe your experience with members of that department?

The broad questions posed to non-refugees learners included:

- * What does integration mean to you?
- * How do you feel about the community of refugees you work with?
- * From your observation, how do other non-refugee learners respond to refugee learners?
- * Have you experienced situations of tension or uneasiness/ hostility with refugee learners?
- * What is your view on refugee learners being afforded access to and support from social services?
- * Are you willing to share resources with refugee learners?

In addition to the interviews there was completion of questionnaires with sixteen key refugee and non-refugee learner participants selected from the same site. Furthermore, a snap survey with randomly selected non-refugee participants was conducted. Face-to-face snap surveys with non-refugees learners allowed for a more intensive questioning and

response method to be practiced. This snap survey was aimed at delving into the reasons for certain attitudes displayed in response to the critical questions of local understandings of the concept of integration, as well as factors seen locally to support or hinder the process of integration.

3.4 Methodologies that were used

In order to answer the critical questions a qualitative design was used taking a phenomenological approach as outlined below by Rees and Dingwall.

"Qualitative research involves broadly stated questions about human experiences and realities, studied through sustained contact with people in their natural environments, generating rich, descriptive data that helps us to understand their experiences and attitudes" (Rees, 1996, p.375 & Dingwall et al, 1998).

Qualitative research, broadly defined, means "any kind of research that produces findings not arrived at by means of statistical procedures or other means of quantification" (Strauss and Corbin, 1990.p17). The idea of qualitative research is not to collate numbers. My qualitative research approach sought to understand an event from the participant's point of view (Macmillan & Schumacher, 1993; Rees, 1996). Morse (1996) underline this view in saying that qualitative research has a greater validity since it is an holistic approach to research that does not reduce participants to functioning parts. Cutcliffe (1997) argues that qualitative methodology needs to be rigorous, systematic with the emphasis on the processes and meanings and the researcher needs to be clear about his/her chosen methodology.

Social researchers have been using two types of sampling techniques. The first is known as probability sampling, the second as non-probability. Probability sampling, as the name suggests, is based on the idea that the people or events that are chosen as the sample because the researcher has some notion of the probability that these will be a representative cross-section of the people or events in the whole population being

studied. On the other hand non-probability sampling is conducted without such notion that those included in the sample are representative of the overall population.

Under these circumstances of not having sufficient knowledge about the sample to undertake probability sampling and not knowing how many people make up the population I turned to the forms of non-probability sampling as the basis for selecting the sample. The crucial and defining characteristics of non-probability sampling, whatever form it takes, is that the choice of people or events to be included in the sample is definitely not a random selection. By using the non-probability sampling did not mean that I knew absolutely nothing about refugee learners. However, the knowledge I did have was insufficient to warrant use of probability sampling.

As the researcher, I already knew something about the specific people or events and deliberately selected English speaking refugee learners who have had some experiences of integration or non-integration in one form or another and were seen as most likely to produce the most valuable data. The refugee learners were familiar with communicative English and were able to read the documents because the questionnaire and the consent form were written in this language. In effect, they are selected with a specific purpose in mind, and that purpose reflected the particular qualities of the refugee learners chosen and their relevance to the topic of investigation.

Dane (1990) points out that the advantage of purposive sampling is that it allows the researcher to hone in on people or events, which have good grounds in what they believe, as it is critical for the research (<http://www.deenislam.co.uk>) and also informative in a way that conventional probability sampling could not be (Descombe, 1998). The aim of the study was to explore the quality of the data not the quantity.

There are, however, some sound theoretical reasons why most qualitative research uses non-probability-sampling techniques and good practical reasons why qualitative research deals with small numbers of instances to be researched. There are in fact two things, which can be said about sample size in qualitative research. Firstly, it is unlikely to be

known with precision or certainty at the start of a research project. Second, the sample size will generally be very small. Both points can be unnerving. They go against the grain as far as conventional survey approaches are concerned, and open up the prospect of accusations of sloppy and biased research design (Miles & Huberman, 1994). I am quite explicit about the use of non-probability sampling. Another point is that phenomenology is well suited to purposeful sampling. This type of sampling permits the selection of interviewees whose qualities or experiences permit an understanding of the phenomena in question, and are therefore valuable. This is the strength of purposive sampling.

With such emphasis on the local experience of integration, a qualitative research methodology is justified. The focus of the work was not on measuring the level of integration achieved in the areas studied, but discovering how local populations judged the extent to which integration had been achieved. It was important to me as the researcher to use a methodology that revealed the criteria that refugee and non-refugee learners themselves used to understand integration, rather than impose such criteria upon them. Where clarity was requested, I acceded. The aim was to capture different perspectives on the experience of integration because it was the range and diversity of opinions that was important. This 'range' of opinion required that a diverse sample be obtained for the study. This led to the selection of refugee learners who were in their final year at school and soon would be seeking job opportunities or desiring to study further. The non-refugees were learners who would be in a similar predicament of seeking job opportunities or desiring to study further as well. The reason for this is as follows:

Refugee interviewees have been in the country for an average of 6 years and would have a repertoire of experiences to reflect on.

Non-refugee interviewees have been in the same school context for the same duration as the refugee interviewees and would be able to reflect on experiences against a similar backdrop.

I made contact with potential refugee interviewees, and the aims were explained. If the group consented to be interviewed (as all six refugees did) further details of the study-

and the confidential manner in which information would be dealt with were detailed. I acknowledge that the responses may be biased by a perception that I represented 'authority'. I anticipated that this might make them reluctant to criticise the services that they received. I attempted to minimize this by stating very clearly that the interview was completely confidential, and would have no impact on services provided to them. In addition, I provided further informal reassurance and sought to conduct the interview in an encouraging, non-judgmental manner. The same principle applied to non-refugee participants.

Questionnaires were completed by a further 16 refugees learners. This was intended to specifically determine:

- (a) whether the larger refugee community support the views expressed by participants in the interviews refugee participants or presented additional data to extend the understanding on the focus area
- (b) to identify local understandings of the concept of integration;
- (c) to identify factors seen locally to support, or disrupt, the process of integration; and
- (d) to use such information to shape the development of a framework for understanding refugee integration that may be implemented in a school context or adapted for national purposes.

By presenting the refugee learners with a questionnaire that had set questions may be viewed as restrictive, limiting their experiences and opinions . Thus, it was essential to have group discussions to explore through discussion and allow for further participation. The snap survey had to be completed over two days because of time constraints. I had to arrange with those willing to be a part of this survey to avail themselves after school so that commitments to schoolwork would not be compromised. Further to this, each participant needed to understand the reason for and importance of this study prior to participating.

3.5 Sampling procedures

In terms of the needs of this study, purposive non-random sampling was appropriate. Purposive sampling is about selecting a particular sample on purpose and has been popularly used in qualitative research. The dimensions or factors according to which my sample was drawn up, were analytically and theoretically linked to the research question(s) being addressed. Berg (2004) states that special knowledge or expertise about a specific group is considered in the selection of subjects who represent this population. Method triangulation was purposefully attempted by completion of questionnaires, then individual face- to face interviews, followed by group interview and the completion of questionnaires. This flexibility allowed for the multiple interests and needs of this study.

As the researcher, I selected subjects to participate in the study based on identified variables under consideration. It served my purpose well, especially since the population for study is highly unique. When sample sizes are small (less than 30) maximum variation samples can be more representative than random samples.

(<http://www.audiencedialogue.org>). In selecting refugee learners I first had to determine which country each was from prior to their participation in the research. A maximum variation sample (sometimes called a maximum diversity sample) is a special kind of purposive sample. Normally, a purposive sample is not representative, and does not claim to be.

3.6 Sampling of subjects for the study

As noted earlier the purpose of sampling was not to gain statistical representation of refugees and non-refugees living in a common area or attending a common school. Not only was this impractical with the resources available for the study, but also it was not appropriate considering the aims of the study. With the goal being to understand the nature and range of understandings at a local level – rather than identify the ‘typical’ experience of integration – it was more important to ensure that interviews were held with an appropriate cross-section of the refugee and non-refugees learners. Interviewees

were principally identified by physical contact as I did teach them in the final year at school.

In practice, the sample was recruited as follows:

non-refugee learners not necessarily explicitly supporting refugee learners integration through casual and informal interaction (on the playground or when in partnership for sporting events);

refugee learners who attended the same school as the non refugee learners.

non- refugee learners who were randomly asked to participate in a snap survey related to aspects of integration of refugees

In total 6 semi- structured interviews were conducted. The composition of the sample is summarised in the table below. This sample broadly reflects the demographic profile of refugee participants in relation to non-refugee participants, and, it was possible to arrange school-based focus group/ interviews for all participants, as it was most convenient for refugees and non-refugees, after school hours and or weekends.

