

**EXPLORING THE SCHOOLING EXPERIENCES OF MIGRANT
CHILDREN FROM THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO IN
SOUTH AFRICA**

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ABSTRACT

This study explores the schooling experiences in South Africa of migrant children from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). Migration has been an area of interest within political, social and academic circles. In recent times, studies have been and are being conducted on issues on migration especially with the aim of exploring migrants' experiences and challenges. This study addresses the experiences of migrant children from the Democratic Republic of Congo in schools in South Africa and their social identity as migrants. It aims to bring these issues into focus and to encourage further research and debate with the aim of finding ways of ensuring better schooling experiences for these migrant children.

As its objective, and in line with the aspirations of inclusion and diversity of the present system of education in South Africa, this study:

- enables an insight into the Congolese migrant children's school experiences and the resulting challenges for schooling in South Africa,
- provides an avenue to explore these challenges and experiences in the light of educational policies in place in South Africa and how these challenges affect the children's education,
- raises critical issues regarding inclusion and diversity in the South African educational context, and
- contributes to ongoing debate, awareness and research interest in the area of study.

The study addresses the extent to which the inclusive schooling system in South Africa does in reality include these migrant children.

This study is situated within the critical paradigm and engages Social Identity Theory as its theoretical framework. It employs a case study methodology to explore the schooling experiences of migrant children from the Democratic Republic of Congo. The theoretical framework as well as the methodology used in this study makes provision for a critical engagement in the analyses of these experiences.

The study in its findings unveils the factors that contribute to the experiences of the participants in South Africa, especially their schooling experiences. Eight themes emerged from the data collected through critical story account, semi-structures and focus group interview sections. These themes revealed the challenges faced by the participants as migrants in South Africa, especially as migrant learners in their schools. Among these challenges are issues of stereotypes about African migrants in South Africa and its resulting xenophobic tendencies, the sense of isolation and exclusion as result of identity differences with South African locals, language limitations/difficulty, etc. The study as well reveals the opportunities the participants gained from living and schooling in South Africa, such as exposure to diverse cultures by way of interaction with people from different cultural backgrounds, learning new languages, as well as exposure to a better standard of education in South Africa. The study also discovered that the participants do well in their schooling both in academics and in sports in the midst of the abovementioned challenges. Based on the findings of the study, recommendations are made for education authorities, school authorities and educators, authorities in charge of social development and mass mobilization/orientation and for further research.

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this study “Exploring the Schooling Experiences of Migrant Children from the Democratic Republic of Congo in South Africa” is my own work and has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university.

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Mr. Crispin Hemson (Supervisor)

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND CONTEXTUAL FRAMEWORK

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The course of globalisation has been fuelled by both the exchange of goods and capital and also the exchange of people. There is evidence that trans-national migration plays a crucial role in globalisation (Levitt 2004); this is obvious given the number of people who embark on trans-national migration. People, as Levitt (2004) notes, transmigrate from one geopolitical location to another for many reasons. “Throughout human history, migration has been a courageous expression of the individual’s will to overcome adversity and to live a better life. Today, globalisation, together with advances in communication and transportation, has greatly increased the number of people who have the desire and the capacity to move to other places” (United Nations Report on International Migration and Development, 2006, p.5). South Africa has, in more recent times, been a fertile location for huge trans-African migration due to its vibrant economy and high opportunities especially for skilled migrants.

However, inasmuch as the majority of migrants willingly migrate to other countries for socio-economic reasons and benefits, migrants undergo many challenging experiences (Byron & Condon 2008). Prominent among these challenges are the issues of self and identity definition in their new environment. Migrants face the pressure of dropping their culture and lifestyle for the demands the new environment’s cultural lifestyles place on them. Thus, migrants naturally find it difficult to get adjusted and well integrated into the new socio-cultural settings and this takes a huge toll on their self perception and identity, more so when such new environments are not welcoming (Fukuyama, 2007). The issue of identity poses itself as a barrier for migrants who do not have the same cultural affinity with host countries. This could pose a challenge for schooling among the child age population.

Besides, the idea of inclusion and diversity in South African schools and classrooms suggests that South African schools and classrooms are expected to be accommodative in nature and to give opportunity for the proper functioning of learners/students from diverse backgrounds (Parker et al, 2001). The aim of building an inclusive school is to ensure an inclusive society where everyone in the society can function properly and actualize his/her potential and participate optimally, and where respect and value for diversity and social integration are encouraged and valued (Lazarus, Daniels & Engelbrecht, 1999). This being the case, race, culture, gender and country of origin should cease to be hindering factors to the accessibility to sound and quality education in South Africa. The question here becomes, to what extent is this being implemented and actualized in South African schools? To what extent has diversity been recognized and accepted in schools both by teachers and learners? What experiences do migrant children; especially African migrant children have in South African schools and classrooms? In order to actualize the ideas and ideals of inclusive education in South Africa, we need to explore the extent to which inclusion is practised in South African schools with regards to African migrant children.

Having myself been exposed as a migrant to these challenging experiences, I decided to give attention to study the experiences that migrant children from Democratic Republic of Congo (from here onwards, DRC) in South Africa face with regards to schooling, so as to find enhanced ways of meeting their learning needs within an inclusive schooling agenda.

1.2 FOCUS AND PURPOSE OF STUDY

The purpose of this research is to examine the schooling experiences of migrant children from the DRC in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. This study focused on two secondary schools with Congolese migrant children in Durban.

1.3 RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

From the early days of life man has been faced with the challenges of survival and this has characterised human existence. This is evident in the way people embark on movement within

and outside their natural environment which has continued since time immemorial. This struggle for survival is spurred by the need for, first, to have access to basic needs of life, like food, shelter and clothing and to run away from dangers. In line with this, Posel (2003) notes that people migrate from one place to another as a result of several reasons ranging from economic, political and environmental to other reasons, thus Muniz (undated) classifies migrants into the following types, namely: settlers, contract workers, professionals, unauthorized workers, asylum seekers and refugees.

Even when migrants, as most do, willingly migrate to other countries for socioeconomic reasons and benefits, migrants undergo many challenging experiences as migrants (Byron & Condon, 2008). Prominent of these challenges is the issue of identity definition in the new environment. Most times it is difficult for migrants to get properly integrated in a new environment they have found themselves. Also, there is always social labelling or classification of the “in-group” and “out-group” by the host communities or countries (Byron & Condon, 2008). The abolition of the apartheid regime in 1994 brought about a new and democratic South Africa (Crush & McDonald, 2001), and there has been remarkable growth in the economy since 1994. As a result of this, South Africa has become the target country for many African migrants especially from poor and troubled African countries such as the DRC. Many Congolese children, some with and some without their family members migrated to South Africa when war started in their country. Some of these Congolese migrant children fall under the category of forced migrants while some willingly migrated to South Africa because of a desire for better conditions. This means that these migrant children from the DRC do not voluntarily leave their home country but were forced to leave their country as a result of war. As a result, these migrant children do not have control over any experiences they must have passed through, and they are still passing through. Having myself been a migrant in South Africa, and having been exposed to the experiences and challenges of migrants in South Africa I see it as befitting to study the experiences of these migrant children.

This research therefore is set to examine the experiences of migrant children from the DRC in South Africa with particular emphasis on their schooling experiences. The aim is to expose the various factors that contribute to these school experiences. It is hoped that the outcome of this

research will contribute to ongoing inquiries on how best to achieve an inclusive schooling within diversity. It is also hoped that this work will be particularly important in helping and understanding of, and meeting the learning needs of an increasing number of not only Congolese migrant children but African migrant children at large within an inclusive schooling system in South Africa. Finally, it is anticipated that this work will spur further research interest and enquiry in this area.

1.4 STATEMENT OF PROBLEM AND OBJECTIVE OF STUDY

The idea behind building an inclusive school system in South Africa is to develop and maintain an inclusive society wherein all are enabled to participate, function and achieve irrespective of social, cultural and psychological dispositions and without barriers to identity, person and nationality (Lazarus, Daniels & Engelbrecht, 1999). Thus, the principle of diversity can be regarded as the overarching foundation for development of an inclusive society (Lazarus, Daniels & Engelbrecht, 1999). However, the principle of diversity in practice would and does require that individuals are treated equally regardless of race, culture, religion, and nationality in order for inclusivity to be achieved. An inclusive system would then be one in which there is respect for diversity, equal opportunity for all, freedom for all individuals and groups to function properly and participate fully in society. If this is to be applied to schools, it would mean that every child in South Africa, locals (the word 'locals' is used in this dissertation for those who are born in South Africa and see themselves as fully South Africans) and migrants alike, would share the same schooling experiences without exclusion and discrimination on the basis of identity and cultural divergence.

Anecdotal evidence however indicates that migrant African children in South Africa experience conditions that result in exclusion and in limitations to participation and healthy functioning in school.

In line with the aspirations of inclusion and diversity of the present system of education in South Africa, this study aims to:

- provide an insight into the African migrant youths' schooling experiences and its challenge for schooling in South Africa today,
- provide an avenue to explore these challenges in the light of educational policies in place in South Africa and how these affect the children's experiences,
- raise critical issues for inclusion and diversity in the South African educational context, and
- contribute to ongoing debate, awareness and research interest in the area of study.

1.5 AN OVERVIEW OF THE RESEARCH DESIGN

In using a qualitative case study methodology, this study employs both purposive and random sampling methods to determine the two schools used in the study. First, purposive sampling was used to identify schools in KwaZulu-Natal with Congolese migrant learners. To further narrow the sampling size, random sampling was used, where the names of schools with Congolese migrant learners were placed in alphabetical order and the first and the last schools were selected for the study. The methods used in the process of data collection were the critical story account, semi-structured interview and focus group interview. The data collection was divided into the following three stages:

STAGE ONE: Critical story account

The critical story account gives an expository account of the schooling experiences of the migrant children from the DRC in South Africa by providing vital information relating to the four critical questions of the study.

Semi-structured interview questions were developed around the themes that emerged in the critical story account to give further insight in Stage Two.

STAGE TWO: Semi-structured interviews

This stage strengthened the information/data collected/produced from the first stage and gave insight on the four critical questions of the study.

STAGE THREE: Focus group interviews

This stage further strengthened the data collected through stages one and two, and possible information gaps were filled.

1.6 KEY RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The following key research questions were addressed in this study:

1. How do migrant youths experience schooling in South Africa?
2. What challenges do migrant youths from African countries encounter in South Africa?
3. To what extent have they been included or excluded as a result of their social identities as migrants?
4. How do their social identities as migrants contribute to their schooling experiences in South Africa?

1.7 OUTLINE OF THE STUDY

Chapter one of this study is the introduction chapter. It presents a brief background of the study, the focus and purpose of the study, the rationale for the study, the statement of problem and objective of study, an overview of research design, limitations of the study, key research questions, the contextual background of the study and an overall outline of the study.

Chapter two is the literature review of the study which focuses and explores relevant literature around the themes and issues on migration; the conceptual understanding of migration, why people migrate to other places, merits and demerits of migration, migration and globalisation,

experiences and challenges of migrants, trends in international migration, transformation in South African migration patterns, migrants and inclusive education in South Africa.

Chapter three is the theoretical framework. This chapter uses literatures to unpack the ideas around the theoretical framework of this study, and elaborates the relevance of the theory (social identity theory) to this study.

Chapter four focuses on the research methodology employed in this study. It discusses the research type, research design, sample sites and methods, methods of data collection, data analysis, ethical issues and limitations of the study.

Chapter five is on the data analysis and presentation of findings. Chapter six is the concluding chapter which presents recommendations based on the findings of this study for education stakeholders on to how make the schooling experiences of African migrant children, especially Congolese migrant children in South Africa, more positive in line with the ideals of the inclusive education system in South Africa. This chapter also throws light on the issues raised in this study in order to spur further studies on this area.

1.8 CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATION

1.8.1 PERSONAL IDENTITY

Personal identity is, according to Turner (1982), personal identifications, self description or definition that are more personal in nature. This refers to distinctive attributes of the individual.

1.8.2 SOCIAL / GROUP IDENTITY

Social/group identity consists of self descriptions/self definitions which come from membership of a social group such as nationality and race (Turner, 1982).

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Migration has been a serious area of interest within political, social and academic circles. In recent times, studies have been and are being conducted on issues of migration, especially with the aim of exploring migrants' experiences and challenges, advantages and disadvantages of migration and other related issues. Based on the existing studies carried out on issues on migration, this literature review is organized around the following themes:

- Conceptual understanding of migration
- Why migration
- Merits and demerits of migration
- Experiences and challenges of migrants
- Transformations in the South African migration pattern
- Education of migrant children
- Inclusive education in South Africa as it relates to migrants and their schooling experiences in South Africa.

2.2 CONCEPTUAL UNDERSTANDING OF MIGRATION

From the early days of human existence, migration has been a courageous drive of people to move from one place to another (UN General Assembly 2006). The primary purpose of this move is to overcome adversity and have the opportunity to have access to better life (UN General Assembly 2006). Migration is understood to mean the movement of people from one geographical point to another, driven by socio-economic, environmental, political and cultural reasons (Pries, 2006).

International migration happens when people move from one country to another to reside in the countries where they have migrated permanently or temporarily with the aim of seeking for employment, education or to stay away from harsh socio-political conditions in their home countries (Goldin & Reinert, 2006). History reveals that migration has frequently occurred as a result of natural and human-made disasters (Tastsoglou & Dobrowolsky, 2006). Present day migration is motivated by a number of factors that contribute to the massive movement of people from one geographical location to another (Posel, 2003), in particular economic factors. Migration caused by economic factors is mostly voluntary in nature, where migrants willingly decide to leave their home countries for places they think may offer better economic opportunities. War is another common factor contributing to both internal and external migration (Posel, 2003). This is most especially within the continent of Africa as we can see today. Many African countries have been ravaged by war, thereby making those countries almost uninhabitable for their citizens. A typical example here is the DRC; Congolese are scattered all over the African continent and beyond as a result of hardship caused by war in that country.

2.3 WHY MIGRATION

One reason for migration is that the home countries are no longer economically, socially and politically conducive for them to live in (Harris, 2002). As a result, migrants seek better opportunities for good, safe and comfortable living in other countries. Many countries in Africa, South America and Asia are undergoing severe economic, social and political crises and because of the situation in these countries, citizens of these countries move to other countries where there are opportunities for better living and where the socio-political and socio-economic environments are more stable, suitable and conducive than conditions in their home countries. Secondly, high unemployment, unfavourable working conditions and low salaries/wages are also among the main reasons people migrate to other countries which they think will offer them better job opportunities and wages (Levitt, 2004).

Also people from economically disadvantaged countries of Asia and Africa, of which the DRC is one, have the common belief that they will more easily get opportunities for jobs and means to a better standard of living in some countries they consider as doing economically well, such as

South Africa, than in their home countries. In countries facing economic hardship, families see migration as a way of diversifying the source of their family's income apart from sometimes running away from wars and natural disasters in their home countries (Muniz, undated). As a result of this assumption, family members migrate to other countries with better economic stability, better job opportunities, better wages and greater safety. This impression causes a rise in the number of people leaving their countries for other countries with the hope of getting better jobs, receiving better wages and staying in a safer environment (Muniz, undated). The aforementioned could be considered as one reason behind the migration of families from the DRC to South Africa.

2.4 MERITS AND DEMERITS OF MIGRATION

Like every other human endeavour, migration has its own merits and demerits. Therefore, a critical study on migration should embrace both the merits and the demerits of migration.

According to Goldin and Reinert (2006), one of the main advantages of migration on the national/societal level is the cross-cultural experiences shared by countries involved. In a different light, this assertion suggests that all countries benefit from migration culturally speaking but tend to neglect the fact that most patterns of migration are only one-way in nature (meaning that there are countries that serve as only receiving countries of migrants and there are other countries that serve only as source countries of migrants). A typical example here is the DRC and many other African countries that serve as the source countries of migrants to receiving countries like South Africa. In this case, the receiving countries get more and more culturally enriched with cultures brought in by migrants from different source countries (Goldin & Reinert 2006).

Also, migration brings about mobility of cultures from one cultural location to another. Most societies get richer and richer culturally because of the cause of migration. Moreover, as our cities become more cosmopolitan in nature and the world becoming more and more globalized, they also become more diverse in cultures (Dobrowolsky & Tastsoglou, 2006). The concern at this point becomes the issue of how prepared the host countries are to accept any form of cultural

infiltration as migrants bring in their own cultures. The idea of cultural diversity in this sense should and does suggest and promotes cross-cultural ideas which contribute immensely to socio-economic development. By this, people of different cultures become aware of other cultures in existence which they might not have known. Castles (2004) maintain that governments of different countries have realized the fact that they do not have much power to control the cultures of their nation-states as a result of cultural globalisation. Notwithstanding the obstacles in this line of thought, migration has made it possible for different cultures to come together, and new cultures are formed as a result of the cross-breeding of cultures (Goldin & Reinert, 2006). The question here becomes this: has the course of migration and cultural globalisation achieved the goal of bringing cultures, in turn promoting unity in diversity across all continents, countries and cities of the world? According to Harris (2001), such a goal has not been achieved, given xenophobic attacks, stereotypes and other forms of discrimination against migrants in South Africa.

Apart from the fact that migration brings about cultural richness/wealth, it has other economic advantages. Migration gives room for the importation and exportation of skilled labour from areas with very high number of skilled labours to areas where there are acute shortages of skilled labours (Levitt & Nyber-Sorensen, 2004). Countries with very low resources of skilled labour benefit a lot from the technical/professional skills, knowledge and input of skilled migrants (Ozden & Schiff 2005). Inasmuch as I agree with Levitt & Nyber-Sorensen (2004) that migration brings about skilled labour mobility, skilled labour does not in my view only move from locations where it is in surplus. This is because many African countries are sources of skilled migrant labour to countries like South Africa, Europe and America. These African countries on the other hand do not have enough skilled personnel to develop their countries (Adepoju, 2006). The mass exodus of these professionals is as a result of wars, and political and economic instabilities in many of these African countries, and not because of excess skilled labour in these countries (Adepoju, 2006). The relevant term is less 'skilled labour mobility' (Levitt & Nyber-Sorensen, 2004) than 'brain drain' (Adepoju, 2006). Adepoju (2006) stated that "Between 1960 and 1987, Africa lost 30 per cent of its highly skilled nationals to mostly Europe". These are professionals who would have helped in the socio-economic development of African nation-states. The negative impact of this is that some source countries of migrants continue to dwell in

economic and infrastructural stagnation due to lack of skilled labour and professional personnel to help in developing their economies and infrastructure.

In addition, countries benefit immensely economically from migrants in many different other ways. For instance, migrants contribute in bringing down inflation and wages and also help in facilitating economic efficiency and growth (Muniz, undated). A typical example here as noted by Muniz (undated) is the American agricultural sector which largely depended on migrant workers/labour from neighbouring countries like Mexico for a good number of years. Because migrants are hired at a very cheap rate, this helps to bring down the cost of production which on the other hand controls and brings down inflation. However, this may be linked to the issue of xenophobia, where locals compete with migrants for available jobs, and migrants, being desperate for a means of survival in their host countries, are forced to accept any wage offered by the employers. This as Harris (2001) notes was one of the reasons for the xenophobic attacks that happened in South Africa in 2008 and other similar experiences like stereotypes targeted against African migrants in South Africa.

Also, at the individual level, migration gets people exposed to various cultures and the socio-economic conditions and benefits in other countries. Migrants benefit from this type of exposure as it develops their minds and widens their horizons (Pries, undated). Therefore, migration can be regarded as a part of education whereby people come in contact with different cultures. The extent to which the participants of this study have benefitted in this aspect depends on their experiences in living and schooling in South Africa. Apart from the socio-cultural exposure gained through migration, families and dependants of migrants benefit economically from migration (Adepoju, 2006). Migration offers migrants with job opportunities and good wages which their home countries failed to offer them (Cohen, 2006). People get better jobs and better wages in countries where their skills are needed and valued most (Dobrowolsky & Tastsoglou, 2006). In line with this, Muniz (undated) maintained that migrants save their families from economic hardship as they constantly send money home to support their families and dependants.

Generally speaking, the advantages and disadvantages of migration on the host countries and on migrants themselves depend mainly on the qualification/level of education of migrants (Cross & Omoluabi, 2006) and on the experiences migrants go through in their host or receiving countries. Cross and Omoluabi (2006) maintain that host countries benefit from well-qualified migrants, especially in skills that are in high demand. On the other hand, in terms of remittance, sending countries seem to benefit economically from migration but would experience the disadvantage of the brain drain which leads to serious loss of capacities (Cross & Omoluabi, 2006). The negative side of migration also comes in a situation where migrants experience xenophobia, stereotype, and exclusion and sometimes harsh treatment in the hands of locals of their host countries, which they would not have experienced in their home countries.

2.5 EXPERIENCES AND CHALLENGES OF MIGRANTS

Migrants undergo many challenging experiences (Byron & Condon, 2008). For one to leave his or her socio-cultural environment for a new setting brings many emotional and psychological challenges. Having myself experienced being a migrant, I noticed that prominent among these challenges are the issues of self definition and identity definition in the new environment. Migrants face the pressure of dropping their cultures and life styles to embrace the cultures and life styles their new environments present to them. Fukuyama (2007) maintains that migrants naturally find it difficult to get integrated into the new socio-cultural environment which sometimes is not welcoming, and the issue of identity poses itself as a barrier for migrants who do not have the same ethnic, social and religious background as those from the host countries. Participants in this study may well be facing the challenges of dropping their cultures and life style to embrace the cultures and life style the South African environment may present to them as migrants in South Africa. The contextual differences that Fukuyama (2007) notes undoubtedly form a great part of the experiences of the participants in this study, both as social beings and as learners in schools.

Furthermore, migrants normally suffer exclusion from important aspects of the societal life. Fukuyama (2007) also notes that host communities and countries exclude migrants by constantly limiting the rights of migrants. These demands imply deliberate exclusion of non-citizens

(migrants) from certain benefits and opportunities in the host countries. Bangura (2001) notes that many years ago in the United States non-white migrants suffered extreme exclusion from social and state benefits/opportunities, and despite the call for abolition of all kinds of discrimination by various human right groups, structural inequality still exists. This very situation perpetuates migrants' exclusion from vital aspects of social life in the host countries. In line with Bangura (2001), Harris (2006) maintains that African migrants in South Africa suffer all degrees of exclusion, discrimination, xenophobic attacks and stereotypes. The participants, being African migrants in South Africa, may well be facing these same challenges. Crush (undated) notes that immigration laws and policies are used to further perpetuate migrants' exclusion and denial of vital opportunities. Also, in some countries, immigration laws and policies put migrants in difficult situations by denying them basic rights and opportunities. In South Africa, the situation is not different. Apart from xenophobic attacks and stereotypes, migrants are still confronted with discrimination and limitations as a result of the lack of documentation needed (CoRMSA, 2008). Many migrants in South Africa are unemployed as result of their lack of documentation (CoRMSA, 2008). Also, many migrant children in South Africa face discrimination, such as the difficulty in getting enrolled in schools. Once enrolled, they still face other forms of discrimination such as denial of school fees exemption. The fact that they do not have South African identity documents makes the situation worse (CoRMSA, 2008).

