"I don't even know if I have a culture…"

Experiences of acculturation and sense of belonging among migrant children in the age of 11 up to 14 years in Rosettenville, Johannesburg.

Master Thesis

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Debbie Lansbergen - S0963410

Jan Jansen

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Abstract

Migrant children are an unexamined subject, even though they experience several interesting processes in adapting to a new society. Migrant children who are residing in Rosettenville have integrated well into the South African society and enjoy living in South Africa. The research showed a pattern among the migrant children which is connected with the relationship the children have with their country of origin. The children either choose to keep a connection with their home country or not to maintain a bond with their home country, which determines the way children acculturate in the society and develop a sense of belonging. Coherent to this is the division between home and school, whereby some children who value their home situation more, compared with children who are more interested in everything outside their home situation, including school, friends and the South African society. This again is related to the relationship the children have with their country or origin, whether they choose to value home or school. Even though they have migrated to a new country, the country of origin will always play a role in the lives of migrant children.

Contents

Introduction

This thesis will illustrate the lives of migrant children from Southern African countries who live in Rosettenville, Johannesburg. The thesis will describe their transition experiences, stories and difficulties they have encountered due to migration from their home country to South Africa. First, I will start with two quotes which will show the different views on their lives in South Africa.

> "I don't like living in South Africa, it is very dangerous with all the crime, rapes and human trafficking. The situation in DRC is not good as well, that's why I want to become the president of Congo one day." Danny (12) migrated from DRC when he was 7 years old.

> "South Africa is a beautiful country and I feel at home here. I don't want to move back to Congo, they do not even have electricity there!" says Miriam (12) from DRC, migrated when she was 2 years old.

I chose migrant children as my research population because they are often ignored and unexamined within researches. These children have to deal with issues such as identity formation, finding a sense of belonging and adapting to their new society. Therefore this thesis examines the experiences and lives of migrant children in the age of eleven years up to fourteen years. These migrant children have migrated with their families from other African countries to South Africa for various reasons. The focus was on a group of migrant children who attended the Rosettenville Central Primary school. The aim of the research is to examine the processes of acculturation and the development of a sense of belonging. This is of importance because children experience the changes in their lives because of the migration differently from their parents because these children can be still in the process of socialization and identification with people around them. However these processes are disturbed, which can affect the way they acculturate and find their sense of belonging. The data is collected through observations and interviews which focused on the difference between the behavior of the child on school and at home. Aspects which were examined are language, behavior, eating, dressing and the relationship with their country of origin.

This field research is part of the Masters Programme of Cultural Anthropology & Development Sociology at Leiden University. This fieldwork was conducted from April until July 2012. The reason I choose this topic is connected with what I encountered in my earlier visit to Johannesburg. During that visit I did voluntary work in a shelter for refugee women and their children and I saw the difficulties that migrant encounter living in Johannesburg.

The shelter was situated close to the inner city of Johannesburg, which houses approximately five million migrants. Among those millions of immigrants, a big number are migrant children. Driving through the streets of Johannesburg, I wondered how children are dealing with the changes in their lives and how this is affecting their socialization and adaptation. I choose to conduct the field research in Rosettenville, which is an area south of Johannesburg city. I decided not to conduct the research in the inner city because it appears to be the most dangerous and violent place of Johannesburg. Besides this fact, the area of Rosettenville has always been a diverse migrant community, which houses immigrants from all over.

This research is academically relevant because anthropological research among migrant children is an unexamined field. Scholars from different disciplines have conducted research among migrant children focuses on their adaptation, acculturation and experiences of migration. However anthropologists have not done much research on this topic yet. Though the topic is relevant for the discipline, because it involves contact between multiple cultural groups and whereby changes occur between those groups. Even on individual level it is worth researching because children are in the process of socialization through their environment, culture and people around them, however that process is disrupted because of the migration. Most migration researches are conducted in western countries with migrants from non-western countries. Research among immigrants in western countries often entails the differences and contact between two cultural groups that are different from each other. Hence, research among migrants in non-western countries less explored and it needs more attention, because also in those regions there are numerous migrants who encounter difficulties, which may be also different from the ones migrant experience in Western countries.