Table 1 : Participants in Semi- structured interviews

Participant: Pseudonym	Gender	Country	Language
Refugee 1: Matate	male	Burundi	Kirundi and Swahili
Refugee 2: Pierre	male	Rwanda	Kinyarwanda
Refugee 3: Daniel	male	Kenya	French
Refugee 4: Marie	female	DRC	French
Non-Refugee 1: Asheya	female	South Africa	English
Non -Refugee 2:Fozee	female	South Africa	English

The initial fieldwork in these sites was conducted by means of an intensive semi structured group discussion with three refugee learners. The purpose was two-fold: to make connections and build relationships with members of the refugee community in order to engage them with the research; and to begin to explore perceived dynamics of the refugee participants, the community wherein they interact and their understanding of integration.

Given the emphasis of the study on the issues and themes, which shaped local understandings of integration, a qualitative approach to data collection was appropriate. Such a method enabled the refugee participants to respond to ideas suggested to them and encouraged spontaneity to the suggested ideas. This subsequently contributed and informed the modified questionnaire that was developed.

I looked at understandings of integration from two perspectives, refugee learners, and non-refugees learners. By considering such diverse groups the intention was to identify issues of potential relevance to integration at school and across a range of other contexts.

In the report I present data analysis based upon four semi-structured interviews held with refugee learners and two semi- structured interviews with non-refugee learners. Inclusion of this second group of interviews was vital for a comprehensive understanding of how integration is viewed at a local level was to be gained. Interviewees were selected to represent an appropriate range of local opinions and experiences. For an understanding of its centrality to the primary data collection, the in-depth interview/ focus group process is discussed in detail.

In the details of the study that follows, quotations from individuals have been selected to illustrate the range of viewpoints identified. It should be noted that, as a qualitative study, results were not based on statistical evidence but analysis of the social experience of integration described by a cross section of individuals within the studied communities. The core aim was to identify key issues in the shared experience of integration – or non-integration – within communities. Direct quotations were a basic source of raw data in this qualitative evaluation. They reveal the respondent's level of emotion, their thoughts, their experiences and their basic perceptions. In many cases both refugee and non-refugee learners made similar observations. Although refugee and non-refugee learners' viewpoints are identified in the text, it was not a goal of the study to formally contrast refugee with non-refugee perspectives.

Information was also obtained via a questionnaire. The questionnaire was given to refugee learners who responded to an invitation for a one-day participatory workshop that was held at the site. A total of forty-five such questionnaires (See Appendix A) were prepared but only twenty-six administered as that number attended the workshop. While this number was not large enough to constitute a statistically representative sample, the responses contributed to follow up focus group interviews/ discussion and qualitative detail. Concurrently a 'snap-survey' on views of non-refugee learners was administered to randomly selected participants between Grade 10- 12 at the site. In total, there were 20 participants in the snap survey. Again, the information provided is not statistically representative but it was utilised to supplement the overall research process and confirm findings. In addition to these sources, the primary data was continually supplemented by reports or comments, informal discussions and conversations with social services and other institutional and informal actors. It was also informed by a range of activities such as meetings, seminars and public education drives that took place during the course of this study.

Research participants consisted of 26 refugee learners (9 girls and 17 boys) from DRC, Kenya, Rwanda, Burundi and Tanzania, aged between 14-19. The majority have been in Kwa-Zulu Natal for more than 2 years.

3.7 Measuring instrument

Due to growing interest in radical narratives genres such as testimonies, I immediately saw the necessity for oral narratives as it should be increasingly recognised as particularly useful in understanding the significance of integration for refugees in individual lives and exploring "both personal and collective experiences s viewed within a social context and society as reflected in an individual's life". (Benezer, G. 1999:30). Through the course of my study I came to realise the power and potential richness of oral sources, not simply to record facts or events, per se but to provide insight into the subjective personal meanings. I believe oral narratives were a means through which refugee learners alternatively made sense of, interpreted or commented upon their

experiences of the society and their attempts to integrate and thus they provide great insight into the ways in which relationships between the public and the private, personal and political are continually negotiated.

The study began with semi-structured interviews with 4 refugee learners. They were interviewed individually, for the purpose of gathering life data. Then I embarked on the group semi structured interview. The background information, informed the process. The process was structured in the following way: gathering life data as a precursor. This was followed with in-depth individual interviews, group interviews and questionnaires. The snap survey was used to supplement data.

The study warranted construction of a questionnaire for the following purposes:

- to ascertain the level of competency in English as this would determine whether the interviews could be conducted in English;
- to elicit refugee interpretation of questions and (feasibility of an interpreter) to identify aspects where further clarity may be required during interview process which may warrant employing an interpreter;
- to get an overview of the perceptions and experiences of refugee in accessing and receiving support from social services and other institutional and informal actors.

The focus group discussion allowed for greater depth in discussion as refugee learners interacted with each other and the opinions that were offered. Responses were recorded on tape and transcribed before analysis. Extracts from the transcript are presented in Chapter 4 that deals with data analysis.

3.8 Validity

Virtually all social research involves measurement or observation and, whenever we measure or observe we are concerned with whether we are measuring what we intend to measure or with how our observations are influenced by the circumstances in which they are made. We reach conclusions about the quality of our measures - conclusions that will

play an important role in addressing the broader substantive issues of our study. When we talk about the validity of research, we are often referring to the many conclusions we reach about the quality of different parts of our research methodology.

(<http://www.socialresearchmethods.net>) To ensure that the data would be valid and reliable I interviewed a wide range of refugees and attempted not to spotlight on my own interpretation of the data but to allow patterns of responses to emerge from the interview data. Furthermore, employing multiple methods allowed the data to engage with each other. The creation of a dialectic between two different sources of information or perspectives on them rendered validity to the data. By following a process of individual interviews, questionnaires and focus group discussions allowed for early interpretations to be challenged and refined.

3.9 Conclusion

In this chapter the methodology used in this study was described in detail. Data collecting instruments used in this study were also succinctly described.

In the next chapter the findings of this study are analysed and presented to facilitate a response to the following critical questions:

- What are the perceptions and experiences of integration for refugee learners in respect of their access to and support from Social services and other institutional and informal actors?
- To what extent are the experiences of integration for refugee learners in respect of their access to and support from Social services and other institutional and informal actors, supported or impeded?

Research findings have implications for other groups and individuals in other settings and at other times. However, for the purposes of this study, it is critical to determine what the perceptions and underlying experiences of integration are and to unfold them as they are offered with the aim of attaining a durable solution in terms of local integration of refugees as an option and not an obligation.

Central to the next chapter are the needs of refugees; whether they are a marginalized group of people soliciting additional humanitarian support or a group of empowered individuals with great potential and the will to contribute to productivity by developing capacities of self reliance; whether the hosting country, South Africa and its people are able to promote and improve the quality of life for refugees or contribute to tensions and further experiences of displacement.

CHAPTER FOUR

Constructing realities through blue lens

"I have learned more about my own culture over the past five years through learning about yours. It is only through understanding my own culture that I can learn to accept the positive aspects of the new culture I am about to join."(Resettled refugee, name undisclosed).

4.1 Introduction

Integration is a process which perhaps never ends and is discussed and evaluated all the time and as such is a very difficult concept. Therefore the perception on integration of refugees and the perception on integration of refugees by non-refugees and organisations working or interacting with refugee learners were taken into account to determine to what extent there was effective integration.

Local integration depends on the good will of key groups in the host country. In the absence of this good will, refugees find it more difficult to settle amongst the community and become integrated. The willingness of the local population to accept local integration depends on who benefits and who loses from the continued presence of refugees, and on whether the interests of the various actors, particularly the most powerful, are being sufficiently served (or at least not opposed) (Jacobsen, K: 2001:3). Refugees who have become locally integrated are less likely to be subject to local resentment because they are considered to be part of the community. Alternatively, it may be that refugees have come to experience what Zygmunt Bauman has eloquently described as 'the discomforts of localised existence' (1998.p.2) in one of his main works, which gives an insight into the discourse of freedom.

4.2 General profile of the refugee learners

The refugee learners who participated in this study are all because of their vulnerability, constantly working on improving circumstances and possibilities for themselves, their

families and communities. Their rich, diverse backgrounds reveal hardships as they traced their journey from their home country to South Africa. They relied on goodwill of other travellers and support of fleeing refugees like themselves to negotiate their way, day by day. Each day captured new experiences, stronger perseverance and weaker bodies. All refugee learners fled the home country because of unrest. Their economic instability made the journey more tedious and burdensome. Now, they live in neighbourhoods that allow for more autonomy and mobility than would be possible in refugee camps yet they have to fend for themselves in what are often economically depleted metropolises as there are poor nationals (though not always) jostling for the same limited resources. The urban context offers its own challenges that have to be negotiated each day. Ideally they desire to be members of the host society on a permanent basis through economic, social and cultural processes as suggested by Kibread (1989:469). In short, life for many of the refugees offered few or no legal rights and extreme economic hardships.