Similarly, discrimination, violence and xenophobic tendencies targeted against migrants in many of the host countries limit their socio-psychological freedom in these countries. According to Harris (2002), xenophobia is characterised by negative attitudes towards foreigners, a dislike, fear or even hatred for foreign nationals by the locals of host countries. Hence prejudice against migrants in the host countries prevents social unity and the freedom of migrants (Bangura, 2001). Xenophobic behaviour against migrants by citizens of the host countries has been identified to be demonstrated through many ways including the mass media, political statements and violence (Harris, 2001). Migrants are sometimes negatively labelled and are connected with crime, poverty, unemployment and illegality (Harris, 2001). What this suggests is that migrants are seen and treated as outcasts by citizens of some host countries. Because of this hostility, fear and hatred shown by citizens of host countries, migrants constantly live their lives under tension, fear

and psycho-emotional depression (Crush, undated). In South Africa, most criminal activities such as bank robbery and home robbery are linked in popular stereotype to migrants, even when there are no concrete and substantial evidence to prove that migrants are responsible for these criminal activities (Harris, 2001). As a result of this, migrants are the target of arrest by the law enforcement agents. Criminals then capitalize on this situation to perpetuate their activities, knowing fully well that migrants are always accused of any crime committed. Such stereotyping contributes to negative social and personal identities and a sense of insecurity. Whether the participants in this study experience the same is a question that arises. Adams (2008) notes that many migrant families, especially those who are ethnically different from the dominant group, encounter varying degrees of bias, racism, rejection, and stereotypes from locals of their host countries. This treatment affects the emotional and psychological well-being of migrants, and CoRMSA (2008) also notes that such treatment makes it difficult for migrant children to develop a positive personal identity. This may affect the way they relate with others as well as their performances at school.

In line with the ongoing, Harris (2002) used a different hypothesis to unpack the causes of xenophobia and the ways in which xenophobia is portrayed in South Africa. The scapegoating hypothesis, the isolation hypothesis, and the bio-cultural hypothesis were used by Harris to throw light on the experiences migrants undergo in South Africa as a result of their social identity. The scapegoating hypothesis was drawn from sociological theory and relates xenophobia to social transition and change (Harris, 2002). In the light of Harris' explanation (2002) of the scapegoating hypothesis, migrants' experiences of xenophobia can be linked to competition with citizens of the host countries over limited resources for better living, such as housing, education, job availability and health care. For this reason migrants are seen by locals as constituting a big threat with regards to competing with them for resources. Also due to lack of jobs, good food, housing, health care etc, citizens of host countries find themselves in frustrating situations, and levy their frustration on migrants, as it is the case in South Africa, where migrants are constantly accused by South Africans of stealing their jobs (Harris, 2002). Under this type of situation Harris (2002) maintains that migrants are considered to be scapegoats, as locals direct their anger of frustration on them and blame them for their poverty and every other social and economic abnormality. In this sense, locals of host countries see migrants as being a liability to their

countries; suggesting or creating an impression that migrants only consume or benefit from the host countries without making any reasonable input to the well being of their host countries. The locals in this sense fail to consider migrants who play a major role in improving the economic condition of their host countries. It includes those who work in various sectors of their host countries' economies, who are employers of labour and who have created job opportunities for citizens of their host countries. It also includes those who work in specialized skilled areas like medical doctors, engineers, and teachers, whom their host countries rely on for these sectors to function properly. The question here is, is it right for the locals to see these groups of people (professionals) as mentioned above as competing or struggling with them over available resources? Are they to be considered as an advantage or disadvantage to their host countries? Or will many be considered as co-creators of the resources bearing in mind the fact that many migrants employ locals of their host countries to work for them. In addition, the government of some host countries rely on many migrants for their expertise in specialized areas of their economies? The way these issues are handled will conceal or reveal the contributions African migrants have made to the economy and social well being of South Africa and help shape African migrants' social and personal identities, as Harris (2002) notes. The participants of this study, having come as they must have with some hope for a better life, may face discrimination, stereotypes and xenophobic tendencies targeted against African migrants in South Africa. The way these above questions are answered may impact significantly on the personal and social identities of African migrant children in South Africa, including the participants.

Furthermore, Harris also uses the notion of isolation and the bio-cultural hypothesis to further explain the experiences of migrants in South Africa. The isolation hypothesis of xenophobia places foreignness at the heart of hostility towards foreigners (Morris, 1998). The isolation hypothesis understands xenophobia as an after effect of apartheid in South Africa which prevents South Africa and South Africans from interaction with the rest of the international community. The apartheid regime prevented South Africans from having contacts with people outside South African borders (Harris, 2002). In this hypothesis, foreigners become the unknown to South Africans. However, with the 1994 political transition, South Africa's borders opened up and there has been an influx of people from other countries into South Africa. With this development South Africa is integrated into the international community Harris (2002). This position exposes

South Africans to direct contact with the unknown, with foreigners. The isolation hypothesis therefore maintains that this meeting point between formerly isolated South Africans and unknown foreigners allows for hostility to develop given that the South African society has no history of living and interacting with foreigners, so the society will not be welcoming to foreigners (Harris, 2002).

According to Morris (1998) the isolation hypothesis implies that mistrust and hostility towards strangers in South Africa is as a result of long international isolation; the citizens were isolated from the rest of the international community for a long time. The long isolation impacted on the people's ability to be tolerant of cultural and ideological differences (Harris, 2002). As a result of the presence of strict boundaries between South African citizens, as well as between the country and other nations, it becomes difficult for South Africans to accommodate and tolerate difference (Morris, 1998). The isolation theory therefore maintains that South Africans see difference as threatening and dangerous. Xenophobia therefore is a result of the perception by South Africans of foreigners being foreign (Morris, 1998).

The isolation and scapegoating hypotheses for xenophobia only give us a general idea for the existence of xenophobia in South Africa. In the scapegoating hypothesis, foreigners are considered or seen as scapegoats for social ills, and the difference (or foreignness) engendered by foreigners accounts for violence and hostility (Harris 2002). In both theories of scapegoating and isolation, foreigners are seen and treated as consisting of one group. Foreigners are not differentiated in terms of cultures or any marked physical or behavioral identification. It is however evident that xenophobia in South Africa is not applied equally to all foreigners (Harris, 2002). African foreigners are often targeted and victims of xenophobia in South Africa. The biocultural hypothesis explains why African foreigners are often targeted as the victims of xenophobia in South Africa. The biocultural hypothesis explains that African foreigners are always targets and victims of xenophobia as a result of the level of visible difference or otherness in terms of physical, biological factors and cultural differences they exhibit (Harris, 2002). The inability of African foreigners to speak South African native languages and their physical appearance may result in their being easily noticed. Harris (2002) maintains that the biological-

cultural features of hairstyles, accents, marks, dress and physical appearance can be seen as signifiers. These biological and physical signifiers reveal the foreignness of the African foreigners and their differences from the locals. As signifiers, these features do play a common and important part in igniting xenophobic actions (Harris, 2002)

If migrants are socially constructed by the nationals as the 'other' (the out group), and taken to be foreign, they suffer isolation. Hence, the foreignness of migrants puts them at risk of facing violence and hostility from the locals (Harris, 2002); this is so because locals of many host countries fail to understand migrants in their countries and also refuse to allow any foreign cultures and identities in their midst. Stereotypes that carry negative social constructs about migrants entrench this. Since they are seen in a negative social light, they cannot be considered and categorised as the 'in-group' by the locals who position themselves as such.

2.6 TRENDS IN INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

Global/trans-national migration has been in existence since time immemorial (Castles, 2004). People are pushed as a result of social, political, environmental and economic factors to migrate from their country of birth to settle in other countries (Rothberg, 2006). As has been seen in this chapter earlier, international migration has ever been on the increase as a result of globalisation, which makes it easier for people to have full access to other countries of the world through more efficient communication network, easy and cheap transportation and most importantly, common and new economic, social and cultural ideologies (Kok, Gelderblom & Zyl, 2006). According to Martin (2001) about 150 million people live outside their country of birth or nationality.

Martin (2001) classifies international migration into the following two groups: voluntary and forced migration. He states that voluntary migration is kept alive through organised and well established systems which serve as a link between the supply of labour and the demand for both highly skilled and unskilled work force. Forced migration on the other hand is fuelled by negative factors such as socio-economic instabilities, human right abuses, natural disasters and wars (Martin, 2001), as in the case of the war in the DRC which drove away many of the citizens to different countries including South Africa. It still remains difficult to distinguish between voluntary and forced migrants given that one may start up as a voluntary migrant and later end

up as forced migrant. This situation as noted by Martin (2001) may arise if voluntary migrants are forced as a result of problems in their home countries to seek new homes or naturalized in the countries where they have migrated. Forced migrants on the other hand, may decide on where they would like to seek refuge given that they have family members, friends or a good number of people of the same community/tribe in those places. They also choose their countries of destination based on economic reasons (i.e. countries that will provide them with better economic opportunities). I agree with Martin (2001) that many migrants, forced or voluntary, target countries where there is economic, political and social stability and where would offer them better economic opportunities. For instance, as noted in the introduction chapter earlier, South Africa has in more recent times been a fertile location for huge trans-African migration due to its vibrant economy and high opportunities especially for skilled migrants. This could explain the reason why many African migrants from mostly troubled African countries like the DRC decided to choose South Africa as their country of destination. In the case of the migrant children from the DRC in South Africa, inasmuch as they are forced migrants, they may at the same time have voluntarily chosen South Africa as their country of destination based on the abovementioned reasons. If this is actually the case, the question becomes whether their experiences in South Africa are those that they were expecting to get in South Africa. Questions such as these are important as they certainly will enable a deeper probe of their experiences by comparing their experiences, such as their schooling experiences in the DRC, with their experiences in South Africa. Moreover, Martin (2001) also notes that forced migrants who manage to settle down in the host country may decide to bring over other family members. On the other hand, voluntary migrants may turn into forced migrants when they find out that socio-political and economic changes in their home countries will not favour them if they should return back to their home countries.

Certain factors explain why global/international migration is on the increase especially in the recent times. Dobrowolsky and Tastsoglou (2006) note that one of the most recent and major factors influencing international migration is the active involvement of women in international movement as principal migrants. Where the main aim for migrating is survival, like in a situation such as the war in the DRC, women whose husbands have been killed may have no other options than to seek refuge in other countries with their children. Also, given that many

women today are single parents, which means that they are as well economically active like the men as they need to provide for their children, it then means that if international migration is what they have to do to enable them carry out their responsibilities of taking care of the financial needs of their children, they will have no other option than to embark on international migration like the men. In this study, children may have migrated to South Africa in the company of their mothers and this may affect the way they experience life in South Africa. Martin (2001) comments that, more women continue to take part in active economic activities which may encourage international migration as principal migrants and wage earners.

Levitt and Nyber-Sorensen (2004) maintain that many international migrants today are labour migrants. However, not all international migration is labour migration. This study focuses on child migrants, a phenomenon which equally requires attention. This has recently been a common phenomenon in the African continent where migrants from countries with political, social and economic instabilities had to leave their countries for countries where there are more economic, political and social stability. A good number of these migrants are children; some with and some without their parents or anyone to take care of them in the host countries. It may be the case that some of the migrant children from the DRC in South Africa have come without their parents. In line with this, Palmary (2009) notes that there are a good number of migrant children without their parents in South Africa from different African countries and many of these migrant children migrated for employment. This report by Palmary (2009) suggests that many of unaccompanied migrant children are voluntary migrants who migrated to South Africa for employment. Also, unaccompanied migrant children who left their countries as a result of war or similar cases may still end up becoming labour migrants, especially in countries where they are not recognised as refugees and where they are not taken care of as such. In order to take care of themselves, they would resort to doing odd jobs thereby turning into child migrant labours. In line with this, Adepoju (2006) notes that different categories of international migrants on arrival in their host countries end up being migrant workers. This perhaps could be part of the experiences of the participants as some of them may be living in South Africa alone, without any person to take care of their needs.

It is important to distinguish between the experiences of more highly educated and skilled migrants (voluntary or forced), who easily settle down in their new countries because of their ability to get jobs (Martin, 2001) and those (at the lower level of migration) without enough academic qualification or any form of specialized skills. Such migrants work in farms and industries as manual or unskilled labourers, or in restaurants as cleaners or as security officials. They mostly undertake odd and unskilled jobs which citizens/natives of their host countries would not take. Many migrant children may be used as, or rather engage in this category of unskilled labourers, as they do odd jobs to support themselves, especially those without parents or any one to take care of them.

According to Martin (2001) it is difficult to put under data the rate of illegal migrations around the globe, and at the same time, it is quite obvious that the number of people engaging in this type of movement is very much on the increase. Illegal migrants (Ozden & Schiff, 2005) can be seen almost in every country of the world; they work at various levels of employment, but mostly as unskilled labour in industries, constructions companies and plantations. I would add at this point that apart from voluntary illegal migrants who are smuggled into their countries of destination by trafficking agents as Martin (2001) notes, many forced migrants are still classified as illegal migrants in countries where they are not documented and they are not recognised as refugees. In South Africa for example, many migrant children are from parents without proper immigration documentation as noted by CoRMSA (2008), and as a result, they are considered alongside with their parents as illegal migrants and this situation form part of their experiences in South Africa as they may as well suffer exclusion and limitation as a result of this situation.

Family reunification is another factor influencing the international migration pattern. Government of most countries of the world today permit close family members of migrants who are legally staying in their countries to enter through legal means (Martin, 2001). Also Martin (2001) notes that family reunification is made possible and sustained by the international human rights law of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which clearly states that “*the family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by the society and state*” (United Nations, n.d.). With this in mind, it therefore means that families should not be detached as this denies family members their fundamental right to respect of family life. Also,

Martin (2001) argues that since the family serves as the main support unit of each member of the family, separating families would constitute a big threat to other rights of the family members who need full support and protection from the family unit, and in order to protect this fundamental right to family life, most countries grant legal entry to family members of migrants with legal resident status. Host countries still recognize the importance of family reunification as it serves as a helpful means through which immigrants find their feet in their new environment (Martin, 2001). Family members as noted by Martin (2001) who have settled in a given country assist new arrivals to also get settled by giving them necessary support they need to enable them to get easily settled in the new environment. This may be one of the reasons why the participants decided to choose South Africa as their country of destination. Some of them may have family members or friends who encouraged and brought them to South Africa. This implies that, the participants whose relatives have been living in South Africa, and who encouraged them and probably brought them to South Africa, might later change from forced migrants to voluntary migrants as noted by Martin (2001) above. This will happen if the participants and their relations who brought them to South Africa decide to settle permanently in South Africa with no intention of going back even when things get better in their home country.

Dual nationality gives migrants the opportunity to belong to or become part of two socio-cultural, economic and political environments. Hence, most migrants have come to see and accept where they are as one of their homes, and as a result participate in every aspect of social, economic and political life of the society/community they have found themselves. The migrant children from the DRC in South Africa may as well have adopted this ideology, where they will have to consider where they found themselves presently as their home. They may think of taking South Africa as their second home. However, this largely depends on their experiences in South Africa as migrants.

2.7 TRANSFORMATIONS IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN MIGRATION PATTERN

During the apartheid era immigration policies were based on the exploitation of migrant labour from near-by countries, also on the strict execution of legislation, and refusal of international refugee conventions (Crush & McDonald, 2001). Crush and McDonald (2001) note that within

this period, different white regimes used racial and religious factors to decide on whom to allow entry into the country and on what terms, and by the 1980s, a good number of white migrants entered into South Africa. These migrants were given the opportunity of being assimilated by the white population by law. On the other hand, Crush and McDonald (2001) also note that non-white immigrants, especially African immigrants, were not given the same opportunity as the whites.

Crush and McDonald (2001) state that the labour migrant policy was another major element of immigration policy during the apartheid era, and there was mutual agreement, whereby labour employers and the government of the day benefitted a lot, at the cost of labour migrants. This agreement according to Crush and McDonald (2001) gave birth to a dual policy, one for the white immigrants, and the other for black migrant workers. In terms of this, labour migrants were not qualified for permanent residence status, unlike white immigrants who were granted the opportunity of assimilation by the white population by law. Labour migrants, as noted by Crush and McDonald (2001), were therefore required to return back to their home countries at the end of their contract and because of this, many migrants from Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland were arrested and deported in the 1980s. On the other hand, white migrant workers were recruited from Europe and some other African countries such as Kenya, Zimbabwe and Mozambique and were given the opportunity of residing in South Africa permanently (Peberdy 1999).

The abolition of the Apartheid regime in 1994 brought about a new and democratic South Africa (Crush & McDonald, 2001). There were many changes in the political, social and economic landscapes of South African life. These changes, noted by Crush and McDonald (2001), ushered in economic and political opportunities for both South Africans and non-South Africans alike as South Africa's borders with other Southern African countries were weakened. The resultant effect of these changes is the influx of people into South Africa, especially from African countries which have faced problems.

Most African migrants in South Africa have migrated as a result of war and conflicts. Other reasons have been economic and political instabilities (Palmary 2009). One factor characterising

African migrants in South Africa during this period is that most African migrants have been undocumented migrants. Landau (2006) explains that as a result of this it has been difficult to ascertain the actual number of African migrants who are labour migrants in South Africa. Statistic South Africa (2005) states that, at that time, about 5000 were legally documented migrants. Recently, there are evidences of new form of migration in South Africa necessitated by the socio-political and economic instabilities in Zimbabwe, DRC, Rwanda and Burundi. This has made citizens of these counties migrate to South Africa to avoid the harsh social, economic and political instabilities in their countries (Manahal 2000). Many urban dwellers, as (Adepujo 2005: 41) notes, moved across territories, including to South Africa. These situations supposedly led to a massive increase in the number of people who migrate to South Africa.

South Africa was a closed society during the Apartheid era; this was as a result of strict immigration laws/policies and strict border controls (Crush & McDonald, 2001). Crush and McDonald (2001) also note that the majority of South African citizens were excluded from the rest of the world as they were not given the opportunity to interact with people from outside South Africa. With these changes ushered in by the democratic government in 1994 and the accompanied economic, infrastructural and social prosperity and development, South Africa suddenly became a target country for migrants, especially African migrants. Thus there has been a change in the nature of South African immigration.

In the 1990s as noted by Posel (2003) there was a sharp deviation from studies concerning migrant labour to general issues on immigration. This change in the studies on migration in South Africa was as a result of the assumption that migrant labour would not be a part of the new South Africa. As stated by Posel (2003), this implies that in the new South Africa, people are free to decide not to be labour migrants but instead settle down permanently in places where they were able to find work.

On the other hand, immigration policy in South Africa after the 1994 election has been characterised by inconsistencies and irregularities despite the progressive immigration policy (Crush, undated). The reason for this Crush (undated) notes is that democratic government in the present day South Africa still operates under the old inherited system of migration and

immigration management, and in addition to this, migration and immigration management in South Africa has been faced with the challenges of the high rise in the number of undocumented migrants into the country especially from neighbouring Southern African countries. Furthermore, Crush (undated) as well states that South Africa's commitment to human rights and Southern African regional cooperation and development has been considered to be among the hindering factors in developing consistent immigration policy in South Africa.

All these challenges and setbacks notwithstanding, the nature of migration in South Africa has greatly changed since the introduction of a democratic system of government in the country. For instance, Crush and McDonald (2001) note that migration in the post-apartheid South Africa is no longer based on a racist immigration policy which welcomes only whites into the country, and secondly, the ANC government granted immigration amnesties to non-citizens in 1995-1996 as compensation to the victims of apartheid immigration policies. This move contributed a lot to the changing nature of immigration and status quo of the majority of migrants in South Africa. One thing obvious is that its effects are still being felt in the lives of those who benefitted from this moves. Furthermore, Crush and McDonald (2001) also maintain that the post-apartheid South African state has been committed to the principles and practices of international refugee protection, and South Africa became a signatory to the UN and OAU refugee conventions. This commitment, noted by Crush and McDonald (2001), requires the South African immigration system and policy to put in place refugee protection mechanisms, and with all these, the nature and pattern of immigration in South Africa changed.

2.8 EDUCATION OF MIGRANT CHILDREN

The international and domestic laws of most nations today, of which South Africa is one, endorse the right of children to basic education. Also, the rights of the child as stipulated by the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child state clearly that all children have the right to education including respect for the child's parents, his or her own cultural identity and the preparation of the child for responsible life in a free society (Adams, 2008). It is therefore important for every country to offer children; local and migrants opportunities to good education and training. This will enable them fit into the scope of things in the future as adults and

contribute meaningfully to global economy. To achieve this goal, Adams (2008) highlights the need for host countries to come up with policies which would ensure the enrolment of migrant children into schools, but should as well include explicit provision for practical issues such as assistance with learning the language of the host countries, appropriate assessment of the migrant children's needs and protection from any form of discrimination. What this therefore means is that migrant children should be properly included into the school system through measures that promote inclusion and diversity. The aim of the inclusive system of education in South Africa for example is to ensure that every child has access to quality education and to eliminate all forms of discrimination and limitations in the school system (Lazarus, Daniels and Engelbrecht, 1999). The effect of this on the education of migrant children is that when properly put into practice, migrant children should have the same opportunities as the locals in terms of having access to quality education without any form of discrimination and limitation based on nationality, cultural or language backgrounds. Inclusion here suggests measures that would enhance and enable all learners from different backgrounds and of all learning abilities to participate in the learning process. This means that materials for learning such as test material, curriculum, teaching styles and practices should be geared towards accommodating learners from diverse backgrounds. On a similar note, countries such as New Zealand and the United States of America, as noted by Adams (2008), have taken actions which are helpful to newly arrived migrant children in their countries. These actions are in the form of programmes designed to enable migrant children to learn the language of instruction in schools while they still retain their native languages. Therefore other host countries of migrant children should come up with similar programmes that would enable migrant children in their countries to have access to quality education without any form of discrimination and limitation. In line with this, Adams (2008) further maintains that in relation to the education of migrant children, host countries of migrant children should address issues related to language learning, teacher training, and appropriate curriculum and instructional materials that would accommodate the learning needs of the migrant children in schools. I would further add to the abovementioned that there is also the need for teachers to develop inclusive teaching practices and methods to accommodate the learning needs of migrant children with diverse backgrounds.

Moskal (2010) conducted a study on Polish migrant children's experiences of schooling and home school relations in Scotland. In the study, Moskal (2010) highlights the challenges and opportunities that face migrant children in school. The study further states that migrant children are highly motivated to succeed because migrants have the aspiration to improve their economic or social circumstances by migrating to their host countries, and this type of attitude is transferred to their children. On a similar note, Suarez-Orozco, Rhodes and Milburn (2009) maintain that migrant children from Latin America, Asia, and Afro-Caribbean basin in the United States also exhibit deep-seated beliefs in education, and optimism about the future. However, migrant children face major challenges and setbacks towards their education in the host countries. Moskal (2010) highlights that lack of English proficiency, related demand for language support, school's lack of information about their new pupils, differences between teaching and learning approaches in Scottish and Polish schools are among the challenges Polish migrant children face in their schooling experiences in Scotland. Also, Suarez-Orozco, Rhodes and Milburn (2009) note that many migrant children face a range of challenges associated with migration to a new country such as high level of poverty, unwelcoming contexts of reception, experiences of racism and discrimination and community violence.

CoRMSA (2008) identifies language difficulty as one of the major challenges most migrant children face in their education in South Africa, and there are no adequate resources in place to help them deal with this challenge. Secondly, CoRMSA (2008) goes further to state that discrimination and xenophobic attacks are also among the major challenges migrant children in South Africa face in their education. On the same vein, Suarez-Orozco, Rhodes and Milburn (2009) maintain that migrants are likely to attend schools that are overcrowded, understaffed, and full of violence and racially hostile peer cultures. Furthermore, concerns about vulnerability to violent attacks have detrimental effects on the school climate, which affects student's readiness and ability to learn (Suarez-Orozco, Rhodes & Milburn, 2009). In trying to highlight some of the limitations faced by migrant children in their education in South Africa, CoRMSA (2008) also notes that, even though schools are not permitted to discriminate against non South Africans ... some schools still discriminate against children who are not South Africans in their schools in things such as exemption from school fees. These challenges undoubtedly affect the way migrant children perform in school academically and contribute to their experiences both in

school as migrant children/learner, and may also undermine the way they relate with fellow learners and teachers in their schools.