Migration is not something new; however it has become an issue since governments and politics started to play a role within migration issues. Every country has experienced some form of migration, which makes researching migration issues up to date and globally relevant. The fact that children are neglected in migration studies is unacceptable especially because families are the biggest migration group, which mostly also include children; however the children of migration have not received special attention. I think it is also interesting to study children in developing countries to broaden the universal model of childhood, which is based on a Western ideas and experiences. Even though children are being raised and socialized differently in different parts of the world. And especially these aspects of upbringing of children are disturbed by the migration, where families' first concern is to survive and to be safe. Therefore children might not get the education or guidance they need, which can affect the rest of their lives. Also the fact that these children do not know where their 'home' is can cause difficulties in identity formation and the development of a sense of belonging.

The research question of this Master Thesis is:

How do migrant children from Southern African countries in the age 11 up to 14 years experience the processes of acculturation and development of a sense of belonging Rosettenville, Johannesburg?

This thesis is constructed as follows. The most important concept and theories are discusses and explored in the theoretical framework. The second chapter entails the methodologies and techniques that have been used in the field research to collect the data. The third chapter gives insights in the settings where the research took place in, including the neighborhood, the school, the children and their parents. The fourth chapter elaborates on the children of the research and specific information about them. A case-study of ten children will give insights in the processes of acculturation and sense of belonging. The fifth chapter will be the concluding chapter whereby the theories from the theoretical framework will be connection with the data and the outcomes of the research. The five hypotheses that were devised will be also explained and examined. The thesis will end with a conclusion on the data that has been collected from the field research in Johannesburg.

The five hypotheses that will be explored in chapter 5 are as follows:

1. Migrant children who are residing in Rosettenville are struggling on economic, social and adaptation level.
2. There is not one particular acculturation strategy for migrant children who are residing in Rosettenville.
3. If children migrated at an early they have adapted well into the South African society and feel more at home in South Africa.
4. The reason for migration is of influence affects the sense of belonging among migrant children.
5. Children from a middle-income class don't experience discrimination.

Theoretical Framework

This section of the theoretical framework will examine concepts and theories that are related to the research among migrant children in South Africa. Anthropological research among children is not common and mostly children are not perceived as a separate research group, and they are only studied in relation to their parents or family. Therefore the literature used is inter-disciplinary and focuses on specific concepts related to childhood, development of children and socialization. Also in migration studies children are often neglected and no special attention is paid to their experiences of migration and the changing settings. However, research on migrant children and/or on the effects of migration on children does show important issues that need to be addressed, especially because children are in the process of their socialization and identification with their family and surroundings, including environment, culture and language. Therefore this theoretical framework examines the aspects where migrant children have to deal with in adapting to a new country and dealing with the changes in their lives.

Socialization & childhood

The Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology describes socialization as the process through which people and especially children are taking on ideas and behavior appropriate to life in a particular society (Barnard & Spencer 1996: 512). Two phenomena are of influence on socialization namely; the society – 'collective life' - and the individual – 'a product of society'-. Socialization is often perceived as informal education and care of young children with respect to learning the ideas and behavior proper to their society. The process entails how the child understands itself in relation to others and therefore understands the world around itself with all its categories (Barnard & Spencer, 1996: 513). LeVine's work shows that infant care is not simply about ensuring that the child's basic needs for food or shelter are met, but is part of much larger systems of cultural practice which ensure that, even from the earliest days of a child's life, he or she is socialized and enculturated into the social values of the society (Montgomery 2009: 31). In the case of migrant children, the process of socialization might be disrupted with the movement from their home country to a new country, with a different ethos, culture and environment. The changes to the social categories the child is used to identify with and the world that he/she used to understand, could affect their socialization process and therefore also the process of identity formation. LeVine (2003: 37) states that socialization of the child is seen as a factor for cultural continuity and social stability and ensures transmission and conservation of socio-cultural tradition from generation to generation. From an anthropological view the socialization process is a significant factor

for the continuation of cultures and communities. This is of importance for immigrant families, because children cannot learn from their home societies and experience the home culture and ethos, therefore transmission through the family and peers are a form of cultural socialization.

The universal model of childhood, according to Theis (2001: 100), marginalizes the importance of childhood as a social phenomenon in its own right by focusing attention on the way in which children evolved into 'complete' human beings. This ignores the reality of children lives and their experiences, thought processes and ideas. For instance, there is a critique on the cultural one-sidedness of the UN convention on the Rights of the Child, as it does not do full justice to the diversity of children's lives around the world (Schwartzman 2001: 100). Different cultural aspects are neglected in the UN convention which is based on a Western, middle-class model of childhood. Hence, this necessitates further research on children and childhood issues from different places of the world.