All refugee and non-refugee learners who participated in this study are familiar with me as their teacher, through present or past classroom interaction or through involvement in extra-curricular activities. They all live in the Durban area and were from grade 10 to grade 12 at the start of this study. The composite list of refugee learners who participated in this study range from fourteen to nineteen years of age. Their language competencies include French, Kirundi, Kinyarwanda, Swahili, English and Afrikaans. Many chose to come to Centenary Secondary because of the perception that this school accepted refugees.

In this study participants are protected by being accorded pseudonyms, to guard their identity.

4.3 Data Analysis

Most of the analysis is based on the interviews as it offered more details and opportunities for clarification within the interaction. This data is supported by information extracted from group discussions, questionnaires and snap survey and is

identified accordingly within the discussion. Analysis of data is discussed in the following format:

4.3.1 Local understandings of integration

4.3.2 "Building bridges": Factors that supported integration

4.3.3 "Burning bridges": Factors that hindered integration

4.3.4 Grey Areas- "Ashes"

4.3.1 Local understandings of integration

Responses to this statement were overt and explicit in some instances and implicit in others. Group interviews principally addressed understandings of integration by identifying general perceptions of the local community as a place to live and reflecting on the extent to which individuals felt 'settled' or 'belonging' to the locality. Understanding of the term 'integration' was, however, explicitly addressed in the latter stages of group interviews and reinforced in the one on one interview. A wide range of responses was elicited by related questions, but a strikingly common thread among them was that it was the nature of relationships and interaction with social services and other institutional and informal actors that most clearly defined a sense of integration. This is exemplified through the following responses:

Matate: *" If I am here, I cannot be there. I must find a way here, now... "*

Daniel: *"It matters to me that people see me, talk to me and hear...sometimes they say I'm 'with it'.."*

Pierre: *"I think that's the main issue when we talk about integration. We need to define what's discrimination"*

The responses in the questionnaires correlated with the data from the group interviews.

Pierre: *"I like it here. I want to stay...and study or work"*

Marie: *" I want to go back to my country... in the future. I must go to school, then work, ...I can't tell the future"*

Both refugees and non-refugees discussed integration in terms of *participation of people from different groups in a variety of activities*. A range of examples of shared activities were identified during the study, including sports like swimming and soccer, religious worship (collective prayer on a Friday), community projects like fundraising and social activity like excursions, all of which were welcomed as evidence that integration was occurring. The underlying principle behind such views appeared to be that if a community is integrated then the people would participate equally, and without prejudice, in all the activities and pastimes available to it.

Marie: *"To have people come... come together is nice. If I see you on the streets, because I have not spoken to you I will judge you according to the way you look. ... but if you sit down and talk to people, and deal with them you understand them better."*

Pierre: *"I remember how learners (referring to non-refugees) reacted when Apollo (name changed) won the Fun Run. Everyone congratulated him. Now they know him."*

Matate: *"Children help to raise money for Eve (name changed) to go on excursion. It was good for him also to know they (referring to non-refugees) care."*

The most striking observation was the similarity between refugees and non-refugees in terms of these aspirations for their community. The vision of the relationships, which characterise an integrated community, is broadly a shared one across the groups that make up these communities. Many refugees and non-refugees alike aspired to a sense of belonging within their community. Some explicitly stated that to be fully integrated is to feel that you belong. Presently, most refugees and non-refugees do not have the resource for personal use and this hindered their willingness to share what they have with others.

Where this sense of belonging had been achieved it generally was associated with close and *committed relationships with both family and friends*. Many refugees valued proximity to family because this enabled them to share cultural practices and maintain familiar patterns of relationships. In addition to family relationships, committed friendships were seen as crucial to effective integration. Refugees valued contact with the

school community, language classes and services such as tuition in subjects offered at school, after hours, as opportunities to make friends. These comments were extracted from interviews:

Pierre: *"Well... you lose the feeling that you belong to any particular group or specific place or something. So you always looking for a place a group or something to feel that you are still belong to".*

Marie: *"To have more places like this place on ...Friday, to pray together... for people without friends and relatives in the country. You feel very isolated. Through this kind of thing you can more easily integrate into society, even if you don't know language."*

Matate: *" We get to know and talk about stuff which we don't get to do otherwise... during breaks we try to learn 'bout how to greet and stuff."*

At one extreme the expectation was that integration meant 'no trouble'. This involved

- peace between people living in close proximity to each other
- no interference
- personal safety.

From refugees' perspective in particular,

- no active discrimination.

Some saw an integrated community as one where the legitimacy of other groups to live within the community is accepted. Such expectations typically focused on aspects of the 'mixing' of different groups, particularly:

- the acceptance of difference and diversity;
- friendliness; and
- participation in shared activities.

4.3.2 Building Bridges: Factors that supported integration

4.3.2.1 Expectation of relationships

The principles concerning relationships that were most frequently mentioned and reinforced in both interviews and questionnaires responses included:

- feeling safe from threats by other people;
- toleration;
- welcome and friendliness;
- belonging and feeling part of the community; and
- having friends.

These principles were used alike by non-refugees and refugees learners during their respective group interviews to describe the characteristics of an integrated community. Refugees additionally emphasised the opportunity to do the same things and be in the same places as other people.

Analysis of responses identified a range of expectations of relationships in an ‘integrated community’. Views differed on the depth and quality of relationships that should be expected. Such views could be seen to range from integration as ‘no trouble’ through integration as ‘mixing’ of those living or schooling or working in an area to, finally, integration as a sense of ‘belonging’ within that area. This emerged quite pronounced in the interviews and alluded to in the questionnaires.

It was evident from the discussion that refugees felt noticeably different and hence tried not to draw attention to their distinct differences, instead to be as inconspicuous as possible especially since xenophobia was apparent in some circles of people. Although there were so many different groups and nationalities in the area that *difference* was noticeable. The physical features were a give away but more distinctly was the inability to speak any of the official languages of the province.

Asheya: *"Integration for me is: we are different, but it's okay to be different. Other children are not so accommodating. They sometimes say insensitive things to refugees."*

Matate: *"The school is a mixed place. I see people speaking different languages as I am coming. I know they not speaking my language...Swahili... I know I'm learning that...learn some words."*

Fozee: *"In the beginning I didn't pay much attention... to refugees. Now we greet...I learnt few words from refugees, like to say 'good morning'. It's interesting."*

Refugees are conscious of being obviously different in appearance, and some found this very uncomfortable. However, there was evidence that some non-refugees saw the presence of refugees as a significant benefit to their community and valued their contribution. Both refugees and non-refugees suggested that an important factor that would contribute to a person made to feel 'at home' in an area was the *friendliness* of the people they encountered on a daily basis. Being recognized and greeted by others in the locality was greatly valued. Small acts of friendship appeared to have disproportionately positive impact on perceptions. Friendliness from "fellow school goers" was very important in helping refugees to feel more secure and assuring them that their presence was not resented. It was the refugees who made a more concerted effort to get to know others rather than the reverse of it. Conversely perceived unfriendliness undermined other successful aspects of integration.

Pierre : *"You can feel you are settled in. But also youyou feel they isolate you.... They say, 'you foreigner? They don't say 'hello' ... not warm, not friendly. They... not all kind."*

Asheya: *"Refugees are so eager to do their work. The class is playful and take education for granted. Refugee learners do their homework and ask questions. We are glad because then we understand better what the teacher said. In Maths and Science, they do so well."*

Asheya[again]: *" They (referring to refugee learners) are so pleasant. They are so disciplined unlike ... "*

Fozee: *"One boy always...I don't know why... he's always picking on Jean (name changed) he'll say things indirectly and we know what he is doing. When we hear that we try to stop it."*

A majority of refugee and non-refugee learners ultimately expressed a vision of relationships with an integrated community some way beyond the principle of 'mixing'.

Quality and depth of relationships envisioned were characterised by:

- relationships with family members;
- committed friendships; and
- shared values.

Both refugees and non-refugees learners suggested that it is the quality of your relationships with the people who live around you that determines whether or not you feel at home. However, for such 'belonging' to constitute integration it was generally felt that such *committed friendships* must exist between people from different groups (be they groups defined by nationality, ethnicity, or some other factor). Refugee learners often listed their friends and teachers with pride, and talked of how valuable these relationships and friendships were in learning English and finding out about the society around them. Teachers were seen as the 'first' person to go to for assistance when in experiencing problems at school.

Pierre : *"Through this place I've found friends. We're different ...when you have friends you can see culture and tradition. It's good to have a place where you can go and find out more about a country – a place where you can meet people."*

It was evident from many interviews that although relationships with people of your 'own group' were important, what promoted a sense of belonging were mutual respect and shared values across such groups. Relationships based on *shared values* and mutual respect were commonly seen to form the basis of true community.

Marie: *"In every aspect of life....if you respect each other....share ideas...If you have*

yourself...sharing your ideas. That is what a community would be, the best community".