On the academic performance of migrant children, Suarez-Orozco, Rhodes and Milburn (2009) note that challenges faced by migrant children complicate their adjustment to new schools and community settings as well as coping capacities thereby leaving them vulnerable to academic failure, and as a result, many migrant children find it difficult to succeed in the American educational system. Suarez-Orozco, Rhodes and Milburn (2009) further maintain that though migrant children have more positive attitudes towards their schooling, higher aspiration and greater optimism about the future than their local peers, many still perform poorly academically and they also record low rate in scholastic attendance. Contrary to this, Heckmann (2008) notes that in Europe, migrant children of Asian and Indian backgrounds in the United Kingdom and Soviet Jewish origin children in Germany are examples of overachievers who even do better than their native peers. The question here becomes, why migrant children in some host countries/communities perform academically well, even better than their local contemporaries, while other migrant children in the same context or different context perform poorly academically as is in the example given above? The contradictions above on migrant children's performances for me suggest that environmental factors play a great role in the academic performances of migrant children in different host communities/countries. Also, educational systems, policies, curriculum, proficiency in the use of the language of instruction/learning in schools, as well as teaching and learning styles and methods also contribute to the academic performance of migrant children in schools in the host countries. There may still be other factors that contribute to performance or underperformance of migrant children in schools in their host communities/countries. In relation to this, Pulay (2006) compared the academic performances of Chinese and Afghani migrant children in Hungary, and notes that Chinese migrant children do better than the Afghani migrant children. This Pulay (2006) notes, is as a result of factors such as differences in social and economic positions or statuses of Chinese migrants and Afghani migrants. Pulay (2006) states that Chinese migrants in Hungary are better placed socially and economically than the Afghan migrants who arrive in Hungary as refugees. Pulay (2006) also maintains that children from Afghani families attend state schools and face more negative attitudes from Hungarian schoolmates, while Chinese parents send their children to international

schools. These schools have developed strategies for easing xenophobic tendencies among students as well as enabling the presentation of students' diverse cultures throughout the school.

Suarez-Orozco, Rhodes and Milburn (2009) argue that a key factor in enhancing the academic performance of students is academic self-efficacy, which is the belief that one is competent and in control of one's learning. They further argue that higher academic self-efficacy as well as relational and academic engagement in turn leads to higher academic performance. Furthermore, language proficiency affects a student's academic success. Performance on multiple choice tests and the ability to extract meaning from written text and to argue a point either verbally or in essay are essential for high levels of academic attainment (Suarez-Orozco, Rhodes & Milburn, 2009). Also, inability to use the language of instruction in school is among the major barriers migrants encounter in their schooling experiences. In agreement with Suarez-Orozco, Rhodes and Milburn (2009), I add here that migrant children should be proficient in the use of the language of instruction in school if they are to achieve academically. Therefore, any programme designed towards integrating migrant children in the learning process should first start with programmes that would enable them master the use of language of instruction in school, like the case in the United States of America and New Zealand as noted above by Adams (2008).

Reynolds (2008) studied the impact and experiences of migrant children in UK secondary schools. She explored how the nature of the wider community and nature of school population affect a school's ability to achieve inclusion by comparing schools which differ in these aspects. She compared two schools which exist in very different local communities and have very different school populations. Her study goes further to state the effect these two factors have on experiences of inclusion. She argues that migrant children should be recognized as a specific group in schools rather than being considered under other labels.

Reynolds (2008) suggests that education of migrant children in schools is troublesome because there is an "endemic" dilemma between "community" and "difference". She further states that over the past five decades the British government has offered education policies aimed at addressing this dilemma, by moving from promoting assimilation and integration in the 1960s and 1970s, to a multicultural model and ideas of antiracism in the 1980s. At present it has settled

on the ideas of “inclusive education”. I disagree with Reynolds at the point where she suggests that migrant children should be recognized as a specific group in schools. This rather should not be the case if the idea of social integration is to be achieved through the school system. This will create an unhealthy social situation where migrant children may be discriminated which does not promote the spirit of integration, unless where the supposed recognition of migrant children as a specific group is targeted towards tackling the issue of xenophobia in schools.

The implication for this study of the literature on academic achievement is that various factors may impede or facilitate academic performance by Congolese migrant children in South Africa; the literature itself does not clearly predict either success or failure in schools, or what the attitudes towards education amongst the migrant children will be. Therefore, attention should be given to understand how Congolese migrant children in South Africa experience schooling and what factors may impede or facilitate their academic performance in South African schools.

2.9 MIGRANTS AND INCLUSIVE EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

With the completion of policy and development by the National Commission on Special Education (NCSNET) and National Committee for Education Support Services (NCESS) in 1997, the idea of inclusion and diversity in South African schools and classrooms reached an advanced stage (Naicker, 1999). With this situation on ground therefore, Parker et al (2001) maintain that schools and classrooms in the country are expected to be accommodative in nature and give opportunity for proper functioning of learners/students from diverse backgrounds. In line with this Lazarus, Daniels and Engelbrecht (1999) as well maintain that the main purpose of building an inclusive school is for the development of an inclusive society where everyone in the society can function properly and actualize their potentials and participate optimally, and where respect and value for diversity and social integration are encouraged and valued. Hence race, culture, gender and nationality (country of origin) cease to be hindering factors to accessibility of sound and quality education in South Africa. If this is to be adhered to as should be the case, migrants in South Africa should have access to sound education no matter their country of origin and their identity as migrants.

Furthermore, the idea behind building an inclusive school in South Africa is to develop and maintain an inclusive society, a society which will create enabling social, psychological and cultural environment for all to participate and function properly irrespective of the person's country of origin and identity (Lazarus, Daniels & Engelbrecht, 1999). This is in line with the principle of diversity which in turn can be regarded as the foundation for furthering the development of an inclusive society. This also goes to suggest that migrant children in South Africa should not experience schooling differently from their South African counterparts. It is therefore important to link the principle of diversity to that of social integration in order to promote the spirit of unity in diversity. Hence, Lazarus, Daniels and Engelbrecht (1999) maintain that the school context should be seen as a facilitating environment which offers opportunities for learners irrespective of their backgrounds, and members of the learning community to learn and work together in a cooperative environment so as to address prejudice and as well view differences as rich resources to the advantage of everyone; and to foster respect for oneself and others.

2.10 CONCLUSION

This chapter presents a review of relevant literature. The topics migration and inclusive education in South Africa are discussed. In-depth discussions follow on these issues: the conceptual understanding of migration, merits and demerits of migration, migration and globalisation, experiences and challenges of migrants, trends on international migration, transformation in the South African migration pattern, education of migrant children as well as migrants and inclusive education. The aim is to create a clearer understanding of issues around migration, the challenges migrants encounter in their host countries, recent shifts in the South African migration pattern, and the issues around migrants and the idea of inclusive education in South Africa. The next chapter presents the theoretical framework of the study which elucidates the key theory of the study.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In exploring the schooling experiences of migrant children from the DRC in South Africa, I propose to use social identity theory (SIT) as my key theoretical framework in this study. This is because of the social position of migrant children from the DRC in South Africa first as children and secondly as African migrants. Having myself functioned in this social context and having been exposed to the social realities of African migrants in South Africa, I considered this theory to be the most appropriate to unpack and elucidate my ideas, arguments and analysis in this study.

3.2 SOCIAL IDENTITY THEORY (SIT)

Social identity theory was first developed by Henri Tajfel and John Turner in 1979 to understand the psychological foundation of ways in which different groups relate in a society (Alexander, 2001). SIT also tries to find out what reasons and conditions that would necessitate members of one group not to tolerate members of another group and act in favour of the group they belong to “the in-group”(Alexander, 2001). SIT therefore maintains that the formation of in-group and out-group categorisation and the development of behaviours that favour the in-group at the expense of the out-group are as a result of group membership. It is concerned with inter-group relationship, group processes, and the social self (Hogg, Terry & White, 1995). Furthermore, people often behave in certain manners when they belong or identify themselves with groups. Immediately people are grouped together they start to exhibit behaviours/manners peculiar to the group they have identified with and they are known with such behaviours. Also, when there exist any forms of interaction among individuals of the same group collectively or individually with another group or members of the same group there are always cases of inter-group behaviour (Tajfel, 1982). In line with this, Alexander (2001) maintains that people mimic, favour and

identify with members of their own groups. Hogg, Terry and White (1995) maintain that individuals realize their identities through group identification, and the differences between own group and other groups immediately become quite obvious. Hence, individuals start to recognise their collective social identities through this process. Tajfel (1982) sees social identity as “that part of the individual self-concept which derives from their knowledge of their membership of a social group/s together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership”. Also Jenkins (2004) maintains that “identity is bound up with social classification practices”. Hence SIT explains how and why groups develop and the relationship between one group and the other (Khanyile, 2006). Hogg, Terry and White (1995) see SIT as a social psychological theory which illustrates intergroup relation, group processes and the social self. Social identity therefore addresses the social nature of self as constructed by society.

In SIT, a person does not view him/herself as one self or individual self but rather sees him/her self as being part of several selves that contribute and correspond to the bigger circles of his/her group membership (Alexander, 2001). On a similar assumption, Marxists draw attention to a “class for itself” (Lukacs, 1971). In this sense, group membership entails sharing common situations and interest which are for the interest of individuals in the group and the group at large. In relation to this study, the participants in this study who are migrant children from the DRC in this sense may recognise their group membership as migrants and their shared common situations and interests.

Furthermore, Turner (1982) refers to a social group as “two or more individuals who share a common social identification of themselves” Thus groups develop when individuals start to recognize the common social characteristics or socio-psychological traits they share in common. As soon as individuals come to recognize these traits, it becomes quite sufficient for them to act as a group (Turner, 1982). This can be seen as a result of recognition of their shared cultural backgrounds and moral values which determine and define their individual and group behaviours. This goes to explain why individuals of the same group tend to exhibit certain behavioural attitudes which can be used as the identification mark for a given group. It can also be argued that, for a group to be sustained, individuals who make up the group should put in place a structure where their views and behaviours towards issues of collective interests are

regulated by shared social norms and values (Turner, 1982). In this sense, social group formation, membership and identifications are driven by socio-psychological attachment and interdependence among individuals of the same group. SIT therefore elucidates the underlying factors which necessitate group formation and how individuals locate themselves within a group, their relationship with members of the same group and members of the other groups. It also goes to unpack the socio-psychological impact of group membership on individuals of a given group, and how this influences their behaviours as individuals and as a group in relation to other groups.

Social identities are not restricted to the description and prescription of how groups relate and should relate in a society but also evaluate social categories of one group's members in relation to other relevant social categories (Hogg, Terry & White, 1995). Moreover, given the fact that social identities possess strong self-evaluative consequences, members of groups are encouraged to adopt and develop behavioural approaches that would help them to achieve and sustain in-group out-group comparisons that would be to the advantage of the in-group and the self (Hogg, Terry & White, 1995). In this sense, members of the in-group (i.e. one's own group) would work to always achieve and sustain a positive social identity which would give them advantage in comparison to the out-group (the other group). In line with this, there may be instances where some migrants consider themselves more advantaged than locals of their host countries/communities because of the skills they may possess which locals of their host countries/communities may not possess. These migrants believe that they are more hardworking, intelligent and in some cases educated than the locals of their host countries or communities whom they see as being lazy, less educated and intelligent than they are. These migrants work hard to sustain these positive qualities about them as a group, which they believe give them advantage in comparison to the indigenes of their host countries.

SIT emphasises two socio-cognitive processes. They are; categorisation, which distinguishes inter-group boundaries, and self-esteem/enhancement, which serves as a guide for social categorisation (Hogg, Terry & White, 1995). Tajfel in his categorisation theory emphasizes that the process of categorising has both inductive and deductive sides to it. He maintains that deduction is the process by which a person is given some attribute based on his/her category membership; on induction, he maintains that this refers to the identification of a person as a

member of a category (Turner, 1982). While induction is the method by which the standard attributes of some category are inferred from one or more individual members, deduction on its own is the process of assigning them to all members (Turner, 1982). Categorisation therefore is a fundamental cognitive process which produces social and non-social reactions and which emphasizes and centres on those aspects of experience which have specific meaning in a particular context. Self-esteem/enhancement, on the other hand, is an important means by which social identity controls social behaviours by widening the area of action of motivational processes which is related to self-conception (Turner, 1982). Thus, as social category contributes to defining the self, there is the need for corresponding positive self-esteem which should motivate the desire to evaluate that category positively (Turner, 1982); Tajfel and Turner in this regard argue the need for positive social identity. They further maintain that social categories are evaluated by socially comparing with other categories on related value aspects. Hence positive comparisons between the in-group and an out-group makes the in-group members place themselves on a higher social status and this improves or contributes to their positive social identity. On the other hand, negative comparisons bring about low prestige and negative social identity (Turner, 1982). As a result, self-esteem/enhancement guides the social categorisation in ways that standards and stereotypes are to the advantage of the in-group. Here, there is the need for members of the in-group to see themselves from a more positive perspective when comparing themselves to members of the out-group (Hogg, Terry & White, 1995). One would argue at this point that social comparison here suggests exclusion of members of the out-group by members of the in-group because of differences in identities.

Furthermore, social identity forms an important part of an individual's view of him/herself. Francis (2006) uses SIT in his study to explore how nine Indian-White biracial young adults interpret their social reality. He states that "social identity theory is about the social categorisations of self and others, self-categories that define the individual in terms of his or her shared similarities with members of certain social categories in contrast to other social categories ...". Social identity theory therefore elucidates the role of social groups in the identification and construction of social self. Hence the social category into which a person finds him/herself, and to which a person considers him/herself to belong, defines the person as having characteristics marked for that category.

3.3 SOCIAL CATEGORISATION AND COMPARISON

Categorising individuals into groups is a statement as to where an individual belongs in society and this is achieved by the making of social groupings or social placement based on certain common characteristics believed to be peculiar to individuals of the same group. The outcome of social categorisation is the onward movement of variation in terms of social class. Thus if one group is seen or considered to be relatively superior than another group, it places the considered superior group on a high social class and the reverse is the case for a group that is considered to be inferior to another group in comparison. According to Campbell (1992), perceived status determines whether group membership contributes positively or negatively to the individuals' social identity. This simply means that if the in-group is placed above the out-group in comparison, the members of the in-group will gain positive social identity, and on the other hand, if the out-group is placed above the in-group in social comparison, the individual will have or suffer negative social identity. Hence individuals always strive to attain positive social identity within the group he/she belongs or try to move from a lower status group to another group placed above the group he/she belongs in. Campbell (1992) referred to this as social mobility. However negative social identity of the in-group can be altered by what Campbell, (1992) referred to as social creativity. This means an attempt to redirect or redefine certain marked attributes of the in-group in positive terms, thereby making positive the negative aspects of the in-group in order to gain positive social identity.

According to SIT, cognitive processes of social categorisation, social comparison and motivational strategy work together to produce group behaviour, and this is seen as playing a vital part in inter-group relationship, including the formation of national and ethnic identities (Campbell, 1992), which also accounts for different groups into which our social world has been divided into or categorised. One must add at this point that the identities and group formations into which our social world is divided are recognized and differentiated from one another by shared characteristics which define their identities as a group. Campbell (1992) argues that one's definition of his/her identity is mainly determined by the defining characteristics of the groups to which one belongs. SIT therefore accounts for the structure of the self concept in terms of those personal and social identities. Human interactions as noted by Campbell (1992) revolve along a

continuum of behaviour that is anchored at the two ends. There is purely inter-personal or inter-individual behaviour at one extreme and this manifests itself when the social interaction between persons is determined mainly by their unique individual characteristics. There is purely inter-group behaviour at the other extreme, which occurs when the interaction is totally determined by the belongingness in various groups. Hence two people/individuals may interact on the basis of inter-personal or inter-group levels. This mostly depends on whether the reason and content for what propels such interaction is determined by their personal characteristics or group identification. This may be used to analyze the way migrants interact with the nationals of their host countries and the issue of stereotypes about migrants in their host countries.

For instance, the participants in this study are faced with the challenges of dealing with issues of stereotypes about African migrants in South Africa. Tajfel (1982) maintains that instances of purely inter-personal or purely inter-group behaviour are not often evident in behaviour. SIT predicts differences in behaviour as the individual moves from the inter-personal to the inter-group end of the continuum. The closer the social situation to the inter-group end of the continuum, the more unity the in-group will show towards the out-group. In contrast there will be a decrease in uniformity of behaviour as the situation moves towards the inter-personal end of the continuum. When this is applied to the situation of migrant children from the DRC in South Africa and the way they interact with local people of the host country, it then implies that they will only be seen by the locals as African migrants with all the stereotypes attached to that group membership. On the other hand, at the inter-personal end of the continuum their individual interaction with the locals will not be on the basis of group identification as African migrants with the stereotypes attached to being an African migrant in South Africa.

Turner's (1982) idea of self-concept consists of the totality of self-identifications available to the individual. These can be grouped into two relatively separate subsystems of the self-concept; these are the personal identity and social identity. The social identity consists of self-descriptions/self-definitions which comes from membership in social categories such as nationality and race. Personal identity on the other hand consists of personal identifications, self-description or definition that are more personal in nature; and this refers to distinctive attributes of the individual. Social identity is concerned with the social identity end of the continuum. It

maintains that under given conditions social identity is more prominent than personal identity and a form of group behaviour which is different from personal would result under such condition (Campbell, 1992). SIT hence involves the process whereby the individual becomes part of a social group and the group becomes part of the individual's self-concept.

Also social behaviour displays certain characteristic distinctions as the locus of cognitive control changes from personal to social identity (Turner, 1982). It then seems that the movement in cognitive functioning from personal to social identity corresponds to and underpins a move from inter-personal to inter-group behaviour. Social identity therefore is a subsystem of the self-concept (Turner, 1982). Self-concept here is a hypothetical cognitive structure which acts as a go-between under proper circumstances between the social environment and social behaviour. Social identity therefore is a mechanism which makes group behaviour possible (Turner, 1982). The aim of social identity is to give a comprehensive explanation of the inter-group discrimination and group behaviour. This explanation anchors the motivational hypothesis and addresses the fact that individuals tend to differentiate their own groups in a more positive way from others. The purpose of this is to achieve a positive social identity when compared with other groups.

In line with the above, SIT is used in this study to explore, analyze and make sense of the schooling experiences of Congolese migrant children in two schools in Durban.

3.4 RATIONALE AND RELEVANCE OF SIT TO MY STUDY

SIT helps us to clearly understand social relationships and group membership within a society. Hence, I see SIT as an entry point in exploring the social position of migrant children from the DRC and their schooling experiences in South Africa; how their social identity and group membership contribute to their collective and individual experiences at school. I decided to employ this theory because it enables me to clearly elucidate the role played by social factors such as group identification and membership, social categorisation and power relationships among different groups in defining the social self of migrant children. SIT is used in this study to make sense and unpack the socio-psychological factors that determine the social position of

migrant children from the DRC in South Africa and how these factors contribute to the experiences they encounter in their schooling.

Furthermore, SIT will enable me to unpack the social and psychological factors contributing to academic achievement and underachievement of migrant children from the DRC in South Africa. In addition, since SIT focuses mainly on the functioning of individual in a society and also explains the issue of power relations and interaction among different social groups in a society, I consider it as being appropriate to use this theory by looking into their social classification/categorisation as “African migrants” and how this impacts on their schooling experiences, and how their group membership as migrants contribute to their behaviour and how they relate/interact with other social groups in their schools.

3.5 CONCLUSION

SIT focuses mainly on how individuals function in a society and interactions within various social groups in a society. The schooling experiences of migrant children from the DRC in South Africa form the focus of the study. Given that SIT focuses among other things on the interaction of groups within a society, this raises such issues as these: Does the social identity of migrant children from the DRC in South Africa suggest their classification as a social group? Could this group membership reflect on various aspects of their social life and as well define their individual selves? If yes, how do their group identification and definition as African migrants affect their behaviour; how they relate with local South Africans and how local South Africans relate with them as well? If so, their peculiarity or social identity as migrant children from the DRC plays a vital role in their collective and individual experiences, and their schooling experience is one aspect of these collective and individual experiences.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides a broad methodological orientation of the study and also tries to clarify key issues in the research methodology as used in the study. In addition, this chapter also discusses how different methodological dilemmas in the study were resolved. The aim of the study is to explore the schooling experiences of migrant children from the DRC in South Africa in order to situate the issues around these experiences into focus and to evoke responses on ways of addressing them. This is done by using two schools in KwaZulu-Natal as a case study.

4.2 WHY A QUALITATIVE CASE STUDY?

The study adopts a qualitative research approach. Nieuwenhuis (2007) states that qualitative research methodology is concerned with understanding the processes and the social and cultural contexts which underlie various behavioural patterns and is mostly concerned with exploring the ‘why’ questions of research. This research approach according to Nieuwenhuis (2007) studies people and/or systems by interacting by interacting with and observing the participants in their natural environment. Its emphasis is on the quality and depth of the information and not on the scope or breath of the information that quantitative research provides (Nieuwenhuis, 2007). The qualitative research approach tends to address the research problem as requiring an explanation in which little is known about the problem. It also seeks a detailed understanding of a central phenomenon (Creswell, 2008) and does not require any tight control and experimental manipulation. Rather the study requires a research approach that is process oriented and adjustable to changing situations and contexts (Anderson, 1999).

This study employs a critical case study methodology. According to Nieuwenhuis (2007), “case study research could be positivist, interpretivist or critical depending on the philosophical

assumption of the researcher”. Case study research in this sense makes provision for a wide range of research purposes. Case study research can be defined as a methodical investigation into an event or set of related events that are geared towards explanation of a given phenomenon of interest (Nieuwenhuis, 2007). It is an experiential investigation which examines an existing phenomenon within its real-life context (Yin, 2003). Going by these, case study research provides the researcher with the opportunity of conducting an in-depth study of a particular area of interest within its original and real context. In this sense, the researcher is provided with the opportunity to fully comprehend participants’ relationships and interactions within themselves in a given or particular situation and in the way in which they make sense of the phenomenon being studied (Nieuwenhuis, 2007). Case study methodology thus provides me with the opportunity to explore the schooling experiences of migrant children from the DRC in South Africa and to explore to what extent they experience inclusion and exclusion as a result of their identity as migrants.

Moreover, it is possible then to examine the participants’ experiences in the natural context in which they encounter their experiences. I have been able to generate detailed data and apply the employed theoretical framework in analyzing the data by using theory to produce new ideas which could be applicable to other similar situations.

Case study research is used to give in-depth answers to critical research questions across a variety of disciplines. It provides the opportunity to analyze from different perspectives while considering not just a voice or view of a few participants in a situation, but also those of other important players, and the ways in which they relate and interact within themselves. In this case, it makes way for the voice of the powerless and voiceless, like children or the marginalised, to be heard (Nieuwenhuis, 2007). What this means is that a case study provides the researcher with a deeper understanding and conceptualization of the dynamics of the situation. In this case, it addresses how Congolese migrant children in the two selected schools make sense of their schooling experiences, how they relate these experiences to their social identity, and how they perceive their social position in South Africa as migrants.