Identity

The Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology (Barnard & Spencer 2010: 292) refers identity as properties of uniqueness and individuality, the essential differences making a person distinct from all other, as in 'self-identity'. Yet identity also refers to qualities of sameness, in that person(s) may associate themselves, or be associated to others, to groups of categories on the basis of some salient common feature, e.g. 'ethnic identity'. This two-part idea of identity refers to social and personal identity, which was distinguished by Mead (1934 in Worchel et al. 1998: 2). Mead notes that personal identity is situated 'within' a person and social identity is a process of socialization through other people. Social identity refers to similarities between the individual and to other people of the same background (the 'We'), however social identity also refers to differences between groups or categories, to a specificity of something that all members share (the 'them'). Personal features or specific character attributes of each individual refers to personal identity and the idea that each individual is a unique combination of features which makes one different from others[1] (Worchel et al. 1998: 2-3). For migrant children the process of identity formation can be confusing due to the changing settings that they encounter with their family, their environment and culture. Through socialization they learn to understand their world and their family structures, however after migrating to another country, the settings are likely to be different and that may affect the way they construct their identity. The adaptation to their home countries cultural settings and identification in earlier years will no longer or less visible, which makes migrant children confused and this can slow down the process of identity formation.

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[1] Social and personal identities are both partly formed during the process of socialization.

Scholars from various disciplines within social sciences have examined identity and identity formation; however the ideas on construction of identities keep on changing. For instance, identity used to be perceived in connection with feelings and emotions, however nowadays identity is often linked to lifestyle, materialistic choices and individual agency. Further in the thesis, several arguments from different disciplines will show the differences in perceiving identity. Ryburn (1992: 14-15) explains that there are two aspects to identity: self concept and self esteem. A distinction between how children understand themselves and the feelings accompanied with that understanding. She notes that a child's self esteem is also influenced by socio-cultural messages received within one's social environment and from relationships with others (Ryburn 1992: 23). A significant factor on identity is the effect that both society and social actors have on the way people perceive themselves and form their identity, this aspect has been widely accepted by all scholars. Identity formation according to Mead (1934 in Chen 2009: 4) is a social process in which the child experiences their own self indirectly from the standpoint of the other members in a society where one belongs. That means that the self emerges only through social processes with other people. The society can positively and or negatively affect the formation of identity, because identity can also be a marker of difference. After all identities are marked by what we share with those who are like 'us' and what differentiates 'us' from 'them'. Discrimination and alienation can affect the way migrant children form their identity, because they are labeled as different although they do not want to feel different and want to belong to a certain group.

Several researches have shown that discrimination and bullying are negative factors that can influence the adaptation of migrant children and therefore their acculturation outcome and sense of belonging. Discrimination is a form of exclusion, although for children it is important to be able to be part of a group and identify with that group. Correa-Velez, Gifford & Barnett (2010: 1405) also explain that perceived discrimination is one of the most important barriers to adapt to a new society for immigrant youth. And so is being excluded due to a given attribute of accent, ethnicity, religion, color or being an immigrant can have significant impact on the sense of belonging. Research among migrant children shows that children want to identify with a certain cultural group or group of friends and thereby compare themselves with their surrounding and people around them. People with a multicultural background are often categorized or labeled by people around them, without looking at the individual person. According to Wridt (Caxaj & Berman 2010: 6) specific identities appears to encourage a sense of togetherness among select groups of individuals while simultaneously reinforcing a sense of exclusion.

In acculturation studies, a distinction within cultural identity is made between 'ethnic identity' and 'national identity'. This cultural identity involves a sense of belonging to one or more cultural groups and the feelings associated with group membership (Berry et al. 2006:

76). The process of ethnic-identity formation involves examining the ethnic attitudes, values and practices learned at home from their immigrant parents and considering them in relation to those of their peers and the larger society (Phinney 1989 in Berry et al. 2006: 76). The formation of a national identity involves feeling of belonging to and attitudes towards, the larger society. However these feelings of belonging can also mean that they are excluded or rejected by the society (Berry et al. 2006: 77). For instance, if a child is discriminated because of his skin color, background or religion, they would feel rejected by the society and therefore develop an ethnic identity more easily compared to the development of a national identity. Immigrant children choose their sense of belonging to one of the cultural groups and this in turn affects the way they construct their identity. Hence, Ríos-Rojas (2011: 85) explains that her research among migrant youth showed that their identities were being forged in the in-between spaces of here and there, origin and destination, and influenced by the state, family, peers, school, and popular culture. Therefore, immigrant children use different pathways in developing a sense of belonging which results in more hybrid and flexible citizenships.