4.3.2.2 Responses to locality

If different groups 'tolerated' each other and there was a lack of 'trouble' between them, for some that signified an integrated community. Some refugees felt more positive about their localities if they saw them as *peaceful*. Some non-refugees were willing to mix with refugees while other non-refugees were concerned that new arrivals did not draw attention to themselves in a negative way by showing signs of disruptiveness. Avoiding 'trouble' was a common concern

Daniel : *"It's peaceful, people are the same and nobody is treating you really badly".*

Pierre: *"I mind my business..."*

Matate: *" I have not made any effort so far to try and talk to neighbours or do anything about that because I don't want trouble... basically. In town unfortunately... I had to live there before I lived here, so I learned to keep to myself because that way you avoid trouble*

Daniel [again] : *"There's some of the people I know from when I first came here. They have all moved out... I too moved so... we don't care so much for that ...".*

4.3.2.3 Personal safety

From the interview, a sense of *personal safety* was for many, vital. Refugees often indicated that if they did not feel physically safe in an area they could not feel integrated. Similar responses were implicit in the responses to the statement *Describe the neighbourhood* in the questionnaire. Very often incidents of violence or being threatened had determined overall perceptions of a community. When insults or criticisms are directed at refugees, by not offering a response to the alleged insult or criticism, its intended effect is wasted. This response is so as not to provoke any incidents of confrontation. Each must do much to be disciplined and calm under all circumstances. On the other hand, if an area was considered favorable it was often for the most part because it was 'safe'. Individual, personal safety was not just seen in terms of actual violence; verbal abuse or even the perception that an area is 'threatening' appeared to have a

similar affect upon refugees' perceptions of their area. The following responses attest to that:

Pierre : *"Some people, they were fighting there some day, I don't know, I mean, two men were killed [.....] We feel afraid. [.....] It was really frightening."*

Daniel: *"Most importantly you get as much opportunity as anybody else, you get as much respect as anybody else."*

4.3.2.4 Human rights

Non-refugee learners who interacted daily with refugee learners were generally clear that in an integrated community refugees should have the *same rights as the people they are living amongst*. This shared basis of entitlement was seen as important in order to enable refugees to live harmoniously with non-refugees. A number of refugees also pointed out that the establishment of equal rights had an impact on the way people view them; where there are no equal rights, there is less respect.

Questionnaires and group interviews reveal that perceptions of equality were just as important for other refugee and non-refugee learners. Equality of access to services was also a particular concern for refugee learners. This was strongly expounded in the questionnaire. Indications by refugee learners were that some refugees are offered easier access to documents, as they are able to offer financial extras, constituted inequality. Even amongst refugees, authorities in the Department of social services treated some with perceived preferential treatment. Refugee learners cited incidents where refugees who were able to offer extra money for effective and efficient processing of documents followed into another room and emerged, smiling. Refugees and refugee learners frequently chose not to report such individuals, as it may threaten acceptance, hence undermine local sense of integration.

4.3.2.5 Education

Education was generally seen to be of value for two reasons. Crucially it provided the opportunity to acquire qualifications or skills to enhance opportunities for employment

later. While at school, it was considered necessary to complete a Senior Certificate Examination. Furthermore, it provided a productive context for 'mixing', enabling the development of relationships across the community. These responses were extracted from interview transactions:

Daniel: "... I have to learn English for my matric exam to get place for study ...I have to improve my Maths and English."

Pierre: "We now go for extra lessons in French and some others are wanting to learn with us...from us."

Marie: "It's nice that the school can give this for ...to the children. It make us more confident. Others are accepting us."

Fozee: "Its good to learn another language... but I must know that its to help talk... relate to refugees...those that speak it... and it will help me for my future".

4.3.3 "Burning bridges": Factors that hindered integration

In addition to the above factors that supported integration, those interviewed identified a number of factors that did not facilitate integration in the area. Key issues included:

4.3.3.1 Safety and Stability

4.3.3.2 English language skills

4.3.3.3 Access to Social services

4.3.3.4 Cultural understanding

4.3.3.1 Safety and stability

The importance of 'lack of trouble' was noted in the earlier discussion. Freedom from physical threats, fear and abuse were frequently cited by refugees as been key issues in enabling a sense of engagement with local communities. Where there was fear of physical threats and abuse, refugees frequently felt unable to be active and involved in their community. Furthermore, getting to know an area was thus considered an important part of 'feeling at home' and 'putting down roots'.

Matate: "*you just don't know what to do when someone calls you a kwerekwereyou just freeze. That's why you stay in your place.*"

Pierre: "*I think if we stay five years here, it will be a place that I'm going to stay and live in. And I work and study and do my life there [.....] Because we have been in the same place. I know very few places*"

Marie: "*It's not so great because – especially because my family were settled in one area for most of the time – but you know only few people.*"

Support of these views are evident in the responses to questions in the questionnaire. In response to the question "*where do you spend your time after school and on weekends?*" most respondents indicated that they stayed at home.

4.3.3.2 English language skills

The ability to communicate in English was viewed by both refugees and non-refugees as a particularly important component of integration into South African society.

Pierre: "*I think the first barrier is the language barrier. I hadn't any help even with someone who knows English and my own language. Even the shops – when they didn't give change in the shops. For us to explain it was so difficult.*"

Daniel: "*[Without English skills] I could not be myself to them.*"

Matate: "*When you don't know the language You don't know your rights that makes things difficult. We live in all sorts of problems.*"

Overall, what emerged through interviews, snap survey and questionnaires is that refugees saw 'good English' as important because it:

- helps in developing friendships and relationships with the host community;

- leads to more productive communication with institutions and members of the host community – in particular, enabling them to feel 'understood';
- provides greater access, though no guarantee, to services and shared/mixed activities;
- boosts your self-esteem and feeling of well-being;
- helps refugee learners to progress academically and be successful at school;
- helps refugee learners to feel that they belong, and are part of the community; and
- can serve to mollify hostility from the host community many of whom expect refugees to learn English and may interpret continual use of other languages as antisocial.

4.3.3.3 Access to Social services

Refugees indicated they have sought advice from various sources including teaching staff, libraries, and social services. In many cases refugees recalled particular individuals who had played a pivotal role in supporting them but there were those who expressed their dislike of refugee learners. Refugee learners felt that advice was of particular importance at times when circumstances changed (e.g. upon arrival or being granted refugee status or seeking placement at schools). Information and support regarding access to services was considered particularly crucial. However, the incumbents did not consider it necessary or important to disseminate information to refugees, willingly.

Asheya: "You come to this country, you don't know what you must do. You hoping someone else... with you.. know this systems, ... someone must help"

Fozee: "You are used to the systems where you came from. Just simple basic information is a must."

Asheya: [again] "I think a lot of people are not actually aware of what they are entitled to... in terms of education, housing needs, social services or that kind of thing... if they need that".

The absence of any active discrimination in terms of access to and usage of services was also considered by most as essential to integration. It was generally recognised that refugees' particular circumstances (lack of familiarity with their surroundings and not speaking the language etc.) led to barriers that required additional effort from both refugees and the wider community if *genuine equality of access to services* was to be achieved. To be integrated implies all members of a community not just having 'equal rights' in *principle* but in *practice*. Non-refugee learners interviewed saw this as integral: allowing refugees access more in line with those of other citizens. However, the reality of the situation is that some of the employees of these social services providers deny refugees experiences of equality to access of services. Local social services providers were seen as capable of dealing with refugees' specific needs better, than they are presently. It is perceived that the authorities are deliberately delaying and prolonging processing of documents so as to frustrate refugees on the supposition that perhaps they would go back to their home country. Extractions from interviews that support these statements include:

Fozee: *"Here we have a long history of people from other different...ethnic groups, so I think the issues of racism is... have been tackled to some extent. You know, most of the people we can see they sensitive."*

Marie: *"...they make us upset. We can't say anything or we won't get the papers. If we give some money... like some we know. They go to nother (meaning another) room and then come out smiling. I have to sit in the queue."*

The principle of equal access to services was viewed as important across all sectors of the studied communities. As noted earlier, perceived 'discrimination' – where some refugees were considered to be receiving better treatment than other refugees – was identified as a point of concern by a number of interviewees. These comments were extracted from the questionnaires.

Samu: *"Because you will go there in the morning until late. No one cares".*

Janvi: *"Sometimes they don't talk to people nice"*

Lonre: *"They sometimes treated us like.. I don't know how I can say but you fill (feel) like you are a beggar"*

Jewel: *"You go there and you are asked to sit and wait and wait and wait and by the time they get to you it will be after 2-3 days"*

Kanwir: *"Because some of the people who are working there... they don't think that we are human beings. They don't treat us nicely."*

Leoda: *"People who work, they don't like refugees at all, they all want money that's all. They swear refugees."*

4.3.3.4 Cultural understanding

In addition to such practical information, refugees needed to develop an understanding of cultural expectations in the areas in which they were living and areas where they were being educated if they are not in close proximity to each other.