Furthermore, case study research explores deeply, and analyses intensively, the varied phenomena that make up the life cycle of the unit with a view to establishing generalizations about the wider population to which that unit belongs (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007). Thus case study research gives the opportunity of full and in-depth study and understanding of the situation which is generally applicable to a group in a society or the society as a whole by studying part of the group or the society. Consequently, by studying part of the problem, I gained in-depth understanding of situations and phenomena. A case study is an intense, in-depth investigation of a particular situation, event or condition in great detail which also gives in-depth knowledge and understanding of things that are generally true (Lantheir, 2002). It is a particular instance that goes to show what is generally applicable to a group or a society. Cohen, Manion & Morrison (2007) see it as a single case of a delimited system, for instance a class, a school or a community. Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007) state that case study establishes cause and effects by simply observing effects in real contexts. In this regard, I was able to gain in-depth understanding on the schooling experiences of these children through using an enquiry approach into issues of interest with the aim of understanding and explaining a phenomenon in its natural setting (Anderson, 1999; Nieuwenhuis, 2007).

4.2.1 STRENGTHS OF CASE STUDY RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

One of the major strengths of case study research is that it is grounded in lived reality. This means that case study research relates the phenomena investigated to the experiences of individuals, small groups or organizations. They hold more on the real life (as lived and experienced in a given context) than many other types of research. Another important strength of case study research is that it makes possible the exploration of the unexpected and unusual (Hodkinson & Hodkinson, 2001). In the process of conducting case study research, unexpected issues which are in most cases very relevant to the study might come up. It allows the examination of the exceptional, as well as the typical (Hodkinson & Hodkinson, 2001). Furthermore, case study research makes possible for rich conceptual and theoretical development. It facilitates sound conceptual and theoretical development. Hence, already existing theories can be brought up against complex realities, and data produced through the process are capable of generating new way of thinking and new ideas in fields of research

(Hodkinson & Hodkinson, 2001). In this regard, case study research further establishes its importance when new and modified ideas take place.

4.2.2 WHY A CRITICAL CASE STUDY

Given the nature of this study and the goal it is set to achieve, this study is rightly considered to be a critical case study. This is consistent with locating this work within a critical research paradigm. Being a critical case study emphasises that its aim is geared towards exploring the participants' schooling experiences in South Africa and evoking further research interests and debates within the context. It also aims to make recommendations that will serve as emancipatory measures; measures geared towards bringing changes in the positive direction on how the schooling experiences of migrant children can realise the ideals of inclusion and diversity in the South African school system. In line with this aim, critical case study is intended to support and promote equality in the society through its findings, and to ensure positive changes by emancipating the marginalised groups in our societies (Creswell, 2008). This being the case, it is intended not merely to explain society and behaviour but to ensure a society where democracy and equity exist (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007). Furthermore, Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007) state that critical theory identifies the false or fragmented consciousness that has brought an individual or social group to powerlessness or indeed power, and questions the legitimacy of this. It also holds up to the lights of literacy and equality such issues as repression, voice, ideology, power, participation, representation, inclusion and interest (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007). Also Henning (2005) maintains that critical theory examines the process of gaining, maintaining and circulating existing power relationships. The paradigm being used thus foregrounds the issues of power and challenges to inequality.

4.3 RESEARCH DESIGN

This study is divided into the following stages;

STAGE ONE : Critical story account

The critical story account gives an expository account of the schooling experiences of migrant children from the Democratic Republic of Congo in South Africa by providing vital information relating to the four critical questions of the study. Semi-structured interview questions were developed around the themes revealed in the critical story account.

STAGE TWO: Semi-structured interviews

This stage extended the information/data collected/produced from the first stage and gave insight to the four critical questions of the study, through further data collection.

STAGE THREE: Focus group interview

This stage deepened the data collected through stages one and two, and possible information gaps were filled.

4.4 RESEARCH SITE

All three stages of this study were conducted in two secondary schools with Congolese migrant children in Durban, Kwazulu-Natal South Africa. The schools, formerly coloured (the word “coloured” refers to people of mixed racial backgrounds), now have teachers and learners from diverse cultural backgrounds. African and Indian children now predominate, with coloured learners the remainder. Both schools are situated not far from the city centre, around former coloured and Indian suburbs. The schools are regarded as semi-resourced schools, which mean that they are not up-to those schools that are well resourced; the ex-model C schools as they are called or simply former white schools. Some of the learners in the schools live around where the schools are located, and some of the migrant learners live in the city centres of Durban. The schools are multiracial schools with learners from diverse cultures, which present diverse cultural beliefs, traditions, myths and experiences. The presence of migrant children in these

schools, with their cultural experiences and beliefs different from the already existing cultures and traditions in South Africa add more flavour to the schools' socio-cultural environment. The diversity should in this case be a socio-cultural advantage because it is a pool of cultural experiences which can be good for teaching and learning. Potentially the diversity of teacher and learner backgrounds should facilitate and promote the ideals of inclusive education in the two schools; where all learners are treated equally and given equal opportunities to participate in all processes of teaching and learning and in other school activities, irrespective of the learner's race, cultural background, beliefs and nationality.

Given that two schools were used, and for the purpose of anonymity and clarity, I tagged the first school as 'school A' and the second school as 'school B'. School A started about 26 years ago. Being a government school implies that teachers in the school are employed and paid by the Department of Education. In this case, the school management is accountable to the Department of Education and takes directives from the Department of Education as well. The school is open to learners from different racial, religious and cultural backgrounds; this explains why there are many African migrant children in the school. Learner enrolment as at the time this study was conducted stood about 900, out of which 2% are African migrant learners, with Congolese migrant children greater in number than other migrants. The school offers a wide range of science and commerce subjects. Learners in the school are provided the opportunity to learn other languages, like French.

School B, like school A, is also a multiracial state secondary school located in Durban. As it is a government secondary school, the Department of Education employs and pays the teachers in the school. Learner enrolment is quite high and the school has a full strength of staff. School B offers a wide range of commerce and science subjects. The school offers French as a subject especially for the migrant learners in the school.

Like school A, school B has a rich cultural diversity given that both learners and teachers in the school come from different racial groups with different cultural practices. I decided to use the two schools because of the availability of participants in them; also they represent a typical South African school context.

4.5 SAMPLING

4.5.1 PURPOSIVE AND RANDOM SAMPLING TECHNIQUE

Purposive sampling is an aspect of qualitative research. It gives the researcher the opportunity to select the cases to be included in the sample based on whether the cases selected possess particular characteristics being sought (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007). By doing this, researchers can assemble a sample that is satisfactory to their precise needs. This means that the sample has basically been chosen for a specific purpose. This does not represent the wider population under study; it is mostly selective (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007). It can also be used to access those who have in-depth knowledge of particular subjects, like professionals. Though findings based on the comments of a specific group may not be generalised, the main concern in this case is to acquire in-depth information from those who have access to it (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007).

Unlike purposive sampling which is based on the selection of cases with possession of particular characteristics, in random sampling each member of the population under study has an equal chance of being selected and the probability of a member of the population being selected is not affected by the selection of other members of the population (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007). The method here involves the selecting at random from a list of the population the needed number of subjects for the sample. One problem with random sampling method in most cases is that a complete list is needed and this is not always available.

In this study, both purposive and random sampling techniques were used to select two schools in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal. Firstly, purposive sampling was used to select schools with Congolese migrant children. To further narrow the sample size to two schools, random sampling was used where the identified schools with Congolese migrant children were placed in alphabetical order, and the first and last schools in the list were selected for the main study and data collection. The study engaged fourteen learners; seven from school A and six from school B. Convenience sampling method was used to further select 11 male and three female learners who are in grade 8 to 12. According to Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007), convenience sampling involves

choosing individuals who happen to be available and accessible, and who indicated willingness to participate in the study.

4.6 METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION AND INSTRUMENTS

4.6.1 INTRODUCTION

In relation to the above methodology, my study used a variety of interview methods for data production/collection and also employed critical story account of the learners' schooling experiences. A combination of these methods of data collection will be used for in-depth exploration and data production/collection. The interview method will use two types of interview which are semi-structured and focus group interviews.

4.6.2 CRITICAL STORY ACCOUNT

The participants were asked to give detailed accounts of their schooling experiences with particular emphasis on their schooling experiences in South Africa. These critical story accounts were guided so as to enable participants to provide the relevant information needed for data production and collection. Critical life story account is essentially an interactive and co-operative technique directly involving the researcher and the participants to produce detailed/in-depth information of the participants' life experiences through guided narrative account by the participants (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2007). This took the form of an oral story account. This method of data collection afforded the opportunity of getting in-depth comparative accounts of the participants' schooling experiences in their home country and in South Africa respectively. It further unveiled important information relevant to my study which were hidden and were not extracted through the formal interview processes and sections. It enriched the data collected and strengthened the validity and trustworthiness of the study.

By allowing participants to narrate their experiences in both their home country and in South Africa, the differences between the two experiences and how they make sense/meaning of these experiences became more obvious to them. Critical story account gave the participants the

opportunity to pour out their minds as they were not subjected to questioning or the usual interview environment, which have an impact on the extent to which interviewees respond to questions. Secondly, they had enough time to think and reflect on what to say during the interview sections. The participants were in a better position to explain how their identity as migrants has contributed to their experiences in school in South Africa. This approach also enabled the participants to be more active in their responses and participation during the semi-structured and focus group interview sections. I considered this approach as a form of triangulation.

A tape recorder was used during the critical story account section. This is to enable accurate and clear recording of the participants' account with any mistake of omission and misinterpretation or misunderstanding.

4.6.3 INTERVIEW

Interviews give participants (interviewers and interviewees) the opportunity to discuss or air their views about the world in which they live and operate, and deeply express their individual and collective situation from both a collective and individual perspective (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007). An interview in this regard can be regarded as a deep and detailed expression of an individual's or a group of individuals' view about what life and the situation around them mean to them.

In this study interviews were conducted in a manner that enabled the participants to express in full detail their schooling experiences in South Africa. Congolese migrant learners in the two selected schools were interviewed on different occasions after giving a critical story account of their schooling experiences both in their home country and in South Africa. Both semi-structured and focus group interview techniques were used in the process of data collection in this study. The first series of interviews were semi-structured, where the learners responded to in-depth and open-ended questions. This served to follow up on ideas that came up during the critical story account section, and created an avenue for further probing of respondents' ideas. Detailed and comprehensive data were generated through this process. This was achieved by asking the participants similar questions during the semi-structured interview section. Focus group

interview was the last method of data collection used. Data collected through both the critical story account and the semi-structured interview section were deepened during the focus group interview section. Focus group interview is used here to collect shared understanding from the learners. It is also used to get views from individual learners. A number of general questions were asked and there were responses from the learners. The focus group interview was advantageous in the process of data collection as interactions among the learners yielded the best information and deepened data collected through the critical story account and semi-structured interview section. Topics and aspects covered were specified in advance. The sequence and working of questions in the course of the interview were decided and guided. The essence of this was to make sure that the interview is guided towards the relevant topics on the areas of interest, though there was room for flexibility. Having allowed flexibility in our conversation, I was mindful of things to be considered when conducting interviews.

The following must be guarded against when conducting interviews. First, there could be the possibility that participants try to present themselves and their conduct in a positive light. Secondly, it is important for the interviewer to pay attention instead of talking when the participants are narrating their account and making a response. This is to boost among participants that impression of concern, interest and full attention. There was that flexibility during the interview sections with the participants, and I tried to make sure that the participants never derailed from the main focus of the study.

I made use of a tape recorder during the semi-structured and focus group interview sections of this study. This offered the opportunity to record clear and accurate responses of the participants or interviewees.

4.7 DATA ANALYSIS

Data collected through critical story accounts and interviews are transcribed and coded to give specific meanings to different information gathered. Through reflecting on the data collected, specific gaps are filled by collecting additional data. Codes are assigned to interesting bits and pieces of data to break down data into pieces based on reflections around different topics or themes that make up my study, this is to interpret and make sense of what is in the data.

The technique of discourse data analysis is employed to properly analyze data by focusing on the meanings of words and expressions used by the participants to express or make meaning of their schooling experiences in South Africa and why they decide to use such words and expressions. This data analysis technique involves identifying the different and flexible ways language is used in ordinary interaction, to elucidate the discursive sources of power, dominance, inequality and bias, and how these sources start and are maintained, reproduced and transformed within definite social, economic and political contexts (Nieuwenhuis 2007). The sorted data are read over and over again, and the meaning emerging from the data are coded. From this coded data, findings are drawn and conclusions made.

4.8 TRUSTWORTHINESS AND CREDIBILITY

To ensure credibility and trustworthiness, data production and collection were based on more than one method. The critical story account and semi-structured and focus group interview techniques were employed for data production and collection. Different methods were adopted in recording interview data. Apart from writing down the answers, the tape recorder was used to record the interview and notes were taken so as to be able to review the answers. Additional questions were asked at the end of the interview to cross-check the information obtained in the course of the interview with the interviewees. This was done by listening to the tape and reviewing the notes taken immediately after the interview process. Interviewees were allowed to listen to the tape recorded interviews and also given time to go through the notes taken during the interview process to make sure that what is recorded is exactly what they said and what is in their minds. They were also given the opportunity to make corrections where necessary.

Furthermore, other important measures were taken to ensure credibility and trustworthiness, such as keeping field journals, maintaining consistency in the data production and collecting methods and conducting a pilot/pre-test of the research instruments to ascertain their workability before going into the main study. To further enhance credibility, participants and supervisors were allowed to comment on the research findings.

4.9 RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

BACKGROUND INFORMATION OF PARTICIPANTS

The participants in this study consist of Congolese migrant children in two high schools in Durban area of KwaZulu-Natal province, South Africa. Fourteen participants took part in the study. Three of the 14 participants are females and 11 are males. Five of the 14 participants were in grade 12, another five in grade 11, two in grade 10, one in grade 9 and one in 8. The participants fall within 12 and 22 years of age. They arrived in South Africa in different years, between 1998 and 2008. Among the 14 participants, 13 of them claim they were schooling in the DRC before leaving for South Africa and one said he started school in South Africa. Two of the 14 participants claim to live with no members of their families with them. The table below represents the research participants.

Table 1: *Background information on research participants*

Participant	Gender	Age	Date arrived in South Africa	Grade	Date/year started schooling in South Africa	Living with family member in South Africa
1	Male	19	2001	11	2007	No
2	Male	18	2006	12	2007	Yes (brothers, sister and uncle).
3	Female	18	2002	12	2002	Yes (mother plus six siblings).
4	Female	18	1998	12	2000	Yes (sisters and brothers)

5	Male	22	2005	12	2006	Yes (sisters)
6	Male	18	1999	11	2000	Yes (parents, brothers and sisters)
7	Male	22	2002	12	2003	No
8	Male	14	2007	9	2008	Yes (everyone except father)
9	Male	17	2007	11	2008	Yes (two brothers and two sisters)
10	Male	18	2002	11	2003	Yes (mother and siblings)
11	Male	17	2004	11	2005	Yes (parents, brothers and sisters)
12	Male	17	2000	10	2001	Yes (parents, brothers and sisters)
13	Male	12	2000	8	2001	Yes (parents, brothers and sisters)
14	Female	17	2008	10	2009	Yes (brothers, sisters, uncle and his family)

4.10 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

One major limitation encountered in this study is time. Learners have limited number of hours a day to spend at schools and they are always busy with their lessons during the normal school hours. The interview process and discussions on the other hand, required a good number of hours for a reasonable result to be achieved. To this effect, special permission was requested from parents and heads of schools involved to make the participants available during the weekends and afters school hours. It was really difficult to secure permission from those involved and participants on the other hand had other programmes to attend during the weekends. It took a lot of pleading for those who took part in the study to agree to reschedule the weekend programmes and to obtain full permission from their parents and heads of schools for them to be available during the weekends and after school hours. The issue of time narrowed down the number of participants that were initially willing to take part in the study and the number I wanted to engage in the study. I had the intention of engaging 25 participants in the study but ended up engaging 14 participants. Also, limited number of female migrant learners in the schools used

and unwillingness of most of the female learners available to participate in the study is another major limitation encounter in this study. I wanted to engage equal number of male and female migrant learners from the DRC to participate in the study.

Furthermore, the issue of difficulty in generalizing my research findings to a larger group is one of the major limitations of my study since it only focused on two selected schools in Kwazulu-Natal. Nevertheless, it provides good insight and understanding of other similar situations.

4.11 ACCESS AND ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Before conducting this study, ethical clearance was applied for to the Faculty of Education research office of the University of KwaZulu-Natal. Upon the granting of the ethical clearance certificate, informed consent letters were delivered by hand to the head of the two schools used in this study, seeking their permission to use their schools and engage their learners in the study. Before the participants took part in the study, they were made to fully understand the aim and purpose of the study. Also, the aim of the study was properly explained to the parents of the participants and the school principals before the schools and participants were engaged in the study. Consent letters were also sent to parents of participants through the participants to obtain their permission to engage their children/wards in the study. In the same way, consent letters were given to the participants, also seeking their permission to participate in the study. In the consent letters, heads of the two schools, parents of participants and the participants themselves were made to understand the nature and purpose of the study.

Access was granted by the principals of the two schools, and consent was given by parents of the participants and the participants themselves by way of putting their signatures on the declaration forms. Participation on the side of the participants was based on the willingness to participate; participants were given the liberty to withdraw at any stage, point and time of the study. The anonymity and confidentiality of the participants and schools were strictly kept to.

4.12 CONCLUSION

This chapter presented in depth description of the whole research process. The type of study and the methods of data collection were discussed. The size, characteristics and techniques used in choosing the participants were explained. The procedure for data analysis and limitation of the study were also provided. In the following chapter, the data collected are analysed in response to the critical questions of the study.

CHAPTER FIVE

LIFE IN DRC, WAR AND MIGRATION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents an overview of key features of life in the DRC, to contextualise both the participants' experiences before leaving their home country and to enable a contrast with their subsequent experience in South Africa. It also presents data from the participants on their lives in the DRC before and during the civil war. While understanding these experiences and their reasons for leaving DRC is not one of the research questions, it is important to provide this information to frame the findings related to experiences in South Africa

This chapter therefore presents life in the DRC before and during the civil war, and experiences encountered by the participants on their journey to South Africa as narrated by the participants.

5.2 HISTORICAL AND CONTEXTUAL ACCOUNT OF THE DRC

5.2.1 LOCATION AND MAKE UP OF ETHNIC GROUPS

The DRC is located in Central Africa and it is the third largest country in Africa by area (Ziemke, 2001). French is the official language in DRC, and there are many other tribal or ethnic languages. The DRC is also known as the Congo Kinshasa; a name taken after its capital Kinshasa. It has a population of 68,692,542, and is made up of over two hundred different ethnic groups and many different ethnic languages (Ziemke, 2001). People of the DRC (Ziemke, 2001) are known for their ability to speak in more than one of their local languages. The official language is French, which was introduced by the Belgian colonial masters. Other languages include Swahili, Lingala, Kikongo, and Tshiluba. Lingala is widely spoken across the ethnic groups. It is the common language for business transaction in Congo.

5.2. 2 A HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF FORMATION OF THE DRC

Congo gained its independence in 1960. As at this period there were not enough trained personnel to manage the affairs of the nation, and between 1960 and 1964, Congo saw a number of coups, mercenary-led rebellions, the arrival of the United Nations (UN) peacekeeping forces, and the formation of movements based on tribes (Ziemke, 2001). In May 1960 Patrice Lumumba and his Mouvement National Congolese won most seats in the parliament; he was murdered on January 17, 1961.

After Lumumba's death, Joseph Mobutu, who was a military officer took over power. He remained in power for twenty-three years. Mobutu changed the political system of the country by declaring all political parties illegal, except his Mouvement Populaire la Revolution, thereby making Congo a one party state (Ziemke, 2001). Also, Ziemke (2001) notes that parliament was also abolished under his regime. In his moves to Africanize the country, he changed the name of the country to Zaire. Mobutu's regime was marked by high level corruption and brutality. Ziemke (2001) maintains that as result of Mobutu's high level of corruption, high level of inflation, the fall of copper on the world market, currency devaluation, and not meeting up with the agreement and requirements of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank payments, the country's economy suffered in 1970s and 1980s.

Ziemke (2001) describes how Laurent Kabila, a leader of a rebel group whose aim was to remove Mobutu from power, came into power in 1997. The initial celebration gave way to an internal conflict that eventually involved five other African nations (see below).

5.2.3 LIFE IN THE RURAL AND URBAN AREAS IN THE DRC

As Ziemke (2001) notes that in the rural areas, many huts built round an area make up a family's farmhouse. There are huts which serve as kitchen; there are also others for storage and ones for visitors. There are also separate rooms for males and females. How rich a head of the family is reflects on the size of the huts and his homestead (Ziemke, 2001). On the other hand, areas

surrounding the cities are large shantytowns, and those who live in the rural areas have a higher quality of life (Ziemke, 2001), except for the relatively few wealthy urban dwellers.

5.2.4 FOOD AND ECONOMY

As Ziemke (2001) notes, the main staple food in Congo is the white fufu. This is carbohydrate and can be eaten in combination with other dishes. For many rural people Ziemke (2001) notes, meat is a special food for special days, fish is common in many Congolese families, and it is the main sources of protein in most of the food eaten in Congo. In the rural areas it is a tradition for people to be generous and kind especially to visitors from distant lands (Ziemke, 2001). Families in the DRC like many other families around the African continent share what they have with one another; assistance is extended to the less privileged in the community. It is the responsibility of individuals in the community to take care of the needy in their midst. The needy are given food and other material support by individuals. To be generous is part of the Congolese way of life. Everyone tries as much as he or she can to extend help to others in their communities.

Congo is a Third World economy with very low Gross National Product (GNP) (Ziemke, 2001). Commercial activities are based on survival of the fittest as people use any means necessary to get what they want and to find food for their families (Ziemke, 2001). Ziemke (2001) notes that the Mobutu government failed to put in place effective administration for the people; this led to a situation where the rich were getting richer and the poor poorer. Apart from the few rich people in the society, people were unable to buy basic necessities as a result of scarcity and over pricing. This situation possibly led to the existence of a black market system in the economy. Like most other African countries, the majority of the people of the DRC are subsistence farmers (Ziemke, 2001). Despite this, the country is rich in natural resources like diamond, gold, copper, and oil, and many economic powers compete for these resources.

5.2.5 SOCIAL CONDITIONS

Ziemke (2001) reports that the richest class in the DRC live in Kinshasa; these are mostly government officials, businessmen and expatriates. A large number of the population live in

abject poverty with a very low standard of living. Ziemke (2001) also notes that teachers and clerks who live in the rural areas are seen by the majority of the population in the rural areas as rich, but in reality are rarely paid, and depend on the government for income. The rest of the population who live in the city operate in the unofficial economy (Ziemke, 2001). This group includes taxi drivers, soft drink vendors, sales people, shoe repairmen, and artisans.

5.2.6 EDUCATION AND INTEGRATION

Ziemke (2001) reports that Western education is also present in communities. The Catholic Church has many mission schools especially for outstanding children. There are also state owned schools which are often understaffed. Salaries for teachers who teach in state owned schools are mostly not regularly paid. Government owe teachers salaries, and this results in some teachers looking for alternative ways of survival (Ziemke, 2001). There are four universities in Congo, and there are many other technical and teacher training schools located in different parts of the country.