In a multicultural society, identities are partly created by the person as well as by those around him. Some impositions are made by parents, the school and the society and immigrant children must deal with those impositions. Based on shared cultural stereotypes, a person is told both what she/he 'must be' and she/he 'must not be' (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco 2001: 65). For immigrant children it is difficult to form a clear identity due to impositions and stereotypes from the new society even though children are still adapting to the new situation and figuring out where and or whom they would want to identify with. The way immigrant children identify themselves is also related to finding their sense of belonging. For migrant children to settle well in their new society, it means finding a place where they belong and identify with outside their families. Therefore finding a group of friends or children where they can play with is important for the adaptation of immigrant children. Besides these children are also dealing with the disruption and loss of friends from their home country. According to van Blerk & Ansell (2006: 459) that friends form an important part of children's social activity and are crucial to their identity formation. This also means that if children do not find friends to belong to or to play with, it can isolate children and weaken their position because they are more bounded to their home and family.

Caxaj & Berman (2010: 6) explains that belonging is a relational process enacted at multiple scales for instance through the nation states, media and peers. A sense of belonging is enacted and negotiated through practices of inclusion and exclusion upon social (e.g., friendships), symbolic (e.g., dress style), and spatial boundaries (e.g., neighborhoods). Finding a sense of belonging generally involves a sense of connectedness and positive interaction with social others, which can lead to a complex performance of identity (Caxaj & Berman (2010: 6).

This complex performance of identity is analyzed by Ferguson's study on urban life on the Copperbelt in Zambia and he devised two urban styles that are performed among migrants that migrated to urban areas[2]. These styles are cultivated through dress, speech, way of walking and buying certain products and showing off that style successfully. In considering cultural style, Ferguson questions the issues of identity and commonalities of values, beliefs, worldview among cultural subgroups. People who participate in the same style may have diverse motives, values or views of the world and hence it is not so much about commonalities in thought processes or culture (Ferguson 1999: 97). This corresponds with the notion that identity is a unique product and an individual process. For instance what is called style among the Copperbelt miners; it is in fact a motivated process of self-making which involves socialization and self-consciousness. However Ferguson (1999: 98) notes that the performance of this cultural style is a kind of skilled action you do with your body, often with little conscious elaboration or awareness, which is the same with identity. Hence, there is a strong support among all perspectives on identity that outsiders have a significant role to play in the process of identity formation. Consequently it means that identity is a social construct and mostly produced in interaction with social actors and the society.

Sense of belonging

A sense of belonging is a feeling or an experience whereby one would want to fit into and identify with a certain group. That group may be cultural, religious, social or political linked. Belonging is a highly contextualized, process-oriented concept that manifests differently at different levels of society. Hence, belonging is a performance related to feelings of connectedness, social relations and constructions of identity. Therefore, belonging and identity can be seen as mutually interactive phenomena that are both socially regulated and personally negotiated (Caxaj & Berman 2010: 5).

With globalization, capital, ideas and people flow more easily across borders in time and space. On one hand, globalization is reinforcing and deepening the binaries between 'us' and 'them' (Ríos-Rojas 2011: 65). But on the other hand, locality and belonging seem to be more apparent to people worldwide due to the circulation of people. Tania Li (2002: 173) calls this a 'conjuncture of belonging' in the globalizing world. Geschiere (2011: 323) questions the notion of belonging as a uni-linear process because: 'people may think our world is globalizing, but an increasing obsession with localist forms of belonging seems to be the flipside of globalization in many contexts'. This obsession is caused by the increasing mobility of people, both on national and transnational scale, whereby people start to think more about where do they belong and feel at home. Geschiere examined the outcomes from

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[2] Ferguson sees the cultural styles as analytical ideal types.

the notion of sense of belonging and he argues that it can cause practices of exclusion and division between 'natives' and 'immigrants' or the distinction between autochthons and allochthons.[3] Autochthony literally means 'born from the soil' and these issues are cropping up in different parts of the world to include and exclude people.[4] Geschiere tries to explain autochthony and belonging through the first practices of the distinction in classical Athens. Thereby Athenians claim that they are the only true *autochthonoi*, which means born from the land where they lived, whereby they allude to the fact that the other Greek cities were found by immigrants (Geschiere 2011: 324).