Pierre: *"My problem was not with the older people around me it was with the children... My culture is really, really different from your culture when it comes to families, because the way we are brought up... whether the older person is wrong or right you do not talk back... you do not disrespect. Whether they are a year older than you... they are older than you so that's it... I honestly do not know what to do about it".*

Asheya : *"When we talk to the refugee they just look down...their culture like the Zulu's I think.they don't look at you".*

Data that became apparent from the interviews context enveloped culture extensively. Adjusting to a different culture was, in the experience of most refugees, not straightforward. In particular, refugees who had experienced close family ties in their own culture, found their isolation and the lack of a local strong community to be alienating and depressing. Along with the emphasis on 'raising awareness' about the 'host' culture, there was a general acceptance amongst non-refugees that refugees were entitled to maintain and celebrate aspects of their own culture and that these links are important. Although a few held the view that maintaining these cultural links may be

harmful to integration, the overall consensus was towards a multicultural outlook, recognising the value of strong bonds with members of refugees' own communities. A number of refugees suggested the value of sharing their own culture with others, thereby promoting mutual understanding, and also contributing something of value to the integrated community. This is reflected in the following responses:

Fozee: *"Some people want to hold onto and... do what others do in that culture. It's(allowed should be done that way"..*

Snap survey results endorse similar sentiments with rare case of indifference.

Trevor: *"It's a choice you make. To continue with your culture or not. No one should do it for you."*

Nhlanhla: *"Ubuntu means we all part of each other."*

Floris: *"I keep my culture true. So should the refugees. What will they do when they go back if they forget their culture now."*

Saidi: *"You chose to be here so you must learn the new happenings (referring to traditions). Otherwise, you will feel you only watching and everyone else is doing it."*

4.3.4 Grey Contexts for integration

4.3.4.1 Living Arrangements

4.3.4.2 Employment

4.3.4.3 Healthcare

Formal definition of integration – and policy frameworks such as ‘Full and Equal Citizens’ – have tended to focus attention on the achievement of integration in such ‘public’ contexts as employment, housing, education and healthcare. Although, as discussed above, interviewees saw local relationships as central to understandings of integration, the importance of experience and achievement in these areas was also acknowledged.

4.3.4.1 Living Arrangements

Living arrangements, housing- similarly, was seen as an area, which could facilitate – or disrupt – the process of integration. Both the permanence of housing arrangements and their location was seen to influence processes of integration through the sorts of relationships that were available as a result. Most refugees who were under the financial support of the N.G.O remained within close proximity of each other whilst those who lived in private dwellings (as tenants) were hardly interactive with non-refugees.

Daniel: *"I had a sleepover once ...it was different, but interesting. You see another part of the way people live ...you learn"*

Lesley: *[from snap survey] "They may be comfortable in this community but I think they feel better where they are right with their own families near by. They must have shelter!"*

4.3.4.2 Employment

Employment was also seen as potentially providing multiple benefits in terms of integration. It was seen not only as a means to financial security, but also self-respect. Where employment opportunities are limited, this could serve as a major barrier to effective integration and would likely promote migration from the area.

Pierre: *"From an early age you learn to fend for yourself. I want to work because it helps me with my family...to live*

Matate: *"It's hard to get jobs. My father is a electrician but now he is a car guard. The money is little. If we don't get another... better pay...I don't think we can stay here."*

4.3.4.3 Healthcare

In the communities studied, access to healthcare facilities was not seen as a particular problem in terms of integration. One refugee learner indicated that there existed reluctance on the part of employees of health service provider to be helpful to refugees as they were asked to pay before treatment could be administered- even though it was for the flu. Older people may find it more challenging.

Marie: *" I don't go to the hospital."*

Pierre: " ...good thing I was not sick."

Daniel: " ...when Earnest (name changed) went to the hospital they made him pay first for the card. He must buy the pills after that... they said they don't have it."

4.4 Summary

Local understandings of integration were found to be heavily influenced by expectations of relationships between groups in the community. These expectations range across a continuum in terms of the depth and quality of relationships expected within integrated communities. At the most basic level, absence of conflict and 'toleration' of different groups is considered to reflect integration. However, the majority of individuals – both refugees and non-refugees – had expectations beyond this to a community where there was active 'mixing' of people from different groups. Many additionally identified 'belonging' as the ultimate mark of living in an integrated community. This involved links with family, committed friendships and a sense of respect and shared values. Such shared values did not deny diversity, difference, and one's identity within a particular group, but provided a wider context within which people had a sense of belonging.

Findings suggest that within the communities studied relationships are seen as the core mechanism for securing integration. There was considerable diversity of expectation regarding the nature and depth of relationships defining an integrated community. For some 'no trouble' – an absence of conflict and 'toleration' of others – was indicative of a well-integrated community. For most, however, there were aspirations for a more active mixing of groups within the community, acceptance of difference and diversity, friendliness, participation in shared activities and equality of access to services. Many articulated greater expectations still of relationships within an integrated community. For these a sense of belonging was key to integration, and this meant such things as having close ties with family members, committed friendships within and across the groups making up the local community, and a sense of shared values. Overall there was striking consistency between refugee and non-refugee learners on such issues, with the development of social connections seen by all as crucial to community cohesion.

Refugees in particular (and some non- refugees) articulated the importance of equality of rights and respect with the community if such relationships were to develop. Issues of safety and security were acknowledged by most of those interviewed as another significant aspect for establishing such social connections in their locality. English language capability and broader issues of cultural understanding (of majority communities by minority communities *and vice versa*) were also highlighted as significant.

Issues of housing, employment, education etc. were acknowledged to be additional markers of effective integration – and also significant means to this end. Those interviewed frequently linked achievements – or barriers – in these areas to the other issues discussed, that is, relationships established in the area (with their own cultural group, with members of other groups, or with state services), or with perceptions of rights and respect.

A wide range of factors that are seen to support – or undermine – the process of integration at the local level were identified. These include characteristics of refugees (such as English language skills), characteristics of the wider community (such as the prevalence of racism and community insecurity), and service characteristics (such as the availability/ unavailability of advice and information).

Additionally, housing, health, employment, education etc. define a range of contexts that can foster or impede integration.

As human beings we are capable of understanding and need to understand the experiences of refugee learners and to dispose of any indifference. This must also be reflected in the various bureaucracies with which refugee learners (and refugees at large) are compelled to interact. Refugee learners have come to a place where they need to trust in the process, the rule of law, and the values we consider intrinsic to the human condition, which we try to make real. Protecting their human rights is vital. Only when

non-refugees begin to take seriously the human rights of refugees, nationally and internationally, will we begin to see the measure by which they need protection.

CHAPTER 5

You Have Left Me Wandering About...

*Born in a motherland was I,
Like all families was mine.
Reasons I know not... I was born to cry.
My relatives have been slain.
My family fled...
In a strange land we wandered,
Upon election, we returned.
But for a short transition.*

*But why chased before we were we?
Your flattened nose stupid!
Yield my father angrily, emotionally.
There's are like the edge of a knife sharpened!*

*Few thirty days new leader was slain.
Whole country turned dark, windy like the sea,
Through keyhole, my friend slaughtered, I see.
Body parts without life everywhere sprinkled.*

*Lucky is my father who's absent to be killed!
Last country of Africa, I am. Many countries
I suffered. Oh! I'm tired and depressed.
But why God? Hutu you made me Tutsi they truly?*

Earnest Murigayijesu

(Written by a former refugee learner of Centenary Secondary. Published by the Poetry institute of South Africa- as presented here)

5.1 Introduction

The title " You Have Left Me Wandering About... " is adapted from Coplan, D. (2001).

To a large extent refugee learners perceive themselves to be integrated yet there is substantial indication that this is restricted or limited. The lack of organisational capacity to offer realistic local solutions to refugee learners must be acknowledged and addressed without delay. Providing a viable framework for attaining self-sufficiency is urgent and necessary otherwise the possibilities for refugee learner's individual 'success' would be extremely limited.

5.2 Recommendation

It is suggested that all agents within social services and other institutional and informal actors with whom refugee interact should espouse realistic goals to enable and support refugees and not impede the process of integration. A particular South Africa refugee programme needs to be drawn and the following principles be given priority:

5.2.1 Vigorously advocate for refugee access to public relief and social assistance in accordance with international standards as well as South African domestic laws.

The present practice of denying or limiting support to refugee learners while simultaneously denying them all lawful opportunity to maintain themselves offends their dignity and worth as human beings. It violates their human rights.

5.2.2 Continue to use resettlement as a protection tool in appropriate cases.

Resettlement in a safe country offers refugees the opportunity to rebuild a positive future. However, in the early resettlement period at least, there are some potential barriers to this process. The early resettlement period involves enormous challenges, among them adapting to a different culture and way of life and mastering a host of practical tasks, from establishing a household and using public transport, to negotiating new and

complex education, income support and health care systems. Many resettled refugees learners also need to learn a new language. These tasks may be overwhelming for many people, perpetuating feelings of anxiety and loss of control. Without support, resettled refugees may also have difficulties in accessing basic resources for survival and rebuilding, such as housing, health care and education. As well as having obvious consequences for immediate material well-being, limitations on access to these resources may affect people's sense of safety and control. Those originating from relatively affluent backgrounds in their countries-of-origin may face the additional difficulty of adjusting to a lower social status. As minorities in the dominant culture of the receiving community, refugees face the challenge of developing a sense of belonging and identity. Lack of understanding, and in some cases active discrimination and hostility in the receiving country may work against this and serve to further undermine their sense of physical security and self esteem. This may be a particular challenge for resettled refugees with distinguishing cultural and religious practices or racial features (of physical appearance and accent).