5.3 THE WAR IN THE DRC

5.3.1 BACKGROUND OF THE WAR

The war that started on 1st August 1998 was connected to the 1994 civil war in Rwanda (Andrews, 2010). This conflict came to an end with the Tutsi taking control of Rwanda. Hundreds of thousands of Hutu refugees and a good number of former Hutu soldiers fled into Congo to seek refuge. At this time, Laurent Kabila gave the Hutus rebels in exile in Congo the opportunity to carry out cross-border raids into Rwanda. At this time tension started to develop in Congo against the Tutsi of both Rwanda and those from the eastern part of Congo. The Tutsi from Rwanda encouraged the Tutsi in Congo and every other group that is against the Kabila regime to rebel against Kabila in 1998 (Ziemke, 2001). Also, Rwanda saw this as an opportunity to eliminate the Hutu rebel problem in the border areas. At this time, Burundian and Ugandan forces were two strong Rwandan allies, and they also took part in the war (Helium, undated). Burundi on its own had similar problems between Tutsi and Hutus, and Uganda on the other

hand wanted to strike its own rebels who were hiding in the Congo border areas. Kabila on his part invited the assistance of Angola, who aided him to take over power in 1997. He also called help from Zimbabwe and Namibia (Ziemke, 2001). The involvement of many African countries in the war made it to be more than a mere civil war.

Furthermore, Angola at this time saw this as a good opportunity to enter into Southern Congo to attack its own UNITA rebels. Namibia also had problems with the UNITA rebels in the border areas with Angola, while Zimbabwe and Chad aided Kabila in the fight (Ziemke 2001). As the government and the rebels continued to fight and intermittently negotiate, the supporters from both sides took advantage of their presence in Congo to extract natural resources such as gold, silver and diamonds (Ware, 2001). The war claimed the lives of many civilians, and troops from Rwanda and Uganda then fought each other over who will take control of the mineral rich area of the eastern Congo. The complicated nature of the war is as the result of many African nations' involvement and each had some motive behind their involvement more than just mere taking sides.

5.3.2 RAPE AND SEXUAL VIOLENCE DURING THE WAR

About 100 000 cases of sexual assault happened during the war in the DRC (Andrew, 2010). Sexual violence was purposefully used as a weapon by one group against the other. Ziemke (2001) notes that this was intended to humiliate, intimidate and break apart families and communities, and somehow force the communities into alliance. This violence was widespread and involved many of the combatants.

5.3.3 THE CONDITION OF SCHOOLS AND HEALTH FACILITIES DURING THE WAR

Ziemke (2001) notes that most primary, secondary and vocational schools were destroyed and their furniture was used for firewood. Books were also stolen. Salaries of civil servants were not paid by the state. To see that their children continued their education parents took over the responsibility of paying teachers in whatever way they could afford (Ziemke, 2001). Though

schools were open and teachers were teaching, the infrastructural facilities and resources for teaching and learning were not in place and the condition of learning was bad. Parents of learners were responsible for providing text books, exercise books and other basic learning materials for their children (Ziemke, 2001).

Hospitals and clinics as noted by (Ziemke, 2001) were vandalized, and the entire health care system looted. Like other public servants, medical staffs were not paid for years. There was no medication to treat the sick, and the little available was too expensive and too little for the number of people in need of medical attention. As a result there were many health problems like malnutrition, diarrhoea and acute respiratory infections.

5.3.4 THE CONDITION OF AGRICULTURE DURING THE WAR

There was serious displacement of people during the war, including those living in the rural areas, and the effect of this is a corresponding problem of food security. In the rural areas many people left behind all their belongings, including their farms and animals. The majority of the population in the Democratic Republic Congo are farmers, and they rely on their farm produce for food and livelihood (Ziemke, 2001). The war meant that many towns were cut off from their source of food supply and experienced food shortages.

5.4 EMIGRATION FROM THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO

5.4.1 INTRODUCTION

A period of political instability encouraged political migration and heavy outflows of refugees across porous borders to countries like Burundi, Tanzania, Rwanda, Zambia, Congo Brazzaville and Angola. Although in the early stage of the Mobutu regime, from 1965, the economy was strong, from 1975 to 1982, the economic situation again degenerated, social and political problems came back in the system (Ratha & Zhimei, 2010).

The war that started with the uprising against Mobutu encouraged more and more Congolese to embark on cross border migration to neighbouring countries, and intensified pressure on movement of people from one part of the country to another; from places where the war has greatly affected people to less chaotic places (Andrews, 2010). This movement was in response to the war and food scarcity, especially in the rural areas.

5.4.2 CITIZENS OF THE DRC LIVING ABROAD

The World Bank estimated that there are about 570 000 citizens of the DRC living abroad, of whom 120 000 live in Europe, the United States and Canada (Ratha & Zhimei, 2010). Ratha and Zhimei (2010) maintain that the number of the DRC citizens living in African countries cannot be actually estimated given that many of them are undocumented immigrants in the countries where they live. Also, it is believed that those who migrated to Europe are able to send money home in order to take care of those who stay at home.

5.4.3 CONGOLESE LIVING IN AFRICAN COUNTRIES

Inasmuch as the actual number of citizens of the DRC living in other African countries has not been ascertained, African countries like South Africa, Angola and some others remain the main destinations of most emigrants from the DRC (Ratha & Zhimei, 2010). Reports produced by UNDP Human Development (2009) also state that 79.7% of emigrants from the DRC live in different African countries. Since the 1990s South Africa has been a destination for many Congolese emigrants (Ratha & Zhimei, 2010). Apart from South Africa, Nigeria and Senegal have also recorded high numbers of migrants from the DRC, though these countries are merely transit countries for these emigrants, not their main destinations.

5.5 EXPERIENCES OF PARTICIPANTS BEFORE AND DURING THE WAR IN THE DRC AND EXPERIENCES ON THEIR JOURNEYS TO SOUTH AFRICA

The research participants narrated their experiences at home before coming to South Africa. Twelve out of 14 participants were able to recollect and give accounts of their experiences at

home while two of the participants could not give account of their experiences before coming to South Africa because they were very young at the time they left their country. The experiences they had in their home country are divided into two categories as follows; experiences before the war and experiences during the war in their country. For the purpose of clarity, these two categories are narrated in this chapter and looked into separately with the pre-war experiences (i.e. experiences before the war in their country) first.

In this discussion, it is important to note that the way experiences were reported is as significant as the content presented. The participants were referring to a time when they were mainly very young.

5.5.1 PARTICIPANTS' EXPERIENCES IN THEIR COUNTRY BEFORE THE WAR

Of the two who could not remember growing up in their home country, participant 12 said:

“I can't remember growing up in my country; I can't also remember anything I like or dislike about my country”.

Similarly, participant 13 said:

“I can't even remember at all being born there. I cannot remember how many years I was when we left Congo because I was still very small, I think about one or two”.

The participants spoke of their experiences in their home country before the war as smooth and happy. They spoke of having had a stable and meaningful life at home with friends and relations around them before the war broke out. Participant 1 in his account said:

“I remember in DRC we used to live a good life; my father was working and my mother too was working. I was going to school, growing up in a society where there is love and sharing and people care about each other. I was living a normal life like every other kid”.

The other 11 participants gave similar accounts as participant 1. Participant 9 in his account said:

“I remember... it was good, it was fun, I had a lot of friends and I had a good home”.

Also participant 10 in his own account narrated some activities he used to engage in with his friends at home which made home a special place for him. He indicated:

“What I can remember about my country is that it was very nice; enjoying the days with friends and nobody is bothering you. It was kind of fun because I do not have to worry about such things like crime and things like that. I like a lot of things about my country; we used to go swimming, catch fish, telling stories and staying outside till no matter what time”.

Participant 14 in her account said:

“Things I like about my country are that people show love to one another and there are no killings apart from the war. People care for each other even when they are not from the same family”.

These accounts confirm the richness in the experiences they had in their home countries before coming to South Africa; life was full and enjoyable with loved ones around, and parents were always there to give them support. One of the common and important themes that emerged in their story account is the support they used to receive from family members, especially parents;

“What I remember growing up in my country is that we were living in a very friendly environment and the family was supportive. I had my entire family members around me and so, it was easier for me to cope at school and to cope socially and everything because my parents were there”. Participant 2

“What I do remember is that...the family and friends and neighbours were quite supportive...”

Participant 4

The sense of being surrounded by friends and relations reassured them of their psychological, social and physical safety; they had a sense of belongingness. They felt being part of the entire structure of the society they belonged to and existed in. Participant 9 in his account said:

“I like my country because it is safe, also I like there because it is my country, and I have many friends, I have family and cousins. I can say I have everything over there”.

Also the participants’ accounts illustrate that they had no social limitations and they experienced a communal type of life style within the communities where they lived. Participant 3 in her account said:

“What I can remember is that I used to be more carefree and playful and I used to feel like I belong there. I used to have a lot of friends because growing in a small town, everyone used to be close and you really feel nice because if you need something you just go to the next neighbour and ask them, and everyone knew each other and it was nice growing up in Congo” .

Also in their accounts, the participants expressed that they felt a good sense of freedom when they were in their home countries; they functioned freely in the society and could participated in every aspect of societal life without any form of limitation. Participant 8 in his account said:

“I grew up in Congo, it was easy...we didn’t have all those difficulties because we were free. We could do anything we wanted and we didn’t have to worry about going to Home Affairs looking for papers and everything”.

Participant 1 in his account said:

“I like my country... I am free to talk in my country, am free to do anything in my country eh... I can go and play and get to places”.

Also, participant 4 in his account expressed that he received support from friends and family members and felt free in the loveable environment where he grew up. In his account he said:

“What I do remember is the environment I grew up...family and friends and neighbours were quite supportive and growing up was quite a free and loveable thing to do because of the freedom that I felt when I was at home”.

These accounts from the participants reveal that they had sound and memorable experiences in their home countries before coming to South Africa. They love and cherish the experiences they had in their home countries before the war. Life at home was happy and interesting before they left their countries for South Africa because of war. They were living in a community where everyone loved and cherish each other, where people had healthy relationship with each other. Participant 2 in his account said:

“Though we were not rich and we didn’t have all the facilities that we needed but we were happy and there was love between us, and we could relate easily even through our poverty”.

They still have some reservations about their home country. What they dislike about their home country, according to their accounts, is the war, the system of education and the government. Participant 2 in his account said:

“What I dislike about my country is the politics because the government is really corrupt. People are dying in all parts of the country and the government is doing nothing with all the money that they get, they put all that in their pockets”.

Similar to the above, participant 11 in his account said:

“What I dislike about my country is the government, the way they are managing things; things are not going well”.

Participant 7 in his account said that not only that he disliked the leaders in his country; he as well did not like the system of education in his country.

“What I disliked about being there in my country is that the educational system there is quite low and different from other educational systems outside, from foreign countries I can say, and the leaders in the country which are also not open to people. They seem to be so greedy...”

Though the above comment made by one of the participants suggests that life was well at home, the picture being painted seems impossible in an African country ravaged by economic hardship and the tension of imminent war. Naturally, the opposite of above account would have been the case. From the literature quoted above, it is quite clear that there was tension and turmoil in the country which led to many people leaving their homes even before the war started.

5.5.2 PARTICIPANTS’ EXPERIENCES DURING THE WAR

The participants’ experiences in their home countries changed the time war started in their countries. Life was not as it used to be, there were killings, starvation, social and economic instability. As a result of these they had to flee their countries to other places where they could be secured. Two of the participants in their accounts said they lost their parents during the war and they are disconnected from other family members. The war destroyed the peace, stability and happiness they were used to at home. Participant 1 in his account said:

“We were living in a family; it was a happy life until the war started and destroyed our family. My father passed away during the war. Everyone ran and took his own direction”.

The other participants gave similar accounts except the two who were unable to recollect their experiences in their home countries. They presented their experiences during the war as an absolute contrast of what life used to be for them before the war in their countries. Like participant 1, participant 14 also lost her parents in the course of the war and in her account said:

“My father, my mother and my grandmother were all killed because of the war, so I could not stay back in Congo without parents and with the war there”.

Participant 4 in her account said that what she hates most is the war in her country that separated most of her family members. In her account she said:

“What I do hate is the war that occurred and ...separated our people and is going on till now; and has separated most of my family members”.

Participant 14 in her account narrated the level of difficulties and sufferings in her home country which affected every aspect of her life and which kept her unhappy. In her account she said:

“In my country Congo life was not easy because of the war; people were running all the time and I was not happy about that, there were sufferings. I wasn’t happy at all because when I was going to school ... for example, I used to go to school with an empty stomach; there was no food to eat”.

There is practical evidence here that there is a drastic shift from the good days before the war to an unfamiliar and unfriendly condition when the war broke out. The effect of the war not only affected their social and economic conditions but as well affected their schooling and the educational system. This is evident in their accounts. Participant 2 said:

“What mostly affected me is that my mum couldn’t afford to pay for the fees anymore. We couldn’t sit and watch anymore because there was nothing to watch; we would have ended up in the streets...”

The war brought untold hardship and destabilized the happy and interesting life they were used to before the war. As a result of the hardship and insecurity, the participants were forced to migrate to other places where they feel they would find peace and economic and social stability.

5.5.3 WHY PARTICIPANTS LEFT DRC FOR SOUTH AFRICA

It is deduced from the participants’ accounts that they migrated from their country as a result of economic, social and political instability to places where they would live a better life and once

more find peace and stability as they were used to before the war. These migrants left their countries for South Africa to overcome the adversities caused by war in their countries to seek for better future. In their accounts, participant 1 said:

“The only thing which I do not like about my country is the war there...if there is any reason I came to South Africa, I found myself in South Africa because of the war”.

Participant 3 in her account said:

“Immediately after the war started, things started getting bad, and then I think it was after 1996/98 the teachers were not getting paid, and education system was not good. So, my mother decided that....we needed to get good education, we have to leave Congo and go to where we would get a better education because the teachers were not teaching...and the education system was a bit chaotic and messed up”.

Participant 7 in his account said:

“What brought me to South Africa is...at home people will finish school and do not have anything to do”.

Participant 9 in his account narrated how he was taken by surprise by his parents who arranged his trip to South Africa without informing him. He initially didn't like leaving his home for South Africa but later realized that his parents meant well for him by bringing him to South Africa for better future. In his account he said:

“When my parents told me that I was going to South Africa, I didn't like it and I was surprised because I didn't know why I was coming to South Africa...when I arrived here, I was likewhy did we come here. Later on I realized that they brought me here for better education and better life because in Congo there is no future.”

Participant 10 in his account said:

“I came to South Africa for one purpose, because I want to study and return back to my country and make my home a better place. I came here to get a better education”

And similar to participant 10, participant 11 stated this in his account:

“What brought me to South Africa is to get a better life and better education”

From the foregoing, it will be deduced that the participants left their countries for South Africa in search of safety and a better life. Pries (undated) sees this type of movement as driven by socio-economic, environmental, political and cultural reasons. In the case of the participants in this study they embarked on migration to South Africa to overcome adversity and to secure a better life in South Africa. United Nations General Assembly (2006) stated that the primary purpose of this type of movement is to overcome adversity and have the opportunity to have access to better life. In the same vein, Goldin and Reinert (2006) maintained that international migration happens when people move from one country to another to reside in the countries where they have migrated permanently or temporarily with the aim of seeking for employment, education or to stay away from harsh socio-political condition in their home countries. This description of migration by Goldin and Reinert (2006) is in line with the accounts of participants 1, 3 and 9.

5.5.4 PARTICIPANTS’ JOURNEYS TO SOUTH AFRICA

The participants narrated their experiences during their journey to South Africa. Twelve of the fourteen participants were able to recollect their experiences during their journey to South Africa, while two said they were too young the time they left their country and cannot remember anything that happened on their journey from Congo to South Africa.

Participant 13 in his story account said:

“I came to South Africa in company of my father, my mother and my brothers and I cannot even remember what happened on our way or during our journey to South Africa. My parents did not

even tell me any story about our journey, and even if they did, I cannot even remember how we came here”.

Accounts from the twelve others show that they had similar painful, stressful and difficult journeys to South Africa. Participant 1 in his account claimed that he did not have any initial intention of coming to South Africa. This is confirmed in his story account:

“We were just running day after day, night after night looking for any place that is safe. We walked and jumped into trucks. I remember we walked from morning till night; sometimes we walked for two days, jumped into trucks and we were following any truck we met on our way to no particular place in mind. We didn’t know which direction we were going to... In Zimbabwe there was this bus I jumped in without knowing where the bus was going. I later found out that the bus was going to Joburg and that was how I came to South Africa ...”

One general condition applicable to all the participants is that they left Congo without any proper immigration documents to any particular destination. This was so because of the condition they found themselves. As a result of this, they had to follow illegal routes and pass through excruciating conditions before getting into South Africa. This is evident in their story account.

“... my journey was long because we had no money, so it took us about four to six months waiting for time, looking for money and waiting all along... The mode of transportation during the journey was not good. First of all, finding a transport was very hard because we had no papers, we had no immigration documents. So, we had to pay money in order to get the documents; ... the passport... in order for you to get a ticket. So, I cannot say it was a smooth journey. It was a very hard journey because you will waste a lot of money, time, energy, a lot of things; even money. Most of our clothes were stolen because we had nowhere to put them”.

Participant 6

Participant 1 still in his account narrated some of the ugly situations he passed through and some of the conditions he was exposed to. In his account he said:

“... I was fifteen; there were things I saw with my eyes which I supposed not to see; things like eh... seeing a mother give birth on the road, seeing someone die on the road.”

Others had similar hard and harsh experiences on their journey to South Africa.

Participant 2 in his account said:

“I had to be close to my sisters to protect them because the guy that brought us here told us that it can be very dangerous and all that. There was a night we climbed over a fence; I did not know which of the countries that happened because it was in the night... Another thing I can remember is when we were crossing one of the borders we had to cross it in the night. They told us that it is dangerous to cross the border during the day because we could be seen by the border patrol officials.”

Participant 4 in her account said:

“... the journey from home to South Africa was quite dramatic because we never took one transport route; we actually used taxi, buses and train. I remember one, we used a boat. In the boat there were a lot of people that were vomiting because a lot people got sea sick and not used to travelling in boat”.

Participant 14 in her account said:

“I did experience a lot on our way. First, we nearly had a serious accident but God saved us from the accident. Also at a point the tyre of the vehicle we were in exploded and every one had to jump out from the vehicle and we had to wait for the driver to change the tyre... we sleep on the open place and got exposed to mosquito bites... there was no water to drink. People will scream on the way and I get very much frightened because I did not know why they were screaming.”

The participants narrated that since their journey to South Africa necessitated passing through other countries before getting to South Africa, three out of the 14 participants claimed that their families had had the intention of residing in some of countries they passed on their journey to South Africa but because of economic and social hardship in those countries, they had had to look for alternative destinations which they thought could offer them more peace of mind and opportunities.

Participant 3 in her account said:

“Getting to South Africa took us two years because we first went to Tanzania... we took a boat to Tanzania. In Tanzania, we took a train to the capital Dar es Salaam. We stayed there for one and a half years. Then from Tanzania we flew to Mozambique and stayed in Mozambique for six months. We tried to get something doing there and reside there until things get better in Congo but things were not really as we expected them to be in Mozambique... my mother said that we should come to South Africa, that there are more opportunities in South Africa, so we drove to South Africa”.

It can be gathered from the accounts that apart from the routes through many countries before getting to South Africa, it also took them a very long time before they could finally get into South Africa from Congo. The primary reason for this long delay was mostly the lack of finance to embark on such a long trip from Congo to South Africa. As a result, some of the participants claimed they had to stay in some other countries for months or even years; they worked and raised money to continue their journey to South Africa. In the course of doing this they were exposed to many other hard and harsh conditions; ranging from exposure to disease, economic hardship in forms of lack of food, shelter and clothing.

“...the journey was not so easy, leaving my country to come to South Africa; we used different ways of transportation and we also had to stop at different places such as Tanzania. We stayed in Tanzania for about three or four years. We tried to do something to sustain ourselves in order to get some money, so we were there for about three years or four years. We decided to leave Tanzania because there were so many kinds of diseases, I mean epidemics. My elder brother was

infected with a disease and he died there in Tanzania. The situation was not good there for us to live. We decided to leave Tanzania for Malawi. We took train and bus from Tanzania to get to Malawi, when we arrived in Malawi we spent about seven or eight months in Malawi, we left Malawi as well and went straight to Mozambique. In Mozambique we stayed there only for about four months, and then I left Mozambique and came to South Africa alone. ” Participant 7

“I left DRC for Tanzania. I spent some days there in Tanzania then I went to Malawi. I spent some months in Malawi to work and find some money to continue my journey. I left Malawi for Mozambique and from Mozambique to South Africa” Participant 5

After the hard and long journey, they finally arrived in South Africa. On their arrival, their experiences differ. Some were lucky to have some of their friends or relations already living in South Africa who were ready and willing to accommodate them, while some had no place to go, no place to sleep, no food to eat and no one to assist them on arrival.

Participant 1 in his account narrated his ordeal; how he suffered on his arrival in South Africa without nowhere to sleep or food to eat. In his account he said;

“When I arrived in South Africa... I said to myself, now I have a good life; the type of life I was thinking of, but the first day in South Africa was a living nightmare. I said ... I am hungry and I have to eat and I have to find a place to sleep but I could not get these things because I could not communicate with people. ... I looked for a place to stay but could not get anyone to help me. I could not even communicate with people. I had to sleep outside; I slept outside for about twenty days I think, about twenty days slept on the road”.

Participant 6 in his account narrated the hardship he faced on his arrival in South Africa. In his account he said:

“When I reached South Africa, the first place I got to is Point Road in Durban. First of all, we slept at the beach for three days because we had nowhere to go. So, my father used to just walk around the Point Road and at market and that is how my father met his friend. .. In those three

days life was very hard... there were no food provided for us because we had no money and what we could only see were people passing by and cars and feed by that. If we get bread we thank God, it was very hard”.

On the other hand, some others had different experiences on their arrival in South Africa. Some were lucky to have someone to provide them with initial assistance, unlike those with harsh experiences on their arrival. Those who had friends and family members already in South Africa had better experiences on arrival in South Africa.

Participant 2 in his account said:

“When we arrived in South Africa, my late father’s friend that brought us handed us over to my uncle who is a pastor, and we have been staying with my uncle till now...., he is the one that is taking care of us; paying our school fees. He is the one that helped us also to get our papers here; he is our guardian. Few days after arriving here, my uncle took me around to show me the environment... I was fascinated by the buildings and the environment because back in my country streets are not as clean as they are here; buildings are not as tall as they are here”.

Participant 7 claimed he had a different experience from the rest. He was adopted by a South African family who took care of him for a while because he arrived in South Africa unaccompanied by anyone and he was still underage by the time he arrived in South Africa. He was lucky to have been taken to Home Affairs and he was handed over to a family that looked after him. This is evident in his account. In his account he said:

“The time I arrived South Africa, things were not so easy for me, and I can say that it was so hard as well because when I arrived, I went to the Department of Home Affairs. I think I was still underage; I was about fifteen or sixteen, I was unaccompanied and they decided to take me somewhere to a particular family to take care of me and bring me up... so that I may go back to school... they asked me if I would like to go back to school, and they preferred that it will be better for me to back go to school”.