Notions of autochthony have been used in parts of Africa and Europe since the 1980's to distinguish between outsides and insiders. In Europe this disjuncture of belonging has been fueled by processes of globalization and transnational mobility of people. However, in Africa the notion has been brought up through the processes of democratization and decentralization and used to differentiate between citizens who belong and those who do not (Geschiere 2011: 333). In some cases this has led to violent outbursts including xenophobia attacks (South Africa), ethnic cleansing (Indonesia) and land ownership clashes (Ivory Coast).[5] The notion of autochthony and practices of belonging can be linked to politics, although the notion of belonging can only work if it touches emotions of the general population and the practice is personalized.

For migrant children in South Africa, the sense of belonging is personalized because they are at the phase of constructing their identity and identifying with one particular (cultural) group or country. There are individual key factors that are of influence for migrant children or youth to settle well in their new country of residence. These factors include: the pace at which they become competent in the language of the host country; attending a school in the neighborhood and make friends; experiencing educational success in school; living with supportive family members; feeling of belonging to one's ethnic community, and being able to develop positive relationships with the broader host community. In the case of South Africa, immigrants are often treated badly and it involves stereotypes against certain immigrant groups and this affect the way migrant children develop a sense of belonging. According to Correa-Velez, Gifford & Barnett (2010: 1400) another key factor for young migrants to adapt to their new country is social capital, because there are several pressures to participate and belong to their own family, their ethnic community and to the host community. Building a social capital is of importance for migrant children because this way they can build connectedness and durable relationships within their local community.

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[3] In the Netherlands the distinction between autochthons and allochthons is used to distinquish immigrants from Dutch people.

[4] The French term les autochthones means 'indigenous people' which is translated as minority people who are threatened in their way of life by dominant groups (Geschiere 2011: 336).

[5] In Ivory Coast citizens had to return to their village of origin in order to claim national citizenship

However, failure to develop a good social capital can also negatively affect migrant children as they easily become susceptible to certain ill-social status, discrimination and bullying. This kind of treatment and experience affects the sense of belonging for the migrant children and may cause them to be hesitant feeling at home in their host country. Both discrimination and social economic status can be factors that affect the lives of migrant children negatively, as they are excluded because of these two aspects of their families. Nevertheless and despite these experiences, the host community is seen as a key for the well being of migrants and particularly in the building bridging relationships. Relationships with one's own ethnic community are of importance for the sense of belonging as well, together with relationships with the broader host community (Correa-Velez, Gifford & Barnett 2010: 1406). Migrant children experience a tension between participating in their ethnic community and at the same time engaging with the host community. Families might encourage the children to stay loyal to their ethnic values while they are also asked to master the host culture. This may cause some migrant children to either over-identify with home culture or culture of the host country, let alone become marginalized from both.

According to Correa-Velez, Gifford & Barnett (2010: 1400) there are some factors that can stabilize this process including; parents' wellbeing and their ability to cope, social support from peers and being part of both ethnic community and host community. The family is an important factor for migrant children given the changes in their living conditions because of the migration from their home country to their new host country. Even though the migrant children encountered many changes in their lives the family, in most cases, stayed together and therefore it is a stabilizing factor. In particular mothers play a supporting role for both the children and maintaining family togetherness. The research of Cajax & Berman (2010: 9) shows that immigrant children expressed that the changes due to migration were experienced collectively, even though the family structures changed, together with different living conditions and the shrinking of supportive family circles. This often involved adjusting the family dynamics and the divisions within one family, where some children had to assist by taking on new responsibilities (Cajax & Berman 2010: 9). For some families the migration meant moving from a low social economic status to a higher social economic status, but for others it meant the opposite. There were some children of the research who noted that their live was better, financially, before migration (Caxaj & Berman 2010: 9).

Hence, several researches have shown that the family can either be a protective factor or a risk especially after migration stress or trauma (Correa-Velez, Gifford & Barnett 2010: 1401). Even though the parents of the migrant children experience their own processes of acculturation and adaptation, they children need some guidance through that. According to Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco (2001: 89-90) immigrant parents walk a tightrope because they encourage their children to develop the competencies necessary to function in the new

culture, whilst maintaining the traditions and language of home. Besides, a common fear among immigrant parents is losing their child to the 'new culture'. Nevertheless, immigrant parents are motivated by a desire for a better future for their children. The reasons for migration are often influenced by aspirations for a better future, especially for the children. Therefore migrant children also have aspirations to have a better life than their parents had. However, because being an immigrant and therefore not a citizen of the host society, their aspirations may also be spilled and opportunities may be limited (Ríos-Rojas 2011: 85). Besides the limitations, it is common among migrant children to have memories of their life left behind, which triggered a sense of loss for familiar settings, routines, cultural traditions/values, and support networks that were no longer easily accessible (Caxaj & Berman 2010: 8).