The core of voluntary repatriation is a return to conditions of physical, legal and material safety, with physical safety a critical initial concern, especially if return is taking place to conditions where peace may be fragile. The responsibility to assure physical safety lies primarily with the authorities, supported if necessary by the international community.

5.2.3 Strengthen networking

Strengthen networking with implementing partners and other operators including NGO's, refugee organisations, religious organisations and the private sector, in order to effectively co-ordinate refugee integration programme in South Africa. Many N.G.O's as well as community and cultural groups have a wealth of expertise and knowledge in refugee resettlement, established networks and resources in the community. Their involvement can help to broaden awareness of refugee issues and build a base of political support for refugee resettlement, particularly given that many are linked with larger faith based constituencies. Being independent of government, N.G.O's, and community groups can also play an advocacy role in relation to refugee resettlement and integration.

Government should collaborate with other agencies to find ways of solving current challenges faced by refugees and refugee learners. Furthermore, establishing links with universities and key institutions will promote research in vital aspects of refugee integration, resettlement and repatriation. Recurrent research is needed to find cost effective approaches and better ways of dealing with the reality of limited resources and increasing numbers of refugee learners.

5.2.4 Further develop the relationship with the mass media and promote positive coverage of refugees.

To counter inaccurate and stereotypical perception of refugees, the mass media must develop a close link with the community of refugees. Sensitive coverage can prevent misunderstandings and distrust thereby promoting social harmony.

And where necessary,

5.2.5 Advocate for more funding.

Human or development donors need to take responsibility of refugees. UNHCR should allocate more funds so that education, social and economic programmes can be adequately resourced. UNHCR might approach development donors such as the World Bank and governments of developed countries, and convince them of the need and their responsibility to donate to longer- term refugee status.

Many of today's urban refugees come from chronically unstable countries such as Burundi and DRC to which the prospect for return remain dim. In fact for many urban refugees return to the country of origin is unlikely to be the preferred solution, either because of serious security concerns, and/ or because the economic aspects of a decision to leave would not be satisfied by return. There needs to be greater focus and effective strategies to negotiate local integration as a durable solution. Furthermore, governments were more willing in the past to permit groups of refugees to remain indefinitely on their soil. Today, more and more urban refugees find themselves in countries where they are

not permitted by law to work in urban areas, or when documents are granted there is restriction on the scope from which jobs may be selected or are available. How can refugees be integrated in the long term if they are not permitted to have substantial, professional full day jobs. As result of the democratisation process, governments in Southern Africa, including South Africa, are now accountable to a public opinion that is seemingly increasing in hostility towards refugees, who are not differentiated from the mass of illegal immigrants and perceived as unfairly competing for scarce resources.

Given the high unemployment and limited resources available to nationals, the government lacks concrete means to enable self-sufficiency for refugees. However, it may positively contribute to the attainment of this goal through the creation of an enabling environment. This can be achieved by legislative, regulatory and administrative measures such as issuing of identity cards and travel documents, the granting of the right to work and study, the speeding up of eligibility procedures to guarantee security of status. Public awareness can also be raised in order to sensitise the local population to the plight of refugees, explain the differences between refugees and economic migrants, and emphasise the need for acceptance and understanding as suggested in The White Paper.

5.3 Conclusion

With the infrastructure in an urban context being more alluring it would hardly be appealing to refugees to be located in rural centres. However, there may be durable solution in that refugees may be able to develop self-reliance particularly if their stay is indefinite. Whilst research may show that efforts to move refugees from urban to rural areas have been unsuccessful in countries such as Zambia and Kenya, cognisance must be taken of the new South African context. With limited resources for nationals who now move from rural to urban areas, refugees may be productive, self sufficient and economically improved. However, there are no guarantees that refugees themselves may accept this.

In order to promote solutions for urban refugees in Kwa-Zulu Natal and to reduce the cycle of assistance and dependence, current caseloads should first be analysed to distinguish the different categories involved- individuals who form part of a *prima facie* caseload in South Africa, irregular movers from other asylum countries, high profile political or security cases. This will facilitate the identification of those individuals with a genuine need for protection and assistance and allow for appropriate action to be taken towards solutions. Once implemented, this approach should result in significant reductions in the urban caseload in Kwa-Zulu Natal and the country at large.

It emerges that South Africa does not as yet have all the tools needed for accurate individual status determination. As a result, there is a tendency to be restrictive or over-generous, thereby jeopardising the fate of genuine refugees. The availability of more complete information on each refugee country of origin will benefit the refugees and will have a positive impact to accessing social services and to durable solutions. If the UNHCR's mandate is to protect rather than to assist refugees it is vital that South Africa as the host country automatically provide assistance via an institution. Strengthening the department of social services will contribute to facilitating the integration of refugees.

South Africa needs an autonomous agency board, which will decide applications for refugee status promptly and efficiently on the basis of authoritative and up to date information that is uncorrupted by officials.

The success of integration depends as much on the relationship between the local population and the refugees as it does on the host government's position. When refugees are welcomed and accepted by the locals, or at least not resented, they will be better able to pursue livelihoods and face fewer security threats.

Refugees who have been especially successful at adapting to a new environment tend to be ignored or overlooked as invisible or uninteresting by research focussing on vulnerability, discrimination or xenophobia. The focus on integration emphasises the successes of rebuilding lives rather than assuming exceptional need. A framework

seeking to represent the progress of integration comprehensively needs to be developed to support the process considering the discussed range of such factors.

Finally, only a refugee can truly capture the perception and experience of integration as aptly as it is felt. Here is an excerpt from an integration analogy: Resettling in Canada:

“Integration means for me to feel in a new country like at home. For me integration is like a triathlon race. The first leg of the race is cycling. The best thing to do is to cycle in a group. It is the same with integration. In the beginning the most important thing is to learn language, learn and understand education, employment, economic and social systems of the new country. To a newcomer it means that he or she is part of new society, a member of a community or group with the opportunities and good perspectives. Once language knowledge is at a comfortable level, education and employment barriers are solved, new friends are met, and the second leg of the race is beginning. It is the swimming leg. While swimming you hardly hear or see others, you concentrate on yourself. This period in integration is obviously very individual. Basics are already met and it is time to reflect and assess how far one has come and how far you could go. At this point the realisation has come that it is a completely new world that one is living in and with it many, many new fine tunings that have to be done...So you swam your part well and there is not much to go. The last part of the race is the running part. But this is also the most difficult one. You feel a little tired and the finish line seems further away not closer. It is a period in integration when one thinks that he or she has already done so much. And the newcomer does not expect many more challenges. At least the feeling of real integration is there. But from time to time, a completely new word will come up, a holiday or custom that is still unknown, or a little administrative thing that everyone seems to know about.

So, the one who still runs is the one who is integrated.”

(Taken from Applying The. Framework In Key. Program Areas. Chapter 1.3 *Refugee Resettlement: Laying the Foundations for Integration: Planning Goals* -www.unhcr.org)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adelman, Howard. (1998). *Refuge or Asylum: A philosophical Perspective*. Journal of Refugee Studies Vol 1 No 1
- Andrews, B. Lacey. (2003). 'When Is a Refugee not a Refugee? Flexible Social Categories and Host/Refugee Relations in Guinea.' New Issues in Refugee Research Working Paper No. 88 (Available through www.unhcr.ch)
- Ary, D. et al (1996). *Introduction to Research in Education*. Philadelphia Harcourt Brace College Publishers
- Appadurai, A. (1996). *Modernity at large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalisation*. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis and London.
- Bauman, Z. (1998). *Globalization: The Human Consequences*. New York: Columbia University Press
- Benezer, G. (1999). Trauma Signals in Life Stories in Rogers, K., Dawson, G., Leydesdorff, S. (eds) *Trauma and Life Stories: International Perspectives*, London: Routledge : 29-44
- Berg, B. L. (2004). *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences*. Boston: Pearson.
- Bouillon, A. (2001). African Francophone Migrants to South Africa: Languages, Images and Relationships. In A. Morris & A. Bouillon. (eds.) *African Immigration to South Africa: Francophone Migration of the 1990s*. Pretoria: Protea & IFAS.
- Brown, T. (1995). *Some problems in refugee teacher education and how to overcome them*, paper presented at the International Conference on Education and Training for Refugee and Displaced People, Kampala (extracted from unhcr website)
- Brun, C. (2001). *Reterritorializing the relationship between people and place* in Refugee Studies, *Geografiska Annaler*. 1:15-25
- Boyle, P., Halfacree, K. & Robinson, V. (1998). *Exploring Contemporary Migration*. Addison Wesley Longman Limited. New York
- Cernea, M. M. and McDowell, C. (2000). Reconstructing resettlers' and refugees' livelihoods", in M. M. Cernea and C. McDowell (eds) *Risks and Reconstructions: Experiences of Resettlers and Refugees*, 1-8, Washington D.C.: World Bank
- Cohen, A. P. (1982). *Belonging: identity and social organization in British rural cultures*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