Accounts given by the participants reveal two different experiences on arrival in South Africa, first the experiences encountered by those who already have friends and relations in South Africa and whose decisions to take refuge in South Africa were based on the fact that they have friends and relations in South Africa who would be of assistance to them on arrival. On the other hand there are experiences of those who did not have anyone in South Africa, and whose decision to take refuge in South Africa was based on the fact that South Africa would provide better opportunities for them. These two experiences as narrated by the participants are in line with Martin (2001), who maintains that forced migrants may decide on where they would like to seek refuge given that they have family members, friends or a good number of people of the same community/tribe in those places. They also choose their countries of destination based on economic reasons (i.e. countries that will provide them with better economic opportunities). Hence migrants who manage to settle down in the country they have migrated to may decide to bring over other family members. Thus the difference in the two experiences as narrated by the participants is that those who have relations or friends in South Africa before coming to South Africa were able to get the initial support and assistance from these friends and relations on arrival. On the other hand those who had nobody in South Africa before coming to South Africa had no one to assist them on arrival in South Africa.

5.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter presented the historical and contextual account of the DRC, the war in the DRC, the outline of the DRC emigration and the experiences of the participants before and during the war in the DRC as well as their journey to South Africa as narrated by the participants. In-depth narratives and direct accounts of the participants are used in this chapter. In the following chapter, data collected in the course of the study are presented; discussions and analysis are made in response to the critical questions of the study.

CHAPTER SIX

FINDINGS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter five focuses on different aspects of life in the DRC, the war in the DRC and its effects on the people, infrastructure and other consequences. It also focuses on migration trends of the people of DRC from its independence to date. This chapter on the other hand presents the key findings of the study as it addresses the following critical questions of the study:

- How do migrant children from the DRC experience schooling in South Africa?
- What challenges do migrant children from the DRC in South Africa encounter?
- How do their social identities as migrants in South Africa contribute to their schooling experiences?
- What opportunities do migrant children from the DRC in South Africa gain from schooling in South Africa?

6.2 FINDINGS

This chapter will address first the thematic analysis of the data, and then the implications of the findings for SIT and for the education of migrant children. Consistent with the **thematic** analysis of data, all the ideas discussed in this chapter emerged from the data obtained in the course of the study. Various themes emerged as I worked with the statements of the participants on their schooling experiences in South Africa with regards to the critical questions of the study. Transcripts were developed from each step in the process of data collection. Upon analyzing the transcripts, common themes emerged frequently in relation to the critical questions of the study. In this chapter, there is a discussion of emerging themes, and answers to the critical questions of the study are drawn from the discussions around the following eight themes:

1. **Teachers and learners are divided between those who are supportive and those who are not.** *“There are teachers who do not like foreigners ..., and there are those who like foreigners and treat everyone equally’ ‘I get assistance from some learners..., and some learners do not like foreigners; they are rude to us...”*
2. **Cultural alienation.** *“South African culture is different from our culture; in South Africa people eat food that is not right.”*
3. **Stereotypes about African migrants in South Africa.** *“South Africans believe that foreigners are in South Africa to bring pains, sufferings, crimes, and to increase crime...”*
4. **Problem with Home Affairs.** *“I...dislike the way the Home Affairs treats us; people working there do not treat us with respect when we go there for our papers. They treat us with no respect and at the end of the day they will not attend to us after waiting there for hour.”*
5. **Sense of isolation in school.** *“I feel like I am alone; a lot of people stay away from me because I am a foreigner.”*
6. **Better standard of education in South Africa.** *“I have access to more things and better education.”*
7. **Successes encountered at school.** *“I do well in my school work ...I have received awards in Mathematics and for getting overall best result when I was in grade 11 last year...”*
8. **Advantages of being a migrant and a migrant learner.** *“I think is nice because being migrant means that you have travelled a lot and you have seen many things in life which*

someone who have not travelled has not witnessed or seen. Though I am still in school, I have better understanding of the world than my mates in school.”

Theme **6.2.1** answers the first critical question of the study which is ‘*How do migrant children from the DRC in South Africa experience schooling in South Africa?*’ Themes **6.2.2**, **6.2.3** and **6.2.4** answer the second research question ‘*What challenges do the migrant children from the DRC in South Africa encounter?*’ Theme **6.2.5** answers the third research question which is ‘*How do their social identities as migrants in South Africa contribute to their schooling experiences?*’ Themes **6.2.6** and **6.2.7** answer the fourth research question which is ‘*What opportunities do migrant children from the DRC in South Africa gain from schooling in South Africa?*’ Furthermore, theme **6.2.8** answers the fourth research question ‘*What opportunities do migrant children from the DRC in South Africa gain from schooling in South Africa?*’.

6.2.1 TEACHERS AND LEARNERS ARE DIVIDED BETWEEN THOSE WHO ARE SUPPORTIVE AND THOSE WHO ARE NOT

Support is a necessary and important factor in all human endeavours. Every human being needs some sort of support from others. This shows why we exist in a community of human beings. Support comes in different forms; psychological, moral, physical, emotional and material. Support shows inclusion while lack of support shows exclusion.

Data collected in this study show that the participants’ views of their schooling experiences are closely related to how much support they receive from both teachers and learners in their schools. This also indicates to what extent, they enjoy inclusion or suffer exclusion in their schools. Six out of the 14 participants involved in the study claimed that they receive support from all their teachers, while the remaining eight participants claimed that they do not receive support from all the teachers in their schools. Participant 2 described how supportive some teachers in his school are to him. He said:

“...some teachers are really supportive. They try to make me feel belonged and to feel that they relate with me the same way they relate with South African learners ... They do not want me to feel excluded even when I have personal problems. They want me to feel that we are a family in school not just only academics”. Participant 2 (focus group)

Participant 4 in her account said:

“I really like all the teachers in my school because they are quite helpful and they are dedicated as well, very patient in terms of teaching learners”

On the other hand participant 1 in his account said:

“There are some teachers who do not like foreigners; they think that we have come to disturb their country.”

Also participant 6 tried to describe teachers who are supportive and those who are not, he said:

“There are some teachers that understand my situation, they know that I am a foreigner and they understand my problems but there are others who do not understand, when I go to them for help they will tell me that they do not care about my problems, about who I am, and that is not their job.”

Support in this context could be moral, emotional or psychological. In this sense, teachers are expected to play the role of not only teachers but also parents and mentors (Parker et al, 2001). What this means is that teachers should be able to provide psychological and moral support for learners. This can be done by making sure that all learners in the class or school are treated equally and individual attention is given to each learner in order to understand the learner properly; his/her person and background. By doing this, teachers create room for equal opportunities for all learners. In line with this, participant 2 explains that he draws encouragement from the support he gets from some of his teachers:

“I also like the support I get from some of my teachers; they do not discriminate against me because of my origin or anything, they treat me like any other learner and this encourages me to put more efforts in my studies and like coming to school.”

When the classroom is conducive for learners, it boosts their morale and they are encouraged to be more active in class and in other school activities because no learner feels excluded. Giving support to learners means giving them a sense of belonging (inclusion). In contrast, participant 5 said:

“There are some teachers I do not like in my school because they do not help us foreigners. Any time we go to them for help they will not like to help us. They make me feel that I do not belong here.”

Participant 14 in her account explains how one of her teacher’s attitudes towards her discourages her from doing well in her subject and makes her feel uncomfortable in school. She said:

“There is only one teacher that I do not like. She doesn’t like me and she makes me feel I am stupid. The teacher talks to me in a language I do not understand in front of other learners in class and the learners normally laugh at me whenever she says something about me in class. This makes me feel bad, the teacher has shown me that she does not like me, and because she does not like me I do not do well in her subject.”

The way the participants in this study experience schooling in South Africa is determined by how much support they receive from both teachers and learners in their schools.

Also, to ensure a healthy learning environment, learners must also play their part in supporting fellow learners. This support comes in form of cooperation among learners and respect for fellow learners. Availability or lack of such support from learners in part determines learners’ schooling experiences. All the 14 participants in the study claimed that they did not receive support from all the learners in their schools; however they have received support from some learners who encourage them and make them feel belonged. Participant 2 said:

“...my friends have been supportive, they have been giving me encouragement even when I was down, and when I felt down they were there to encourage me. They make me feel that I am part of them, this encourages me.”

Participant 13 like participant 2 also explained that he got encouragement from his friends in school, who always celebrated with him any time he wins trophies for his school. He said:

“We normally go to other schools to run, when I win medals all my friends will cheer me up and get along to celebrate it with me as well. Their support encourages me to perform better in sports and other activities because I know they will be happy.”

On the other hand participant 5 said that he feels bad because of the type of treatment he receives from some learners in his school. He said:

“There are some learners who do not respect us; they do not treat us like human beings, they see and treat us like animals and I feel so bad and excluded because of that.”

6.2.2 CULTURAL ALIENATION

A person's culture is an integral part of his or her life. It is naturally challenging for one to exist outside his or her cultural background (Fukuyama, 2007). A people's culture is tied with their common and individual identities and inseparable from their everyday lives (Jegede & Aikenhead, 1999). Migrants feel disturbed when they become culturally alienated in their new socio-cultural environment. In most cases, migrants are faced with the challenges of dropping their cultures to embrace the culture and styles of living in the new environments they have found themselves, and this is often very difficult to do (Jegede & Aikenhead, 1999). This situation is not different with the participants as they expressed the shock they had to pass through in embracing a new culture in South Africa; a culture different from what they were used to in their home country. All the participants in the study claimed that they were overwhelmed by the huge cultural divide between their home country and South Africa in terms of dress, food, moral values and how people relate to one another in the new environment.

Participant 5 in his account said:

“In my culture people have respect for others, and we wear nice clothes that cover our bodies but here I saw something different from what I am used to at home; girls leave their bodies open because of the type of clothes they wear. In our culture it is so different, you are supposed to cover your body; in fact every part of your body... Another thing is that the food in DRC is fantastic but here in South Africa it is so different; South Africans eat food that is not right, like baby chickens.”

And participant 4 in her account said:

“...back home we normally dress up more traditionally but here there is more Western type of dressing.”

A sense of cultural alienation distances one from his roots and brings in feeling of isolation (Fukuyama, 2007). In some cases there is a struggle to reconcile what is morally good or bad in their culture with the new culture and life style they have come to embrace. What might be morally good in the DRC might not be accepted in the South African context and vice versa. One typical example here is the difference in the style of dress. In line with this participant 3 explains that she used to see women wearing jeans and trouser as bad because in the community where she grew up in the DRC the society frowns at women wearing trousers, jeans and mini skirts, but in South Africa she is confronted with different norms. Women wearing trousers are seen by the society as decent, whereas in the community where she grew up it is seen as a taboo. As in parts of South Africa, the attitude in DRC is different. Participant 3 stated:

“I remember back home in the community where I grew up, women are forbidden to wear jeans or pants. Women instead dress in the traditional clothes, wearing jeans and pants or mini skirts is not part of dressing for women and such dressing is not permitted. When I came to South Africa I started seeing women dressing in ways we consider as bad at home. This really disturbed me because I was not used to that kind of dressing.”

The participants in this sense are once again confronted with the challenge of accepting new cultures and new ways of living and that of settling cultural differences.

6.2.3 STEREOTYPES ABOUT AFRICAN MIGRANTS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

One of the greatest challenges migrants encounter in their host communities/countries is stereotyping; what locals of their host communities/countries think and the ideas they have about migrants in their communities or countries, their ideas about migrants. The issue of stereotyping can cause and have caused migrants great affliction in their host communities or countries (Harris, 2002). Sometimes they are hated, intimidated, abused physically and verbally, as well as feared by locals of their host communities or countries as a result of what these locals think or heard about migrants in their countries. For instance, the recent xenophobic attack on African migrants in South Africa which claimed many innocent lives and left many others seriously injured may be linked to stereotypes about African migrants in South Africa. Negative stereotypes about migrants in their host communities or countries make them feel unsafe and affect them psychologically as well. Harris (2002) argued that discrimination, violence and xenophobic tendencies targeted against migrants in many of the host countries limit their socio-psychological freedom. The participants in this study also experience these negative impacts of stereotypes in their schools and in the South African society at large. Participant 1 describes his experiences in relation to what South African locals think about African migrants in South Africa. He said:

“South Africans believe that African migrants are in South Africa to bring pains, sufferings, crimes, and to increase crime...”

Participant 1 further describes the type of ideas South African learners have about migrant learners and how some teachers have failed to understand them. He said:

“What I dislike is what South African learners think about African migrant learners. They think we sell drugs. Some teachers also have failed to understand us.”

Furthermore, negative ideas about migrants are not general to all migrants in South Africa. In line with this the participants claimed that South Africans have a different view of migrants from the United States of America, Europe, Australia and Asia. Migrants from these places are well respected and welcomed by the locals as they are often seen as bringing good things to South Africa. They are also seen as innocent, genuine, intelligent and responsible even when the opposite may be the case. African migrants on the other hand are not seen the same way. African migrants are rather seen as coming with problems, increasing the population and crime rate, infecting the locals with diseases. As a result, they often suffer a lot in the hands of the locals. The participants also maintain that because of stereotypes about African migrants their contributions to the society are often not recognized and cherished by the locals. Participant 5 in narrating his experiences of stereotype about African migrants in South Africa said:

“There are a lot of things that can make me go back to my country like xenophobia and stereotypes about us in South Africa...South Africans think we are criminals, we sell drugs in the street, we have come to increase their population and to bring hardship in there country by taking their jobs..., and because of all these they do not have any respect for us, they do not trust us and the hate us,... Instead they trust, respect and like people from United States of America, Europe, Australia and Asia. They see people from these places as bringing something good to their country and they think any white or Asian person cannot commit crime or take their job or wife as they accuse us of doing.”

And participant 8 said:

“Many South Africans hate us because of what they think we are and what they take people from African countries in their country to be. They accuse us of any crime in the society, and they think we have come to take their jobs, wife and to commit crime. They hate fellow Africans but they like and respect white people from England, America and even people from China and Japan. These things make me feel bad because we make good contributions like donating blood but they only see us as bad people because we have come from other African countries. I am a blood donor but South Africans do not want to know about our contributions because they think we can only bring bad things to their country and commit crime.”

Data collected show that all the 14 participants maintained that they encounter stereotypes as a result of being African migrants in their schools. Participant 3 in trying to describe how and what South African learners think about African migrant learners in her school said:

“There is still stereotype around being African migrant learner in my school... I think what causes these stereotype is the stories people hear about African migrants. Though some learners in school accept the fact that I am an African migrant learner but things they have been taught at home about African migrants are different. At home they have been taught that African migrants are bad ...”

The stereotypes migrants experience in their schools as a result of being African migrants undoubtedly contribute to their schooling experiences in South Africa. Many of the participants claimed that they are disliked as a result of the wrong ideas which some of their fellow learners and even some teachers in their schools have about them. The participants therefore are faced with the challenges of dealing with the negative effects of stereotype about African migrants in their schools as part of their schooling experiences in South Africa and living in South African society at large.

6.2.4 PROBLEMS WITH HOME AFFAIRS

Crush and McDonald (2001) note that during the apartheid era, immigration policies were based on the exploitation of migrant labour from near-by countries, combined with the strict execution of legislation, while the country refused to endorse international refugee conventions. Within this period, the white government used race and religion as the decisive factors to decide on whom to allow entry into the country to, and on what terms. The abolition of the Apartheid regime in 1994 brought about a new and democratic South Africa (Crush and McDonald, 2001) and as a result of this new democratic system in place, there were many changes in the political, economic and social landscape of South African life. These changes, as noted by Crush and McDonald, (2001) ushered in many economic and political opportunities for both South Africans and non-South Africans alike. South Africa's borders with other Southern African countries were weakened,

and the resultant effect of this was the influx of people into South Africa, especially from those African countries facing political, social and economic problems such as the DRC.

The post-apartheid South African state has been committed to the principles and practices of international refugee protection (Crush and McDonald, 2001), and South Africa became a signatory to the UN and OAU refugee conventions. This commitment required the South African immigration system and policy to put in place refugee protection mechanism (Crush and McDonald, 2001). With all of these things in place, the nature and pattern of immigration and immigration control in South Africa changed. These changes suggest more responsive, liberal and effective immigration practices by the management and staff of the South African Department of Home Affairs in discharging their duties as immigration control officials. The present democratic system in South Africa should offer everybody the opportunity to partake in the economic, social and cultural development of the country and the self actualisation of individuals living within the borders of South Africa. This cuts across all races, culture, gender and nationality. Furthermore, South Africa's being a signatory to the UN and OAU refugee protection agreement does also suggest that the country is open to refugees who consider South Africa safe for them to stay, and refugees in the country should be offered immigration assistance and should be treated with respect. Therefore, officials of the Home Affairs office should respond to the immigration needs of both refugees and other immigrants in the country.

The participants in this study being refugees and migrant learners from the DRC should benefit from the new democratic system and refugee protection in South Africa. One of the ways they can benefit from these opportunities is by receiving fair treatment and adequate assistance from the management and staff of the South African Home Affairs. Instead of this, the participants claim that their experience with and at the South African Home Affairs is contrary to the way it should be. They claim that they do not receive good treatment from the staff of the South African Home Affairs, and that it is one of the major challenges they face as migrants in South Africa. They claim that they go to Home Affairs all the time and nobody attends to them each time they go there. According to the participants, they often leave school to go Home Affairs, and this affects their schooling as they thus miss lessons, tests and exams. The participants see this

situation as a problem that affects their academic performance. Participant 2 in trying to narrate his experiences with the Home Affairs said:

“The Home Affairs problem actually affects me because some times I have to stay away from school, miss tests and miss lessons and this decreases my marks and it is quite hard to cope with that.”

Participant 2 further explained that they wait for a whole day for them to get whatever they need at the Home Affairs and participant 5 in his account of their experience at the Home Affairs claims that sometimes they would have to sleep over at the Home Affairs for them to be able to get what they need. Participant 2 in his account said:

“You do not just go to Home Affairs and expect to get what you need in one hour or two hours; it takes the whole day. So, you miss school, you miss important tests and lessons and I find it hard to cope with all these.”

And participant 5 in his own accounts said:

“We go to Home Affairs for our permit and we end up sleeping there; we sleep outside in order to get our documents from Home Affairs. These are the problems we are experiencing with the Home Affairs. These problems affect our schooling...before we register we need the identity document; we need it for our Matric exam.”

The participants claimed that they are not treated nicely by the officials of the Home Affairs; participant 1 narrated the type of treatment they received as this:

“...they treat us and receive us as if we are not normal; they push us eh... go there, eh... go there. They talk to us in Zulu and they know we do not understand Zulu; they push us, treat us like animals...”

Similarly, participant 2 narrated the way they are treated by the officials of the Home Affairs:

“I would say that the problem we face most is the Home Affairs because this problem affects us in our studies. Some times we miss some days and some important tests because we are always at the Home Affairs to sort our documents out... They do not treat us like human beings, they treat us like animals. They do not want to listen to us and try to understand our problems.”

Also participant 4 in her account of her experience at the Home Affairs said:

“I also dislike the way the Home Affairs treats us; people working there do not treat us with respect when we go there for our papers. They treat us with no respect and at the end of the day they will not attend to us after waiting there for hours.”

All the 14 participants in the study claim that what they experience each time they go to Home Affairs is one of the major problems they face in South Africa as migrants. They need the identity document to enable them to register and take the matric exam. The participants' experiences with the Home Affairs are contrary to South African's commitment to refugee protection and the idea of making South Africa a home for any one from different nations, cultural and racial backgrounds.

6.2.5 THE SENSE OF ISOLATION IN SCHOOL

One who feels isolated also feels excluded. The idea of 'Us' and 'Them' plays a prominent role in isolation and exclusion as it is the main factor that defines and differentiates individuals in a society. Individuals in a given community define themselves according to marked similarities or uniqueness in comparison to others in the same society; this could be in the form of shared cultural values, language, and religion/belief system (Turner, 1982), leading to a sense of social identity and group formation. Those who share the same cultural values, language, religion and historical background, regard themselves as belonging to one and the same group in the society/community and they become or see themselves as the 'Us', and other individuals outside this group of 'Us' become the 'Them'. Members of social groups try to define and identify themselves as a group, relate and interact with each other in a variety of ways, and also develop social structures from this interaction (Hogg, Terry & White, 1995). Members of the out-group

(the ‘Them’) may suffer isolation especially where the members of the in-group (the ‘Us’) are dominant.

This works both ways. Migrants set themselves up as the ‘Us’ and consider the locals as the ‘Them’ since they do not share the same culture, religion, most times language/s with locals of their host countries/communities, also given that the locals do not share the same social position with them as migrants. In the same way, the locals see and consider themselves as the in-group (the ‘Us’) in comparison to the migrants whom they consider as the out-group (the ‘Them’) in the sense they do not share the same cultural, social, religious and most times language background with the migrants. The difference is in the ability to exclude or isolate the other. This social classification makes migrants feel excluded or isolated, as stated by participant 3:

...some times when they tell me about their constitution and their rights, in my mind I will say no, I am not South African, so their constitution and their rights do not really apply to me. Though there may be many good things in South Africa and there may be a lot of opportunities in South Africa, I feel these things do not apply to me. I feel like I do not belong here; I feel a little bit left out because I am different from them.”

Migrants may feel isolated or excluded in the midst of nationals of host countries that have different moral, cultural, religious values, behavioural attitudes, and different historical backgrounds from what they the migrants have. All 14 participants in the study claimed that they feel isolated and excluded in the group of local learners whose cultural and moral backgrounds, as well as native language/s are different from theirs. In line with this participant 9 explains the way migrant learners in his school are treated differently and excluded by local learners because they do not speak Zulu or English properly. He said:

“In school South African learners do not like us anyway, even when we speak Zulu, they think we are not their brothers because we are from another country ...they exclude us because we do not know how to speak Zulu or English properly.”

This generates feelings of isolation on the side of the participants and gives room for hostile attitudes on the side of the local learners. Participant 6 described the attitudes of local learners towards him. His narrative depicts the manifestation of categorisation of “in-group” and “out-group” in the way local and migrant learners relate in his school. He said:

“Any time I am in the group of South African learners, they do not treat me like a black person; they treat me like someone else. They do not even call me a person. If I tell them that I am a Muntu (human being), they will say no, there is no muntu like you; a muntu is a person from South Africa, you are a kwerekwere.”

Also participant 8 said:

“Black South African learners treat us like animals, and like we are not even their brothers from the same continent, I mean Africa.”

This type of attitude may not be peculiar with the local learners as the participants on their own may see the local learners differently from them as a result of differences in culture, moral values and language/s. The participants in this study may find it difficult to adapt and accept the behaviours of the local learners in their schools whose socio-cultural and moral backgrounds and identities are different from theirs and vice versa. In line with this participant 3 described how she feels being left out because she is from a different country. She said:

“ I feel left out ... even though I am used to my friends and used to schooling here in South Africa, some times I do feel like I do not belong here and I get certain feelings that... this is not my country.”

And participant 4 expressed feelings of exclusion/isolation because migrant learners in her school are always summoned for meetings by the school authority

“What makes me sad is that at times I feel like an outsider because they normally call migrant learners for a meeting. It makes me feel that something is wrong with us because they always

address us as a group. This makes me feel that I do not belong and it reminds me always that we are not from here.”

The above account by participant 3 suggests the extent to which migrants see themselves as a group. The participants in this sense may see themselves as belonging to the group of migrant learners as they share the same experiences with other African migrant learners in their schools.

Furthermore, the participants feel isolated and excluded in the group of their local counterparts because the local learners see the participants as different from them. In the same way, the local learners may feel excluded in the group of the migrant learners because they as well see themselves as different from them.