A sense of belonging among migrants is often accompanied by feelings of alienation, being an outsider, inferiority and 'otherness. However and regardless of these feelings, the host society expects migrants to have a certain degree of adaptation and understanding of the local culture, norms and values and language(s) of the locals.

Acculturation

The term acculturation has been used by scholars from psychology, pedagogy, anthropology and sociology; given that, acculturation, is both a psychological and cultural process. Hence the focus of the disciplines also differs and for anthropologists the focus is on collectives and the psychologists focus more on individual processes. Redfield et al. (1936: 149) explain acculturation as; 'it comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups'. Definitions like this one imply that something like an autonomous cultural system exists however such definitions are outdated as the idea of culture has changed and with globalization, it is now easier for cultures and countries to sustain social relations that link their countries of origin.

Nevertheless, a culture sensitive definition by Berry is as follows: during acculturation, groups of people and their individual members engage in intercultural contact, producing a potential for conflict, and the need for negotiation in order to achieve outcomes that are adaptive for both parties (Berry 2005:697).[6] This section will explore the importance of studying cultural aspects of acculturation and will also specifically focus on acculturation process among migrant children, because they experience and perceive certain aspects of the acculturation process differently than their parents. Aronowitz (1984 in Berry et al. 2006:

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[6] I use Berry's work because he is specialized on the terrain of acculturation, immigration and multiculturalism and he shows all the different aspects of acculturation according to several academics and disciplines.

230) noted that findings with adult immigrants cannot necessarily be applied to adolescents or child migrants. Adults deal with other issues, such as finding employment and housing, and coping with strains on parental and spousal roles due to different cultural norms in their new society. Hence, children acculturate different from their parents, for instance in shaping their attitudes, friends they prefer, their eagerness to learn a new language or how they deal with cultural values of their family (Berry et al 2006:75).

Trimble (2003: 6) remarks that in the course of the interaction between groups, much cultural diffusion, borrowing and conflict typically occur, often leading to immutable changes in an individual's 'lifeways' and 'thoughtways'. Besides these individual changes, acculturation can have different outcomes at different levels. For instance, at the group level, it involves changes in social structures cultural practices. At the individual level, it involves changes in a person's behavioral repertoire (Berry 2005: 698-9). Examples of the changes that can occur in the two cultural groups are learning each other's languages, sharing each other's food preferences, and adopting forms of dress and social interactions that are characteristic of each group. The changes that occur at an individual level is having new different view of people, accepting differences and their behavior and becoming more open and tolerant.

Schiefera et al. (2012: 488) describe two different domains within acculturation process and the first domain refers to behaviors, such as language use, television and media consumption, eating habits, the participation in cultural activities and the establishment of social networks. The second domain refers to psychological processes, such as changes in evaluations and attitudes towards the two cultural groups as well as changes in the sense of belonging to and identification with the two cultural groups. In my research, I have examined the first domain among migrant children, which corresponds with anthropology and social studies and I would distinguish the different domains as; the first one is what people say they do and what they do and the second domain is about what people think and feel.

Within acculturation studies, scholars try to distinguish the differences in an acculturation process by devising models and strategies. With these types they try to differentiate paths or strategies that immigrants follow while adapting into their new society. Despite the critiques on models and strategies, I will still use the four most used acculturation strategies in my field research. The most influential types of strategies are the four classifications made by Berry and his associates and they are as follows: assimilation, separation, integration and marginalization. These strategies are based on a distinction between (a) a relative preference for maintaining one's heritage culture and identity, and (b) a relative preference for having contact with and participating in the larger society along with other ethno-cultural groups (Berry 2005: 704). These four types are explained as: (1) when individuals do not wish to maintain their cultural identity and if they seek daily interaction with other cultures, the *assimilation* strategy applies and that means the individuals prefer to

shed their heritage culture, and become absorbed into the dominant society. (2) When individuals place a value on holding on to their original culture, and at the same time wish to avoid interaction with others, thus called *separation*. Here, individuals turn their back on involvement with other cultural groups, and turn inward toward their heritage culture. (3) When there is an interest in both maintaining one's heritage culture while have daily interactions with other groups, *integration* is the strategy. In this case, there is some degree of cultural integrity maintained, and at the same time seeking, as a member of an ethnocultural group, to participate as an integral part of the larger social network. (4) When there is little possibility or interest in heritage cultural maintenance and little interest in having relations with others (often for reasons of exclusion or discrimination) then *marginalization* is defined (Berry 2005: 705).