- Cohen, A. P. (1985). *The Symbolic Construction of Community*, London: Tavistock.
- Coplan, D. (2001). You Have Left Me Wandering About: Basotho Women and the Culture of Mobility. In D.L. Hodgson and S.A. McCurdy. (eds.) *"Wicked" Women and the Reconfiguration of Gender in Africa*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann/Oxford: James Currey/Cape Town: David Philip, 2001
- Crow, G. and Allan, G. (1994). *Community Life. An introduction to local social relations*, Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Crush, J. and Williams, V. (2001). 'Making up the Numbers: Measuring "Illegal Immigration" to South Africa', Migration Policy Brief No. 3. Cape Town: Southern African Migration Project, 2001 <http://www.queensu.ca/samp/forms/form1.html>
- Dingwall, R. Murphy, E. Watson, P. Greatbatch, D & Parker, S (1998). *Catching goldfish: quality in qualitative research*, Journal of Service Resource Policy, Vol. 3 No: 3 pp.167-172
- Draft Refugee White Paper (<http://www.polity.org.za>)
- Deutsch, M (1985). *Distributive Justice: A social-Psychological Perspective*. London-Yale University Press
- Descombe, M (1998). *The Good Research Guide: for small-scale social research projects*, Great Britain, Guildford & Kings Lynn
- Felman, S. and Laub, D. (1992). *A Monument of Witnessing in Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis and History*, London, Routledge, 93-119
- Frazer, E. (2000). *The Problem of Communitarian Politics. Unity and conflict*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Goodwin-Gill, G.S. (2004). *Refugees and their Human Rights*, (a paper presented at a lecture) University of Oxford. United Kingdom.
- Handmaker, J. and Parsley, J. (2001). *Migration, refugees and Racism in South Africa* published in) *Refuge*, Vol. 20(1), (handmaker @reahamba.nl. 13.03.2006)
- Hirschon, R. (2001). *Surpassing Nostalgia. Personhood and the Experience of Displacement* Colson lecture, 2001. Refugee studies Centre, University of Oxford. Unpublished
- Hjelde, K.H. (1995). *Integrating Young Unaccompanied Refugees or Embodied Culture? Trekking in the Norwegian Mountains as a case*, Unpublished paper. Oslo. University of Oslo

<http://www.audiencedialogue.org>

<http://www.socialresearchmethods.net>

<http://www.deenislam.co.uk>

Hyndman, J. (2000). *Managing Displacement: Refugees and the Politics of Humanitarianism*. University of Minnesota press. Minneapolis

Insight, I. (2000). *The two faces of education in ethnic conflict: Towards a Peace- building Education for Children* (eds. Kenneth D. Bush and Diana Saltarelli) UNICEF.
<http://www.unicef-icdc.org/publications>.

John A; Lindstrom, Channe; Olszewska, Z; Williamson, K and Zongolowicz, K. (2002). *Experiences of Integration: Accessing resources in a new society- the case of unaccompanied minor asylum seekers in Milton Keynes*. University of Oxford

Kibread, G. (1989). Local settlements in Africa: *A Misconceived Option*," in *Journal for Refugee studies*, Volume 2, 4, pp 468-490

Kibread, G. (1999). *Revisiting the debate on people, place, identity and displacement*. *Journal of Refugee studies*, 12(4), pp.384 - 410

Kollappen, J. (1999). Xenophobia in South Africa. *The challenge to Forced Migration in Southern Africa seminar series*. Unpublished seminar, graduate School: University of Witwatersrand, south Africa

Kristeva, J. (1991). *Strangers to ourselves* (L.s.Roudiez, trans). Columbia University Press. New York

Loescher G. (1992). *Refugee Movements and International Security*. Adelphi Paper 268. London: Nuffield Press for International Institute for Strategic Studies

McMillan, J.H. & Schumacher, S. (1993). *Research in education: a conceptual introduction*. Harper Collins College Publishers, New York.

Malkki, L. (1992). National Geographic: *The Rooting of Peoples and the Territorialization of national Identity Among Scholars and Refugees*, *Cultural Anthropology*, Vol 7 (1):24-44

Manz, B. (1995). *Fostering Trust in a Climate of Fear*, in Daniel, E and Knudsen, J (eds) *Mistrusting Refugees*, Berkeley: university of California Press, 151-167

Miller, S.I. (1999). Response: Coloring within and outside the lines: Some comments on Scheuich and Young's "Coloring epistemologies: Are our research epistemologies racially biased," *Educational Researcher*, 27 (9), 23-26.

- Morris,A (1998). Our fellow Africans make our lives hell"; *the lives of Congolese and Nigerians living in Johannesburg*. Ethnic and Racial studies, 21 (6), 1116-1136
- Morris,A.& Bouillon (2001). *African Immigration to South Africa: Francophone migrants of the 1990's*. Protea Bookhouse. South Africa
- Morse, J. M. (1996). Editorial – what is a method? *Qualitative Health Research* , Vol. 6 No: 4 pp.467-468
- Newman, J (2003). *Oral History of Sri Lankan Women* in RSC Working paper No.15. University of Oxford.United Kingdom
- Parkin,D.(1999). *Mementoes as transitional objects in human displacement* Journal of Material Culture,4(3),pp303-320
- Patton, M. Q.(1990). *Qualitative evaluation and research methods* (2nd ed.). Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- Peteet, J. (1995). *Transforming Trust: Dispossession and Empowerment among Palestinian Refugees*, in Daniel, E and Knudsen,J (eds) *Mistrusting refugees*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 168-186
- Rees, C (1996).*Qualitative & Quantitative approaches to research* , British Journal of Midwifery , Vol. 4 No: 7 pp.374-377
- Strachan, P. and Peters, C. (1997). *Empowering Communities: A casebook from West Sudan*, Oxford: Oxfam
- Strauss, A. and Corbin, J. (1990). *Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory procedures and techniques*. Newbury Park,CA:Sage Publications,inc
- Streubert, H. J & Carpenter, D. R (1999). *Qualitative Research in Nursing: advancing the humanistic imperative* (2nd Ed), Philadelphia, Lippincott
- Schumacher, J.H. & MacMillan, S. (1993). *Research in Education: A Conceptual Introduction*. New York: Longman.
- Turner, S. (1995) *Torture, Refuge and Trust* in Daniel, E and Knudsen, J (eds) *Mistrusting refugees*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 56-72
- Turton, D.(2003). '*Refugees and Other Forced Migrants*' Refugee Studies Centre Working Paper. No. 13. Oxford: Queen Elizabeth House.
(<http://www.rsc.ox.ac.uk/wp13.pdf>)
- Turton, D. (2004).*The Meaning of place in a world of Movement: lessons from long term field research in Southern Ethiopia*. University of Oxford. UK. 2004 (unpublished)

UNHCR (<http://www.unhcr>)

Valtonen, K. (1998) *Resettlement of Middle Eastern Refugees in Finland: The Elusiveness of Integration* in Journal of Refugee Studies, 11(1) pp.38-59

White Paper on International migration (1999).Pretoria: Government Gazette (1992),Vol.406

Willmott, P. (1989). *Community Initiatives. Patterns and prospects*, London: Policy Studies Institute.

Zetter,R. (1998). *Refugees and Refugee Studies- a Label and an Agenda*. Journal of Refugee Studies Vol 1 No 1

APPENDIX A

THIS QUESTIONNAIRE IS TO BE COMPLETED BY LEARNERS OF REFUGEE STATUS IN THE SCHOOL PARTICIPATING FOR THE RESEARCH. INFORMATION DISCLOSED IN THIS QUESTIONNAIRE IS TREATED WITH THE STRICTEST CONFIDENTIALITY AND WILL BE USED FOR RESEARCH PURPOSES ONLY. YOUR CONTRIBUTION IS IMPORTANT. PLEASE [] APPROPRIATE [] WHERE APPLICABLE. THANK YOU.

A. BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS

1. Name of your present school _____

2. How old are you?

1. ☐ 14 yrs 2. ☐ 15 yrs 3. ☐ 16 yrs 4. ☐ 17 yrs
5. ☐ 18 yrs 6. ☐ 19 yrs 7. ☐ 20 yrs 8. ☐ other (specify age) _____

3. Gender 1. ☐ male 2. ☐ female

4. Where do you live?

1. ☐ City 2. ☐ Suburb 3. ☐ Township 4. ☐ Sub-urban
5. ☐ Informal settlement 6. ☐ Rural area

5. What language(s) did you speak in your home country?

1. ☐ French 2. ☐ Kirundi 3. ☐ Lingali 4. ☐ Swahili
5. ☐ English 6. ☐ other (specify language) _____

6. What language do you speak often, now?

1. ☐ English 2. ☐ Afrikaans 3. ☐ IsiZulu 4. ☐ Swahili
5. ☐ French 6. ☐ other (specify language) _____

Comment: _____

PERSONAL EXPERIENCES

(A) EDUCATION

7. What is the name and country of your last school that you attended?

School: _____ Country: _____

8. Why did you leave that school? _____

9. Why did you choose your present school (this school)? _____

10. What grade were you in, in 2005?

1. ☐ Grade 8 2. ☐ Grade 9 3. ☐ Grade 10 4. ☐ Grade 11
5. ☐ Grade 12

11. What grade are in, in 2006?

1. ☐ Grade 8 2. ☐ Grade 9 3. ☐ Grade 10 4. ☐ Grade 11
5. ☐ Grade 12

12. How did you come to know of this school? _____

1. ☐ Friend 2. ☐ Sister/brother 3. ☐ Read in newspaper 4. ☐ Neighbour
5. ☐ An organisation (like M.C.C)

13. How does it feel to be a learner at this school?

1. ☐ Very Good 2. ☐ Good 3. ☐ Satisfactory 4. ☐ Bad 5. ☐ Very bad

14. How do you feel about the information/knowledge you learn at school?

1. ☐ Very Good 2. ☐ Good 3. ☐ Satisfactory 4. ☐ Bad 5. ☐ Very bad

15. How did you perform in your latest assessments in your subjects?

1. ☐ Very Good 2. ☐ Good 3. ☐ Satisfactory 4. ☐ Poor 5. ☐ Very Poor

16. How do you feel about your teachers at school?

1. ☐ Very Good 2. ☐ Good 3. ☐ Satisfactory 4. ☐ Bad 5. ☐ Very Bad

If you have a comment: _____

17. How would you rate the teaching methods or approaches your teachers use to teach you?

1. ☐ Very Good 2. ☐ Good 3. ☐ Satisfactory 4. ☐ Poor 5. ☐ Very Poor

18. As a learner, do you feel that your needs are catered for at school?

1. ☐ Yes 2. ☐ No

Comment: _____

19. Which subject/ learning area do you find easy to understand? Explain you answer

20. Which subject/ learning area do you find hard to understand? Explain you answer

21. How have your teachers helped you to overcome any difficulty (ies) you may have had?

22. How do learners relate to you in your classroom?

1. ☐ Very Good 2. ☐ Good 3. ☐ Satisfactory 4. ☐ Poor 5. ☐ Very Poor

23. How many learners get on well with you in your formclass?

1. ☐ Few 2. ☐ Many 3. ☐ All
4. ☐ I am not sure. I don't know how they feel about me 5. ☐ None

24. How many friends do you have in the school?

1. ☐ One 2. ☐ Two 3. ☐ Three 4. ☐ More than 3 5. ☐ None

25. Have you had any unhappy experiences with your class/ schoolmates?

1. ☐ Yes 2. ☐ No

26. How many times were you in an argument?

1. ☐ One 2. ☐ Few 3. ☐ Many 4. ☐ None 5. ☐ I can't remember

27. How do you think pupils relate to you within the school as a whole?

1. ☐ Very Good 2. ☐ Good 3. ☐ Satisfactory 4. ☐ Poor 5. ☐ Very Poor

28. Do you make friends easily with your schoolmates?

1. ☐ Yes 2. ☐ No

29. Why is that so? _____

30. Do learners ask you about your childhood or past experiences?

1. ☐ Yes 2. ☐ No

31. When learners talk to you, what do they ask you about?

1. ☐ Childhood 2. ☐ Studies 3. ☐ Language 4. ☐ Family 5. ☐ Living Conditions

32. Generally, if you had problems in your studies, whom [at school] would you consult first for help?

33. Why is that so? _____

34. What would you like to do when you complete school?

Stay and find work in South Africa ☐ Study in S.A ☐

Go back to my home country ☐

Comment: _____

(B) LIVING ARRANGEMENTS

35. How long have you lived in your present address? _____

36. Whom do you live with? Give details _____

1. ☐ Parent 2. ☐ Guardian 3. ☐ Friend 4. ☐ Relative 5. ☐ On my own

Comment: _____

37..How do you travel to school?

1. ☐ Walk 2. ☐ Bus 3. ☐ Taxi 4. ☐ Private
5. ☐ other (specify transport) _____

38. How much does it cost you for travelling, per day?

1. ☐ Nothing 2. ☐ R3 3. ☐ R5.00 4. ☐ R10.00
5. ☐ R12.00 6. ☐ Other (specify amount) _____

39. Who pays for your travelling costs? _____

1. ☐ Parent 2. ☐ Guardian 3. ☐ Sponsor 4. ☐ Organisation (name) _____
5. ☐ Other (specify amount) _____

40. Do you have the following services where you live?

1. ☐ Water 2. ☐ Lights 3. ☐ TV 4. ☐ Radio 5. ☐ None of these

41. Do you contribute to the income?

1. ☐ Yes 2. ☐ No

42. If yes, how? _____

43. Describe the place in which you live

1. ☐ Very Good 2. ☐ Good 3. ☐ Bad 4. ☐ Very bad _____

Comment: _____

44. Describe the neighbourhood

1. ☐ Very Good 2. ☐ Good 3. ☐ Bad 4. ☐ Very bad _____

45. Where do you spend your time after school and on weekends?

1. ☐ Home 2. ☐ Shopping mall 3. ☐ Game Arcade 4. ☐ Other (specify) _____

(C) SOCIAL SERVICES

46. Have you visited any of the following service providers since you have been here?

1. ☐ Hospital 2. ☐ Police station 3. ☐ Library 4. ☐ Other (specify) _____

47. Do you have the necessary personal documents to stay in Kwa-Zulu Natal?

1. ☐ Yes 2. ☐ No

48. If yes, name the document you have e.g. temporary permit _____

49. How long did it take to process your application?

1. ☐ less than 3 weeks 2. ☐ 1 month-2 months 3. ☐ 3 months
4. ☐ More than 3 months 5. Other (specify) _____

50. How often did you or your parents go to the Department of Home Affairs?

1. ☐ Once 2. ☐ Twice 3. ☐ Thrice 4. ☐ Other (specify) _____

51. Have you received your documents?

1. ☐ Yes 2. ☐ No

52. Describe the visit/s to Home Affairs?

1. ☐ Very Good 2. ☐ Good 3. ☐ Bad 4. ☐ Very bad

53. Why is this so? _____

54. Have you visited a hospital?

1. ☐ Yes 2. ☐ No

55. What was the nature of your visit? _____

56. In case of an emergency/ necessity would you be comfortable to visit the hospital in the future?

1. ☐ Yes 2. ☐ No

57. Why is this so? _____

58. Have you visited a police station?

1. ☐ Yes

2. ☐ No

59. What was the nature of your visit? _____

60. Would you be comfortable to visit the police station in the future?

1. ☐ Yes

2. ☐ No

61. Why is this so? _____

62. If you had an accident at home, whom would you contact?

1. ☐ Police

2. ☐ Fire Brigade

3. ☐ Ambulance

3. ☐ Person whom I live with

(parent/ guardian/ host)

5. ☐ I don't know whom to contact

Thank you for completing this questionnaire. It is most appreciated.

APPENDIX B

Mrs P.Gramanie
Centenary Secondary
Asherville
4091

25 November 2005

Dear Parent/ Guardian/ Caregiver

My name is Mrs P.Gramanie, a teacher at Centenary Secondary. I am currently a Combined Masters in Education (COMET) student at the University of Kwa-Zulu Natal. My research area of focus relates to refugee school going youth perceptions and experiences of integration highlighting the following aspects: Living arrangements, access to social services and education.

I hereby request permission to conduct a focus group discussion/ interview with your child/ ward at the school on **7 December 2005, starting at 8.00a.m.** No interview will be conducted after 2.30. Learners will be compensated for transport costs when they attend.

I assure you that all information received will be treated confidentially and will be utilised for research purposes only with no identification of individuals directly by name in the dissertation itself. The findings will be made available to you for your perusal should you wish to be informed of the findings.

Your support will be greatly appreciated.

Yours faithfully

P.Gramanie (0823513707)

-----**Detach and return with learner on 7 December 2005**-----

I _____ (name of parent/ guardian/ caregiver) do hereby grant permission for my child/ ward _____ in Grade _____ to participate in the research project. I am aware that no information will be obtained without my child's/ ward's willingness to share such information. I accept that the researcher cannot be held responsible for the safety of my child/ ward in getting to the selected venue. During the interview I accept that all necessary code of ethics will apply. I accept that payment for transport will be available to my child/ ward to and from the venue.

PARENT/ GUARDIAN/
CAREGIVER

WITNESS 1

DATED: _____

WITNESS 2