6.2.6 BETTER STANDARD OF EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

There is a natural tendency for people to move to places or destinations where things are better. People move from where the facilities and standards are poor to where there are better facilities and standards. Things like health and education are most considered in this respect, even where they are not the primary reason for migration (Muniz, undated). For example, participant 1 in his account stated that he did not know that his final destination would be South Africa when he was running out from his country and did not have any particular destination in mind. On the other hand, other participants claimed that their parents considered the level of development, the infrastructure in place and opportunities they would have access to in South Africa before choosing South Africa as their country of destination. Participant 9 narrated how his parents chose to send him and his brother to South Africa because of the standard of living and education in South Africa. He said:

“When my parents told me that I was going to South Africa, I didn’t like it and I was surprised because I didn’t know why I was coming to South Africa...when I arrived here, I was likewhy did we come here. Later on I realized that they brought me here for better education and better life because in Congo there is no future.”

Participant 3 narrated the factors her mother considered before deciding on the country of destination when they were planning to leave their home country. She said:

“Immediately after the war started, things started getting bad, and then I think it was after 1996/98 the teachers were not getting paid, and education system was not good. So, my mother decided that....we needed to get good education, we have to leave Congo and go to where we would get better education because the teachers were not teaching...and the education system was a bit chaotic and messed up.”

In the interviews, participants claimed that apart from having access to better standard of living and being exposed in terms of information and contact with people from diverse backgrounds that they also have had the opportunity to experience a better standard of education in South Africa than what they were used to in their home countries. They claimed that education in South Africa is better than education in the DRC. In trying to compare education in his home country and education in South Africa, participant 11 highlighted the level of infrastructure and resources that are available in many South African schools, which he said is not the same as in the DRC. Participant 11 further said that he had had the opportunity to use computers, libraries and other resources for quality learning since his childhood in South Africa. Participant 5 in comparing education at home and education in South Africa said:

“In my country we learn only theory but here in South Africa we learn both theory and practical.”

Though all the participants agreed that schools in the DRC are better than schools in South Africa in terms of discipline, since learners in their home country respect teachers and school authorities better than learners in South African schools do, they at the same time maintained that they still get better education in South Africa than what they had got in their home country. They claimed that apart from having the opportunity to use better learning resources, the content of what they learn in South Africa is a lot richer and better than what teachers in their home country teach their counterparts at home. Participant 4 in relation to this said:

“...back at home they teach only about our country, we don't have much knowledge about what is happening in other places and history of other places.”

Furthermore, the participants maintained that they have had the opportunity to discover their talents more by schooling in South Africa through various sporting activities and school organizations they have been exposed to at school. In the interview sections, participant 3 described what schooling is all about in South Africa. She said:

“...what is good about schooling here is that it is not about academic work alone. There are so many other things going on in schools which catch the interest of those who do not like coming to school. We have different sporting activities and other organizations in school that make school an interesting place to be.”

Having been exposed to a better standard of education, having had the opportunity to stay and interact with people from diverse backgrounds, being exposed to different sporting activities and organizations at school and having had the opportunity to different means of getting information, participants speaking of having gained from schooling in South Africa.

6.2.7 SUCCESS ENCOUNTERED AT SCHOOL

By inclusive education, every limitation to accessibility of sound education is removed. The concept of inclusion in education suggests and operates within the framework of non-exclusion of any individual, and emphasises that every individual should have access to education and participation in schools (Lazarus, Daniels and Engelbrecht, 1999). The education system is intended to provide all learners with the opportunity of developing themselves academically irrespective of the learners' gender, nationality, religion, culture or race. The participants in this study make full use of the benefits that come from the inclusive system of education in place in South Africa to discover, exhibit and develop their academic and leadership qualities in their schools. As a result, they are able to count many successes in their different schools especially in the area of academic achievement, and utilise the opportunities offered them to develop and excel in their academic and leadership potential. Participant 4 describes how the school system

encourages them to perform well in their studies and prepares them for future academic endeavour, despite her challenges of being a migrant. In her words she said:

“I like the fact that this is an academic school and that it focuses on academics. We are taught to make sure that our marks are up. We learn and get prepared for tertiary education. I also like the fact that despite all the challenges I face as a foreigner I still have been able to maintain a good position in academics. I am happy for this and grateful to our teachers because they teach us well.”

Four of the participants claimed that they have received various awards for outstanding academic performances and in sports despite the challenges they face as migrants. Participant 3 narrated her academic achievements especially in the area of Mathematics:

“I do well in my school work, I would say that. I have received awards in Mathematics and for getting overall best result when I was in grade 11 last year. I am also very involved in extramural activities in my school and I am also the head girl in my school.”

And participant 4 confirmed her achievements in sports and in academics and she said:

“I do well in sports, so I have received medals and trophies. In academics, I have been here since grade 9 and I have received certificates for Biology, Arts and Culture and Life Orientation. These are my successes so far.”

Participant 2 spoke of how proud his parents are, how he feels as one of the top learners in his school, and how his academic performance and achievements have changed people’s perception about migrants in his school. He said:

“I think I would say getting my awards in Maths and Physics...are the best things that have happened to me. Also being one of the top students in Mathematics. These are what make my parents proud; knowing that I am among the top students not only in my class but in the school

and knowing that I am not South African makes everybody proud and makes everyone to change their minds about foreigners.”

Participants 5, 7 and 9 also claimed to have received awards for outstanding performances in various subjects in their schools as well as in sporting activities. Participant 7 said:

“I have had many successes in school I would say. I have received awards for being an outstanding learner in sports in my school. I play soccer and everyone knows me as a very good footballer. Secondly, I do well in my subject areas. I have received awards for being outstanding in the subjects I do. For instance, last year when I was in grade 11 I received academic award for overall best learner in Life Sciences and other awards for different positions in different learning areas.”

Participant 5 narrated how he managed to overcome language difficulties by enrolling in extra English language classes. This he claimed has helped him in his academic achievements. In his words he said:

“When I started schooling here I didn’t know how to speak English but now I can speak English. I think this is the first success I have encountered. ...Not minding that I had language problems when I arrived newly, I tried my best to overcome this problem by taking extra English language classes in order to learn how to speak, read and write in English. This helped me to do well in my studies, and I have been able to received awards for coming first in class and I have also received award for drawing.”

One the other hand, two out of the 14 participants said they do not perform well academically because of their language difficulty. Participant 8, who is in grade 9, claimed he fails many of his subjects because of incompetence in the use of English language. In his words he said:

“...I do not think I have made any success in school. I fail many of the subjects we do in class because I do not know English language very well.”

Also participant 14 arrived in South Africa in 2008, started schooling in South Africa in 2009, and presently in grade 10 as well claimed that she fails in her exams because of difficulties in the use of English language. She said:

“The main difficulty is the language. I do not pass my exams because of the language.”

The other participants claimed that though they have not received any award or certificate for exceptional academic performance they pass all their exams very well. Participant 9 claimed that he has received awards in sport, rather than academic performance, but nonetheless passes his exams very well. In his words he said:

“I have had many successes in sports. Last year I received award for outstanding performance in the game of soccer in my school for the year 2009. I have not received any award for being the best in any subject but I pass my exams every term.”

Although two of the participants do not pass their examinations as a result of language difficulties, most participants are still able perform well at school. Some of the participants claim to be in difficult situations, especially those without their parents or any one to take care of them makes their life difficult as migrant learners. According to them, they take care of themselves by going to look for work after school hours to enable them feed, pay their house rent, pay for the school fees and as well take care of their many other needs. This situation does not give them the chance to devote enough time to their academic work. For instance, one of the participants commented on how he goes to work after school hours to support himself. He returns back from work late in the night tired and unable to do his school work/homework. This always put him in the teacher’s bad record as these teachers fail to investigate to know why he is consistently failing to do his homework. But in the midst of all these, he claimed that he still manages to pass his examinations. Participants 1 and 7 in their account said:

“My experience is really hard, first because I do not have any parents here; anyone to support me. Everyday I come back from school I will have to work from 6:00 pm to 9:00 pm to support myself. I will have to come back late to do my homework and when I get to school the following day I will be very tired and weak. I will not be strong like the other learners, at the same time the

teachers will expect me to be strong and active like other in class without knowing what I pass through. If I try to explain to them that I do not have parents here and I need to work to support myself, they hardly understand instead they see me as giving them problems.” Participant 1 (Focus group interview)

“I would say that it is not easy to be a migrant learner here, especially when I have to support myself and take care of my family back home and at the same time try to always be present at school.... Trying to live up to the expectation of my people at home and focusing on my studies is a very challenging one. After school I go to work to support myself and to support my family at home.... This situation makes me not to focus much on my studies, even though I try my best to do well at school.” Participant 7 (Focus group interview)

From claims made by the participants above, it is obvious that they are excelling in their academic endeavours despite the challenges they encounter as migrant learners such as sense of exclusion, stereotyping, problems with Home Affairs, cultural alienation, sense of isolation and so on. The question becomes, ‘How the participants manage to be achievers in the midst of these challenges and limitations?’ At this point, one would argue that their social position and group identification contribute to their achievement in school. They are able to overcome these challenges because they face them as a group. They identify themselves as belonging to a group and they work to build and maintain a positive social identity for their group membership. This can be seen as a motivating factor towards their achievements. Recognizing and identifying themselves as a social group in their schools makes them resilient to any negative effects these challenges and limitations they face as migrant learners in their schools may have on their academic and other achievements in school. This not only helps them as a group, but also contributes to their individual achievements. Here social identity provides strong self evaluative consequences, as members of groups work towards achieving in-group out-group comparisons that would be to the advantage of the in-group and the self (Hogg, Terry and White, 1995). In this case, members of the in-group would work to achieve and sustain positive social identity which would give them advantage in comparison to the out-group. This does not suggest comparison in terms of identities only but as well in terms of collective and individual achievements. Hence, the social categorisation into which a person finds him/herself, and to

which a person considers him/herself to belong, defines the person as having certain characteristics related to the category. Thus, the participants as a group motivate themselves in the sense that migrant learners, who are top achievers, are seen as source of motivation for others. In this case, they work to maintain the positive social identity of their in-group membership. This boosts the social and psychological image of the participants, as their achievements counter some of the stereotypes the locals have about the participants. This is in line with participant 2's account above.

6.2.8 ADVANTAGES OF BEING A MIGRANT AND A MIGRANT LEARNER.

Migration has its advantages both to the individual migrant and to the society, country or community at large (Goldin and Reinert, 2006). Migration also brings about economic advantage to both the individual and the countries involved (Levitt & Nyber-Sorensen, 2004). At the individual level, migrants are exposed to various cultures and the socio-economic conditions and benefits in other countries. Migrants benefit from this type of exposure as it develops their minds and widens their horizons (Pries, undated). Therefore, migration can be regarded as a part of education whereby people come in contact with different other cultures in existence. The participants in this study do indeed claim to have acquired more knowledge about other cultures and the different people they have had the opportunity to meet in South Africa. Although the participants find South African cultural expressions strange, they nonetheless learn from them. They claim to be in the position to live and relate better with people of different cultures and ideologies. In relation to this, participant 6 in his explanation said:

“I learn more about other people... So I have more experience on how to live with other people.”

And participant 4 in her explanation narrates how she has been able to learn how to live with other people by being exposed to other cultures and people from diverse backgrounds. She said:

“What I like about living and schooling here is the variety of people and cultures in South Africa. There are also variety of experiences one can get here as well because of the variety of people and cultures here. I have learnt so many new things about different people and different

cultures apart from the ones I was used to back in Congo. This variety is quite good in terms of experiences and general knowledge. I get the opportunity to get a broader idea of what is going on in other places not just being confined to what is going on in my little world.”

Apart from knowing more about other people and cultures and learning how to live with people from different backgrounds, the participants also claim that they have been able to learn other languages different from the languages they speak in their home country. Participant 10 claims that schooling in South Africa has offered him the opportunity of learning languages different from the ones they speak in the DRC:

“Schooling here gives me the opportunity to learn different languages apart from the ones we speak in Congo. In Congo we speak French but here we learn to speak English, Zulu and Afrikaans.”

Furthermore, the participants claim that realizing that they are migrant learners encourages them to put more effort in their studies, and this has helped them a lot in their academic performance. Also knowing that they are from a different country gives them a sense of self-reliance which has been useful in their personal growth. Participant 4 explained how the experiences she has acquired knowing that she is a migrant has helped her in becoming a better person:

“I think my individuality comes out more because I have experienced more by being out of my country... Knowing that I am from a different country helps me to be a better person and I get more used to things. I have learnt how to be independent and I have also learnt to be more focused on what I want to do.”

And participant 4 explained that being a migrant learner has helped her to work extra hard so as to be able to have opportunities her South African counterparts have. She said:

“I ... work extremely hard to be the best. So being a migrant learner has pushed me to go beyond what I was used to in my country to achieve the best result so that I can have the same opportunities learners from South Africa have.”

And participant 4 said:

“...being a migrant in my school has helped me to work harder to make good marks because I am faced with the challenges of schooling in a new and strange environment. I am always determined to be the best simply because I am not from here.”

The above claims by the migrants show the advantages they have gained from being migrants and migrant learners in South Africa. Inasmuch as they are faced with challenges of being migrants, they claim that they have as well gained. The participants claim that by being migrants, they have been exposed to many experiences which their compatriots who have not travelled out of their country or community have not experienced. Participant three said:

“I think it is nice because being migrant means that you have travelled a lot and you have seen many things in life which someone who have not travelled has not witnessed or seen. Though I am still in school, I have better understanding of the world than my mates in school.”

The participants claimed that they have benefitted from living and schooling in South Africa irrespective of the challenges they face as migrants. They claimed they are better equipped with experiences on how to live and relate with people from diverse backgrounds than their counterparts who have never had the opportunity and reasons to leave their homes for other places. Though this theme is not relevant to SIT, it highlights some of the advantages migrants gain from embarking on migration. The advantages they gain as migrants and the opportunities South Africa has offered them have ignited their interests in becoming part of South African society. In the interviews some said that inasmuch as they would like to go back to their country after their studies if things get back to normal again, they would as well love to stay and work in South Africa. In line with this, the participants said:

“I think we owe a lot to this country, we may have had different experiences in schools but the country offered us the opportunity to get educated. So, when I am done with my education I would like to stay back here and work for some time as a way of showing how grateful I am for

the opportunities this country has offered us. I would also like to get involved in humanitarian activities here in South Africa.” Participant 2 (focus group interview)

“After completing my studies in South Africa I will like to work and then go back to my country. I will like to work here in order to give back to the country and also use that to thank the country for the opportunities I received here.” Participant 5 (focus group interview)

“... after my studies, I would like to show appreciation for what South Africa has done for me; that I have learnt something good here. I will use the skills I have acquired here to work in South Africa to contribute my part to the development of the country as a way of showing appreciation for the things I have learnt here.” Participant 7 (focus group interview)

These comments are a clear indication that some participants are appreciative of the opportunities South Africa has offered them and the advantages they have had as migrants in South Africa. Despite that, two indicated that they do not intend to stay in the country:

“When I finish school I will not stay back in South Africa to work. There are many reasons why I will not stay back here to work ... the main reason is security. I came to South Africa because of war in my country. I lost my parents, brothers, sisters and other relations because of the war but when I arrived here I also see people being killed because of common cell phones, people being raped as well. This means that there is no security in South Africa at all. During the xenophobic attack many were killed in a very brutal way. I said to myself that I cannot stay back here; I must leave here after my education.” Participant 1 (focus group interview)

“As a refugee boy, a foreigner, I do not think I have much opportunity here in South Africa, so what is the need of staying back here after my studies. After schooling I will go to other places to search for job and go back home to help build my country... So, my plan is to learn and go back home and build my own country. I cannot be a foreigner forever; I am tired of being called a refugee boy and all that, carrying long papers all the time.” Participant 6 (focus group interview)

These two participants gave their reasons for their lack of interest in staying in South Africa. The majority of the participants on the other hand indicated that they would like to stay in South Africa after their studies to live and work. 'Is the participants' desire to stay back in South Africa after their studies not contradictory to their claimed experiences of stereotypes and xenophobic tendencies targeted at them by the locals? It could also mean that they must have developed a tough skin to these experiences, whereby they can live in South Africa in the midst of them.

Also, in relation to their claims of having interest in showing appreciation for the opportunities they have received by living and schooling in South Africa, the participants claimed that they do make some contributions in return to the society they live, benefit and operate in. Some of their contributions come in the forms of blood donation, engaging in volunteer social works like rendering physical assistance to the elderly and the sick in the society. In relation to this, they said:

"I engage in voluntary community work which we are not paid for. We helped the disabled and the sick. We engage in other communicate work as well." Participant 10 (Focus group interview)

"I cannot even remember all the ways I have contributed and still contributing to South Africa. I know I have saved lives here through donating blood for people in need of blood. I am a blood donor and I know that I have saved many lives through donating my blood." Participant 1 (Focus group interview)

"I take part in community service where we assist those who are poor, disabled, ill and old people." Participant 5 (Focus group interview)

Furthermore, inasmuch as the participants encounter challenges and difficulties as a result of their social identity and position as migrants and migrant learners in their schools, they claim that they also see the exciting side of their position/situation as migrants, specifically relating to the knowledge and experience they have acquired about other people and cultures which are different from what they were used to in their home countries, their personal and individual growth and stronger sense of self independence.

6.3 CONCLUSION

The themes suggest that the participants' schooling experiences in South Africa are filled with challenges: the issues of stereotypes, sense of isolation and exclusion as a result of cultural and identity differences with South Africans/ South African learners. The fact that teachers and learners are divided between those who are supportive and those who are not supportive suggest that the participants are confronted with challenges in the way they experience schooling in South Africa. On the other hand there are aspects of their schooling in South Africa that are positive, these being that they are exposed to the opportunities of a higher standard of education than the standard in the DRC, and that they have opportunities for learning from the experience of migrancy.

6.4 DISCUSSION

The study explored the schooling experiences of migrant children from the DRC in South Africa using SIT. SIT helps us to understand the social relationship and group membership within a society and in giving explanation to the social position of the participants and their schooling experiences in South Africa, and how their social identity and group membership contribute to their collective and individual experiences and performances at school. The themes emerged from the data collected will be reviewed to identify themes that particularly fit within SIT and issues that the themes raise. Furthermore, in the course of reviewing the themes it will be verified whether the participants define themselves in terms of a Congolese identity, or an African migrant youth identity.

Eight themes that emerged from the data collected reveal the experiences and academic performances of the participants by addressing the research questions of the study. How then do they relate to the theoretical framework of the study? The themes will be discussed separately for the purpose of clarity.

The first theme is *“Teachers and learners are divided between those who are supportive and those who are not”*. This theme is not directly relevant to SIT. The question becomes, ‘What

roles do teachers play in the inclusion or exclusion of migrant learners in the learning process? The participants' responses in the interview sections throw light on the level of commitment on the side of the teachers in giving support to migrant learners in their schools. As shown in the findings section, six out of the 14 participants claimed that they receive support from all the teachers in their schools, while eight of the 14 participants claimed that they do not receive support from all the teachers in their schools. This therefore implies that not all teachers show full commitment in terms of giving necessary support to migrant learners in their schools.

Furthermore, the data collected shows that teachers' support has a strong impact on the participants' academic performances and in the way they experience schooling in South Africa. For instance, lack of English language proficiency is one of the major challenges the participants face in school. Support from teachers can assist them overcome this challenge easily and quickly. Inasmuch as migrant children, as noted by Suarez–Orozco, Rhodes and Milburn (2009), have more positive attitudes towards their schooling, higher aspiration and greater optimism about the future than their local peers, many still perform poorly academically and they also record low rates in scholastic attendance. This poor performance is partly contributed by lack of proficiency in the language of instruction in schools in their host countries. In this case, support from teachers could go a long way in assisting them to overcome this language barrier which affects their academic performance and participation in other school activities.

'Cultural alienation' emerged as one of the themes from data collected. One would argue that for the participants to be culturally alienated means that they are foreign to the South African cultural context. The issue of identity poses itself as a barrier for migrants who do not have the same ethnicity, social and religious background with the host countries. Hence, the question of identity comes into play at this point, and data collected shows that the participants define themselves in line with their existing cultural backgrounds. They struggle to reconcile what is morally good or bad in their culture with the new culture and life style they have come to embrace in South Africa. This is where the cultural divide is pronounced, and where the participants' cultural identity is defined in contrast to the South African cultures which are strange to the participants. This cultural difference/divide necessitates or brings about group formation. The participants in this sense recognised their uniqueness through these differences.

'Stereotypes about African migrants in South Africa' is another theme that emerged from the data. The participants' responses revealed the impact of stereotypes on their experiences in South Africa as migrants and on their schooling experiences in particular. The data collected shows that the participants are mistreated as a result of the ideas South African locals have about African migrants, and in line with this, Harris (2006) maintains that African migrants in South Africa suffer all degrees of exclusion, discrimination, xenophobic attacks and stereotypes. One effect of the stereotyping is to constantly define their social identity as Africa migrants, based on their shared experiences with other African migrants, not just with Congolese migrants. One would argue at this point that their collective experiences as African migrants help in defining who they are and their group membership among other factors. This theme is relevant to SIT as the theory accounts for the participants' identity definition as African migrants based on their shared experiences with other African migrants, and the recognition of this shared experiences as a factor in defining their social identities. This raised yet another issue, which is that social identity definition is not only based on shared cultural, religious, language, ethnic or national backgrounds but also can be based on shared experiences as a group in a society. In line with this, Campbell (1992) argues that one's definition of his/her identity is mainly determined by the defining characteristics (which includes shared experiences) of the groups to which one belongs. Also, Francis (2006) states that SIT is about the social categorisations of self and others, self – categories that define the individual in terms of his or her shared similarities (and experiences) with members of certain social categories in contrast to other social categories.

'Problems with Home Affairs' emerged as one of the challenges the participants encounter in South Africa. The participants' claimed experiences with the South African Department of Home Affairs leave a big question mark on the protection of the rights of refugees and minors in South Africa. The findings are that the participants do not receive good treatment from the staff/official of the South African Home Affairs which is contrary to what should be the case. The theme therefore raises concern on the commitment of South African Department of Home Affairs as an organ for the implementation of the UN and OAU refugee protection agreement, and response to the needs of other migrants, especially migrant children in South Africa. Another issue raised is whether the social identity position of the participants contributes to how they are treated by the officials of the Home Affairs. The question here becomes 'Are the participants treated differently

from the way South Africa locals are treated by the officials of the Home Affairs?’ Participant 1’s account of their experiences with the Home Affairs officials revealed that the officials may be treating them differently from the way they treat South African locals.

“...they treat us and receive us as if we are not normal; they push us eh... go there, eh... go there. They talk to us in Zulu and they know we do not understand Zulu; they push us, treat us like animals...” Participant 1

‘Sense of isolation’ is another theme that emerged from the data. The findings are that participants feel isolated and excluded in the midst of their local counterparts as a result of their social identity as migrants. Participants stated that they are treated differently by the local learners in their schools because they do not speak Zulu or English properly. SIT here explains factors that contribute to the participants’ experiences of sense of isolation/exclusion as can be seen in the findings section above. Furthermore, inasmuch as the school is an academic environment, it is at the same a social environment where learners meet and interact with one another in a number of ways. This social interaction implies group identification and formation, where social groups will be formed according to marked similarities and differences in race, nationality, gender, ethnic and cultural backgrounds, religious backgrounds and some times linguistic backgrounds. In this sense, learners of the same backgrounds identify their similarities based on their shared background experiences and also identify their differences with others from different backgrounds. At this point, the in-group, out-group formation comes in, which SIT accounts for.