From these four types, integration is the most preferred and most adaptive strategy for immigrants. Although immigrants may prefer integration, the way members of the host society deal with the immigrants is of bigger influence and they can put restrictions on immigrants which in turn influences the selection of acculturations strategies by the immigrants. Therefore integration is a long-term and multi-dimensional process, requiring a commitment on the part of both migrants and non-migrant members of society to respect and adapt with each other enabling them to interact in a positive and peaceful co-existing manner (Koser 2007: 25). Berry's four strategies have received numerous critics. The concept of marginalization is criticized because migrants do not choose to be marginalized, but they may be forced to adopt it. In general, separation as a strategy among children is almost impossible, because children engage with children of other cultural groups via school.

Escobar and Vega (2000) recommends dismissal of acculturation strategies because they are ambiguous, lack predictive power, and are based on assumptions about culture that any anthropologist would find incredulous (Rudmin 2003: 5). Escobar & Vega (2000: 737) explain that acculturation tries to measure aspects of culture even though culture is a notion that is difficult to describe more difficult to operationalize for research. Therefore they argue it is better to research acculturation in terms of superficial cultural features of the dominant society including speech, dress and etiquette (Escobar & Vega 2000: 737). Another critique is that acculturation processes focus on minorities which implies that acculturation is something that happens only to minority people and that the cultures of dominant people are somehow excluded from acculturation processes. The process also implies that minority groups are a different species, one distinct from the majority. To the contrary, as a result of the speed and ease of world travel, global communications, and international marketing, all humans, everywhere, are subject to acculturation processes, whether they know it or not and whether they like it or not. There are no contained societies or protected people isolated from intercultural contact or exempt from cultural change (Rudmin 2003: 6)

Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco (2001: 156) criticizing the notion of acculturation on the basis of understanding culture. They differentiate between two broad realms of culture: 'instrumental culture' and 'expressive culture'. By instrumental culture, they mean the skills, competencies and social behaviors that are required to successfully make a living and contribute to society. By expressive culture, they mean the realm of values, worldviews, and patterning of interpersonal relations that give meaning and sustain the sense of self. Taken together, these qualities of culture generate shared meanings, shared understanding and a sense of belonging. In sum, the sense of who you are and where you belong is molded by these qualities of culture (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco 2001: 156).

Van Oudenhoven, Ward & Masgoret (2006: 647) criticize the use of 'culture' and 'identity' in acculturation literature. They argue that culture is a complex construct and may be seen as encompassing artifacts, social institutions, language, customs and traditions and shared meanings. Cultural identity, to them, refers to a sense of pride and belongingness to one's cultural group. This may mean that immigrants easily adopt the language, the dress code and habits of the new country – which are the external trappings of culture – but they may still identify strongly with their country of origin. This means that immigrants may give up parts of their cultural heritage without giving up their cultural identity and their sense of belonging. According to van Oudenhoven et al. (2006: 648) the area of acculturation needs more research because globalization brings both big migrants flows worldwide but it also brings transnational contact between people. They argue that host societies are becoming increasingly culturally heterogeneous, which might lead to new acculturation strategies and outcomes, for instance, creolization and pluralism.[7] Creolization takes places when a variety of cultural groups live together when there is no clear dominant group and that is the mixing of cultural aspects. Pluralism encourages both cultural maintenance and intergroup contact which lead to relationships of different groups that form a new community (van Oudenhoven et al 2006: 648-9).

The Cuban anthropologist Fernando Ortiz favors 'transculturation' over the term acculturation. He explains that the word transculturation better expresses the different phases of the process of transition from one culture to another because transculturation does not consist merely in acquiring another culture. He argues that the acculturation process also involves the loss or uprooting of a previous culture, which could be defined as deculturation. In addition it carries the idea of the consequent creation of new cultural phenomena, which could be called neoculturation (Ortiz 1940: 102-03 in Cheng 2011: 19). Therefore Ortiz uses three typologies for transculturation; (1) deculturation, (2) acculturation, (3) neoculturation

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[7] These concepts are interesting to explore, however they do not apply on this particular research. I decided to use the notion of acculturation and sense of belonging to explain the experiences of migration among migrant children in South Africa.