‘Better standard of education’ emerged as one of the themes in the data collected. SIT does not relate to this specific issue/theme. The participants compared the standard of education in South Africa to what they were used to in their home country. The participants’ claims show that inasmuch as they are faced with challenges, they are also appreciative of the fact that they are exposed to a better standard of education in South Africa.

The standard of education in place meets their expectations. Harris (2002) highlights that the major reason for embarking on migration is because the home countries of migrants are no

longer economically, socially and politically and otherwise conducive for them to live in and they seek places that are better than their home countries. One would draw from the participants' accounts that though their schooling experiences socially speaking has not been smooth, given the challenges identified which affect their schooling and academic performances, the participants at the same time have one aspect of their schooling experiences that works for them, and they are appreciative of this irrespective of the abovementioned challenges. And that is the fact that they are getting better education in South Africa than they would have got in the DRC.

'Successes encountered in school' is another theme that emerged from the data. In the midst of the challenges and limitations faced by the participants such as language barriers and stereotyping, they are still able to perform well in academics and in sports. As reported in the findings section, four of the 14 participants claimed to have received awards for outstanding academic performances and in sports. In the findings section, I tried to give explanation to their performance and academic achievements drawing from SIT; its account of in-group and out-group formation, and the motivation factor that comes as a result of group formation and identification. Also, Moskal (2010) argues that migrant children are highly motivated to succeed because migrants have the aspiration to improve their economic and social circumstances by migrating to their host countries. This is in line with my personal experience as a migrant. I get motivated by realising the fact that I am a migrant, that I do not have the same opportunities the locals have, and that the only way I can have access to these opportunities as the locals is only by being the best in whatever I do to achieve my aspirations. This could also be the case with the participants. Moreover, the participants are able to identify themselves as a group, and work together to overcome any challenges and limitations they face as a group by building a positive social identity for their group membership. As has been mentioned earlier in the findings section, this makes them resilient to any effects these challenges and limitations have on their academic achievements. Their social categorisation as African migrant learners, who come from a socio-cultural background different from that of the dominant South African locals, serves not as a discouragement in the way of socio-psychological intimidation but instead as a motivation. In this case, if migrant learners are known to be achievers, every migrant learner for the virtue of belonging to the category of migrant learners in their schools would want to be identified as an achiever.

The last theme in the findings chapter is '*advantages of being a migrant and a migrant learner*'. Inasmuch as the participants face many challenges and limitations as migrants, they still claimed to have gained a lot in living and schooling in South Africa. Migration exposes migrants to various cultures/ways of life of different peoples. Migrants benefit a lot from this type of exposure. They gain knowledge and experiences from interacting with people from diverse backgrounds; they learn new languages and new cultures/ways of life, and get informed about different belief systems. In this sense, migration is seen as education, where migrants are exposed to learn new things and acquire more knowledge and experiences. Pries (undated) maintain that migrants benefit from this type of exposure as it develops their minds and widens their horizons. One would argue here that those advantages of migration, like its disadvantages, cut across all forms of migration, forced, voluntary. Further, the country of destination of migrants has effect on the benefits migrants would get from migration. This explains why migrants; voluntary or forced choose their countries of destination based on advantages they would gain from migrating to those countries. Also, as a result of advantages/ opportunities migrants gain from staying in their host countries, many forced migrants become voluntary migrants (Martin, 2001). Migrants always target where they will get opportunities and gain more advantages. In the findings section, most of the participants indicated their interest in staying back in South Africa to work after their studies. If this becomes the case, according to Martin (2001) their status will change from forced to voluntary migrants.

6.5 LIMITATIONS OF SIT IN UNDERSTANDING THE SCHOOLING EXPERIENCES OF MIGRANT CHILDREN FROM THE DRC IN SOUTH AFRICA

SIT as stated by Francis (2006) is about the social categorisations of self and others. These self-categories define the individual in terms of his or her shared similarities with members of certain social categories in contrast to other social categories, the self as “we” and “us”. Hence, SIT helps us to understand most aspects of social relationship and group membership within a society. SIT in this sense is used in this study as a standpoint from which to understand most aspects of the experiences, especially the schooling of the participants in the study. Inasmuch as SIT is relevant and is used to understand the participants' experiences, especially their schooling experiences, however there is a limitation in using SIT to understand how the participants

interact with the society at individual level and not as a group. In this sense, the theory fails to take account sufficiently of the interaction between individual and society/individuals in the society. Therefore, it does not fully account for how the participants relate to the society and their experiences outside group membership. The participants' experiences of stereotypes and xenophobic tendencies may only be as a result of their group membership and identity as African migrants (group experience). As a result of this limitation, the study mainly focused on the participants' experiences in South Africa as a group and their interaction with other groups in the society, and not at individual level.

6.6 CONCLUSION

This section reviewed the themes that emerged from the data collected. It identified which themes are closely related to SIT, and which are not. It also reveals issues raised by some of themes and their implications to the study. The next chapter is the summary and recommendation chapter which pulled together all the issues and ideas in the study, and recommendations are made based on the research findings.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this research is to examine the schooling experiences of migrant children from the DRC in South Africa. This study focused on two secondary schools with Congolese migrant children in Durban KwaZulu-Natal province of South Africa. The data was gathered by employing the critical story account method, semi-structured interviews and focus-group interviews. This chapter gives a summary of the study and recommendations.

7.2 SUMMARY

The literature review of this study reveals that migrants undergo many challenging experiences in their host countries. This is mainly as a result of their social position/identity as migrants in their host countries. The participants and focus group in this study, migrant children from the DRC in South Africa, share the same challenging experiences which other migrants undergo in this and other host countries.

These migrant children experienced challenges on arrival in South Africa. These early challenges include the difficulties of getting settled in the new environment as some arrived in South Africa young and without any one to take care of them. Some found it difficult to cope as they got hardly any form of assistance from anybody. Also the issue of language difficulties was one of the early challenges they experienced on their arrival; coming from the DRC means that they have different language backgrounds. Comments made by some of them reveal that the language difficulty is among the reasons they have been unable to get assistance as they find it difficult to express themselves and to communicate with other people in the society.

Globalisation through migration has made people aware of numerous cultures in the world. Migrants leave their home countries together with their cultures to their countries of destination,

thereby bringing their cultures to locals of their host countries. Comments made by the participants reveal that cultural alienation is among the major challenges they encounter at school and in the larger South African society. They are faced with the challenges of culture conflict; struggling to reconcile their cultures with the new cultures South African society imposes on them. Here the problem for them becomes, how they decide what is culturally acceptable and what is not since what may be culturally acceptable in South Africa may not be culturally acceptable in the DRC.

These migrant children from the DRC are faced with the challenges of dealing with stereotypes about African migrants in South Africa. Comments made by these migrant learners reveal that they face stereotypes both in their schools and stereotypes in the larger South African society. Most South African learners are from homes where there are strong negative ideas about African migrants in South Africa. So, these learners have been made to internalize these negative ideas about African migrants which they have acquired from home.

Furthermore, exclusion as a result of social categorisation and identity differences is a part of the experiences migrant children from the DRC in South Africa encounter in their schooling in South Africa. In this case, one can infer that these migrant children are seen and considered as the 'out-group' by the local learners in their schools who see themselves as the 'in-group'. This form of power relation and social categorisation make these migrant children feel excluded in the midst of the local learners who are the dominant group in their schools.

Despite the policy of inclusion, many South African teachers still fail in their duties to ensure that there is absolute inclusion in their classrooms and in their schools in general. They have failed to make their classrooms and the learning environment conducive for all learners to participate equally in the learning process. Comments made by some of the migrant children from the DRC in South Africa reveal that some teachers fail to give them the necessary support they need from them, and the teachers treat them differently from the way they treat their local counterparts in the classrooms and in their schools. This situation also contributes in denying them positive schooling experiences in South Africa.

On the other hand, migrant learners from the DRC in South Africa have gained many opportunities by living and schooling in South Africa. Comments made by these migrant learners reveal that they are exposed to learning resources like test books, computers and good libraries in South Africa which they never had the opportunity to use in their home country. Also exposure to different races and cultures in their schools and in the South African society they live and operate in has as well helped them in learning and knowing more about other people and other cultures which they were ignorant of before arriving in South Africa. This includes the opportunity to learn how to speak, read and write in English and isiZulu, in addition to the languages they speak in their home country. For them, this is a great achievement as English is the most widely spoken language in the world today. Furthermore, they have friends at school they can always count on. This simply means that they also have had the opportunity to widen their social network beyond their home country.

Finally, this dissertation sets out recommendations that will help in building and maintaining a just and democratic society.

7.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

From the findings in this study, it is evident that migrant children from the DRC in South Africa are facing many challenges in their schooling experiences in South Africa. Some of these challenges are a result of educators and school management not being aware of ways to properly integrate and assist migrant learners in their schools. Teachers and school authorities fail to understand the social position of migrant learners both as migrants and as African migrants and fail to provide them with enough psychological and emotional support that would help them fit in properly in the new system they have found themselves. It is evident also that some teachers as well fail in their responsibility of giving them adequate academic assistance, given that these migrant learners are from different social and language backgrounds. Also, educational authorities have failed to map out special programmes to assist migrant learners who come from a non-English-speaking background and from a different schooling system, to enable them fit well into the South African School system.

7.3.1 EDUCATION AUTHORITIES

Education authorities should first understand the educational needs of migrant learners who come from different schooling systems and who in most cases are non-English speakers. Programmes should be designed and put in place to assist these migrant learners in their early stage of starting school in South Africa. In this area, extra English and isiZulu language classes should be designed, which will go a long way in helping them get integrated easily into the school system. Furthermore, special learning materials and other learning aids should be designed and put in place to assist migrant learners who find it difficult to learn the language of instruction in the South African classroom. These materials for example may be written in very simple English with translations into major languages like French, to enable migrant learners to learn English fast and to catch up their lessons while in the process of learning English.

Finally, as there are more and more migrant learners in South African schools and classrooms, workshops need to be organized by the education authorities on how to assist and integrate these migrant learners into the school system, and how to make South African classrooms and learning environment inclusive enough to accommodate learners from different socio-cultural and religious backgrounds. This means that education authorities should educate teachers and school management teams on the need to see to this issue, as guided by the policy of inclusion. School authorities should as well be made to know the importance of making sure that teachers in the classrooms give migrant learners the necessary support they may need from them. This will help give these migrant learners equal learning opportunities with their local counterparts.

7.3.2 SCHOOL AUTHORITIES AND EDUCATORS

School authorities and educators should well understand the psychological, emotional and academic needs of migrant learners in their school, and work towards providing them as much assistance as possible. School authorities should ensure that teachers make their classrooms conducive for every learner to participate in the learning process. This can be achieved by instituting a monitoring committee in their school to look into the extent to which teachers practise inclusion in their classrooms and to what extent they are willing to render assistance to

academically needy learners like migrant learners in their classes. The aim should be to see ways of assisting them overcome some of the problems they face as migrant children. This in turn will motivate these migrant learners and give them a sense of belonging and a feel of being cared for. In turn, this will yield positive results in their academic performance and the way they socialize with others. This does not mean that the migrant learners are singled out from the rest of the other learners, which the participants do not like. At the same time, they know that they need assistance to enable them fit into the South African schooling system.

Learners should be taught to know that the school serves as an instrument for social integration and they, the learners, should be used to achieve this social integration in the larger society. This being the case, learners should be made to learn how to accommodate people from different backgrounds in the schools and classrooms, and how to develop the spirit of unity in diversity. The teachers should lead good examples to this regard for their learner to follow. Teachers should exhibit non-discriminatory practices in carrying out their duties. They should not discriminate against migrant learners in their classes. Teachers should learn to treat all learners equally and offer equal opportunities for all learners to participate in class. By doing so, learners will learn to accommodate migrant learners in their classes and schools.

7.3.3 AUTHORITIES IN CHARGE OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Authorities in charge of social development should regularly organize seminars, workshops and campaigns where the public will be properly educated on the need to live in peace and happily with migrants in South Africa. Such forums should also be used to create awareness on the dangers of stereotypes about foreigners in South Africa. One of the causes of xenophobic attacks in South Africa is that majority of the South African population are not well informed on the contributions migrants in South Africa make in boosting the economy and other vital sectors. Most South Africans only think that migrants, especially African migrants are in the South African to deny or rob them their inherited opportunities. South African people should be educated on the importance and need for migrants in South Africa; they should be made to know that every country in the world including South Africa benefits from the contributions migrants make in their countries, and South Africa is not an exception in this case. Also, South Africans

need to be reminded that many of us also migrate to other countries to work. On the other hand, migrants in South Africa should also be educated on how to live in peace with the nationals of their host country South Africa. Support system should be put in place to assist those migrants who may need special assistance such as acquiring the correct legal resident permit that would enable them engage in meaningful social and economic activities in South Africa instead of residing illegally in South Africa and involving themselves in criminal activities.

Furthermore, the South African Human Rights Commission should look into and address complaints made by migrants that have been ill-treated by nationals. Complaints received by the commission from any migrant should be taken seriously and action carried out to get to the root of the matter. By doing this, migrants will be protected from ill-treatment in the hands of the locals and their rights and freedoms will be well protected.

7.3.4 RECOMMENDATION FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Although studies have been carried out on issues of migration and migrant learners in their host communities/countries not much studies have been done on the schooling experiences of migrant learners in South Africa, especially those from African countries. Hence, there is the need to further conduct studies of a comparative nature to ascertain whether all African migrant children in South Africa experience schooling the same way or whether their experiences are determined by their national and cultural identities, and their language backgrounds. This nature of study is important given that migrant learners from different African countries have different national identities, cultural and language backgrounds which may suggest differences in the way migrant learners from different African countries could adapt to the South African socio-cultural and educational environment.

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APPENDIX 1

ETHICAL CLEARANCE FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU NATAL

APPENDIX 2

LETTER TO THE PRINCIPALS OF SCHOOLS

School of Social Science Education
Faculty of Education
University of KwaZulu-Natal
12th September 2009

Dear School Headmaster,

RE: REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO CARRY OUT RESEARCH IN YOUR SCHOOL

My name is Jude Ifeanyichukwu Nnadozie. I am a Masters Degree student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, and currently doing research on the Schooling Experiences of Transnational African Migrant Children in South Africa. This research is for the award of Masters Degree in Social Justice Education. The purpose of my study is to examine the schooling experiences of Transnational African Migrant Children in South Africa, using two high schools in Durban KwaZulu-Natal as case study.

I hereby seek for your consent for participation of your learners in my study which is aimed at enhancing the learning needs of the Transnational African migrant children in South Africa. Their participation and contribution will enable me to successfully carryout this study and will be highly valued.

This study has three stages:

STAGE ONE

The first stage will be a critical story account. This will be an expository account of the schooling experiences of African migrant children in South Africa. It will take a form of self

expressed oral story account by participants. The critical story account is an interactive section with the respondents aimed at getting them to give detailed and full account of their life story which is intended to provide information relating to the critical questions of the study. The critical story account will be guided by series of questions to enable respondents bring out relevant information for the study.

STAGE TWO

The second stage of the study will be a semi-structured interview section. This section will strengthen the information/data collected/produced from the first stage and gives insight into the four critical questions of the study. This stage will be guided by series of questions aimed at deeper understanding and further explores the schooling experiences of the Transnational African migrant children in South Africa.

STAGE THREE

The third and the final stage is the focus group interview section. This stage will further strengthen the information collected through stages one and two and will answer the third and fourth questions. All the three stages of the study will provide information that will be used to answer the following four critical questions of the study:

1. How do African migrant children in these schools experience schooling in South Africa?
2. What challenges do these migrant children encounter in South Africa?
3. How do their social identities as migrants contribute to their schooling experiences in South Africa?
4. What opportunities do migrant learners gain and give to South African schools?

You are assured that all information gathered in the course of the study will be used for the purpose of this study only. Furthermore, the anonymity of your learner's identity and that of the school will be assured. Should your learner wishes to withdraw from the study/research, he/she is free to do so.

If you need further information regarding the study/research, please do not hesitate to contact either myself or my supervisor Mr. Crispin Hemson. Herewith are our contact details: Mr. Nnadozie JI – 083 963 7165; Mr. C. Hemson – 083 2926 5333.

Please fill in and sign the attached declaration letter indicating your willingness to allow your child/learner to participate in the research.

I thank you in advance for your cooperation.

Yours sincerely,

Jude Ifeanyichukwu Nnadozie

DECLARATION BY SCHOOL HEADMASTER

I , the school Headmaster of
..... confirm my willingness to allow my learners participate in this
research. I understand the content of the document and the nature, purpose and aim of the study.

I understand that the research will not be harmful in anyway, that my learners can withdraw from
the study should any of them desires to do so, that their identities and that of the school will
remain anonymous and that the information that will be gathered from them will only be used for
the purpose of this study.

Signature of Headmaster

Date

APPENDIX 3

LETTER TO THE PARTICIPANTS

School of Social Science Education
Faculty of Education
University of KwaZulu-Natal
12th September 2009

Dear Participants,

My name is Jude Ifeanyichukwu Nnadozie. I am a Masters Degree student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, and currently doing research on the Schooling Experiences of Transnational African migrant children in South Africa. This research is for the award of Masters Degree in Social Justice Education. The purpose of my study is to examine the schooling experiences of Transnational African migrant children in South Africa, using two high schools in Durban KwaZulu-Natal as case study.

I hereby seek for your consent for participation in my study which is aimed at enhancing the learning needs of the Transnational African migrant children in South Africa. Your participation and contribution will enable me to successfully carryout this study and will be highly valued.

You are assured that all information gathered in the course of the study will be used for the purpose of this study only. Furthermore, your anonymity will be assured. Should you wish to withdraw from the study/research, you are free to do so.

If you need further information regarding the study/research, please do not hesitate to contact either myself or my supervisor Mr. Crispin Hemson. Herewith are our contact details: Mr. Nnadozie JI – 083 963 7165; Mr. C. Hemson – 083 2926 5333.

Please fill in and sign the attached declaration letter indicating your willingness to participate in the research.

I thank you in advance for your cooperation.

Yours sincerely,

Jude ifeanyichukwu Nnadozie.

DECLARATION BY PARTICIPANT

I , a learner at
..... confirm my willingness to participate in this research. I understand the content of the document and the nature, purpose and aim of the study.

I understand that the research will not be harmful in anyway, that I can withdraw from the study should I desire, that I will remain anonymous and that the information that will be gathered from me will only be used for the purpose of this study. I have been given the contact numbers of the researcher and of his supervisor.

Signature of Participant

Date

APPENDIX 4

LETTERS TO THE PARENTS OF PARTICIPANTS

School of Social Science Education

Faculty of Education

University of KwaZulu-Natal

12th September 2009

Dear Parents of participant,

My name is Jude Ifeanyichukwu Nnadozie. I am a Masters Degree student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, and currently doing research on the Schooling Experiences of Transnational African Migrant Children in South Africa. This research is for the award of Masters Degree in Social Justice Education. The purpose of my study is to examine the schooling experiences of Transnational African Migrant Children in South Africa, using two high schools in Durban KwaZulu-Natal as case study.

I hereby seek for your consent for participation of your child/children in my study which is aimed at enhancing the learning needs of the Transnational African migrant children in South Africa. His/her participation and contribution will enable me to successfully carryout this study and will be highly valued.

You are assured that all information gathered in the course of the study will be used for the purpose of this study only. Furthermore, the anonymity of your child's identity and that of the school will be assured. Should your child wishes to withdraw from the study/research, he/she is free to do so.

If you need further information regarding the study/research, please do not hesitate to contact either myself or my supervisor Mr. Crispin Hemson. Herewith are our contact details: Mr. Nnadozie JI – 083 963 7165; Mr. C. Hemson – 083 2926 5333.

Please fill in and sign the attached declaration letter indicating your willingness to allow your child/learner to participate in the research.

I thank you in advance for your cooperation.

Yours sincerely,

Jude Ifeanyichukwu Nnadozie.

DECLARATION BY PARENTS

I , parent of
....., a learner at confirm my willingness to
allow my child participate in this research. I understand the content of the document and the
nature, purpose and aim of the study.

I understand that the research will not be harmful in anyway, that my child can withdraw from
the study should he/she desires to do so, that he/she will remain anonymous and that the
information that will be gathered from him/her will only be used for the purpose of this study.

Signature of Parent

Date

APPENDIX 5

CRITICAL STORY ACCOUNTS

Questions to guide/facilitate critical story account

The purpose of a critical story account is to interact freely with the respondents, and get them to give detailed and full account of their life story which will serve as a starting point in exploring the issues of their schooling experiences which is the main focus of the study. The following questions are designed to enable the respondents to talk freely and easily.

- 1 What is your age?
- 2 Where were you born?
- 3 What do you remember about growing up in your country?
- 4 What did you like or dislike about being there, if you can remember it?
- 5 What happened that brought you to South Africa?
- 6 Can you tell me the story of your journey from your home to South Africa?
- 7 What was it like when you first came to South Africa?
- 8 Can you tell me what it was like for you when you arrived in South Africa?
- 9 What did you like about things when you arrived?
- 10 What did you not like about things when you arrived?
- 11 How did you manage to overcome any problems? Or are you still facing/experiencing the same problems?
- 12 Can you tell me those things you like most about your home which you do not get in South Africa, if you can remember? How do you cope without them?
- 13 Tell me about your first day in school, how did you feel like being here the first time – what were your first experience and feelings?

APPENDIX 6

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

This interview schedule is geared towards exploring the schooling experiences of African migrant children in South Africa.

- 1) How old are you?
- 2) What grade are you doing?
- 3) What year did you come to South Africa?
- 4) Who else in your family is with you in South Africa?
- 5) What do your family members do here?
- 6) When did you start schooling in South Africa?
- 7) Is this your first school in South Africa or have you attended others schools before this?
- 8) Were you schooling in your home country before coming to South Africa?
- 9) If so, what differences have you noticed between schooling in your home country and schooling in South Africa?
- 10) What do you like about being in this school?
- 11) Why?
- 12) What do you not like about being in this school?
- 13) Why?
- 14) What do you think causes these experiences in school here?
- 15) What do you like about living in South Africa?
- 16) What do you not like about living in South Africa?
- 17) What successes do you encounter at school?
- 18) Why do you think you have these successes?
- 19) What difficulties do you encounter at school?
- 20) How do you cope with these difficulties (how do you handle the problems you face at school)?
- 21) What do you like or do not like about the way you get on with South African learners?
- 22) What do you think contributes to the way you get on with South African learners?

- 23) Do you like the learners in your school?
- 24) What do you like about them?
- 25) Is there anything you do not like about the learners in your school?
- 26) Do you like the teachers in your school?
- 27) What do you like about your teachers?
- 28) What do you not like about your teachers?

APPENDIX 7

FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

The purpose of this process is to shift towards the more general issues and experiences of migrant learners. These questions are a guide, but discussion will flow towards the issues that are raised by the respondents themselves.

1. What makes you happy about being migrants in your school?
2. What makes you sad about being migrants in your school?
3. Is your schooling what you expected to get? Why do you say this?
4. How do other learners and teachers contribute to your experiences at school?
5. What is it like to be migrant learners in this school?
6. What do you like most about living and schooling in South Africa?
7. What do you most dislike about living and schooling in South Africa?
8. After you finish school, would you want to stay in South Africa, or not?
9. Why?
10. What opportunities do you think schooling in South Africa has offered you and can offer you?
11. How do the issues around being a migrant affect your performance at school?
12. What have you gained from living in South Africa?
13. What do you think you have lost by being here and not being in your home country?
14. Is there any way in which you have contributed to South Africa by being here? If so, how?