(Cheng 2011: 20). Cheng (2011) conducted research among Chinese migrant in the United States of America and uses the notion of transculturation to position these migrants. She remarks that transculturation is affected through the processes of opposition, adjustment and creation. Therefore minority groups have to re-adjust to their new situation and re-create sort of a new hybrid form of culture which grows from their original culture and is adapted to the host culture (Cheng 2011: 24).

Transculturation leads to cultural hybridity which in turn is connected to pluralism. All these processes entail the contact between two or more cultural groups whereby changes occur in the settings. The biggest difference between transculturation and acculturation is that the process of transculturation leads to new cultural hybrid forms, but that does not ultimately mean acquiring a new culture. Transculturation focuses more on the process of transition although the question here is, the transition leads to what? Because it seems like that both transculturation and acculturation the same outcome prefer, which is when two or more cultural groups have accepted and adapted to each other and transmitted cultural aspects into their lives. Hence, Ortiz claims that in acculturation strategies, immigrants have to lose some parts of their heritage culture to be able to adapt to their new society. However I see acculturation as a process between two cultural groups with transmission of language, music, dress and food and results in a mutual understanding of each other. The process may start with conflict between the two groups but ends in accepting each other and finding a way of living together. This may mean that both cultural groups take over certain aspects of the other culture, but it does not imply that through contact a new cultural form arises.

The different acculturation strategies imply that there are certain paths or strategies that migrants follow, therefore I find these strategies too fixed, whilst the relationship between immigrants and the host society are fluid and diverse. I agree with the idea that it is possible that immigrants may not directly identify with either their heritage or host cultures but they prefer a more individualist acculturation strategy, which is characterized by a high level of cosmopolitism (van Oudenhoven et al 2006: 461). The high level of cosmopolitism will be further explained in the next paragraph.

Ferguson's style

Ferguson devised two urban styles, namely localism and cosmopolitan, to grasp the changing forms of urban residence and circulation of 'newcomers'. Ferguson conceived urban styles as performative because it is a behavior that comes from within a person, without believing in or following norms or opinions from others. Someone can show to which style he or she belongs by adopting a cultural style in their dressing, communication and choice of food, drinks and music and 'bring it off' successfully. Ferguson states: 'Localism, is conceived as a modality

of cultural style, and not a matter of believing in certain norms; it is performative therefore you don't believe in localism, it is something you do. It is not a set of opinions; it is a capability that is cultivated over a lifetime' (Ferguson 1999: 104). By perceiving urban styles as performative, Ferguson shows that the normative style, which focuses on local norms of behavior and speech, is fixed with the idea that culture is a way of thinking and a way of behaving in every situation.

He distinguishes the urban styles as either localism and or cosmopolitism, which are in a way both connected with the rural ties of the migrants. Piot's review (2001: 89-90) of Ferguson's book explains the performance of stylistic strategies by those who seek either to align themselves with, or to distance themselves, from their rural roots. Thereby, cosmopolitans refuse the local/rural and seek instead to identify with that which is foreign, whereas localists identify more with the rural. The urban styles of Ferguson suggest that identity is created through the cultivation of the style and making it their own and be able to perform the style proper. Important in this identifying process are the choices made by individuals including clothing, attitude, choice of friends, and the way of living. Ferguson notes that it is a risk to state that the cultural style is a product of calculated choices (Ferguson 1999: 101), because actors never just freely choose their own style, as they are in a way influenced by social actors and society structures.

In Johannesburg, there are several immigrants groups, ranging from rural South Africans to Ethiopians; however they all apply a certain behavior that fits in an African city. All migrants are connected with their rural ties, however it is their personal choice to let their rural home be of importance in their lives or they rather choose to focus on foreign aspects. Identity, sense of belonging and the acculturation process are all part of a performance of individuals, as all aspects involve a sense of individualism and personal choice. Therefore cultural style is a personal choice that is cultivated over time.

Ferguson argues that bringing off the style successfully is important. For example, the Nigerians who live in South Africa wear either traditional clothes or outstanding garments with glitters. In this way they show off their cultural style which either fits with the localist or the cosmopolitan style. Likewise there are several stylistic aspects that are used by South Africans to mark themselves and therefore differentiate 'others', for instance wearing a cap and regardless of what season it is, boys ranging from age 12 up to men as old as 30 wear their hat in a certain way, though there are many styles that exists. An example from my research with the hats is that most South African boys wear their caps high on their head to look 'cool'. Non-South African boys would also wear a cap, but mainly for the cold and to cover their ears. Nevertheless, a Congolese boy was wearing his cap the 'South African way' and in this way positioned himself between the South Africans, which in the end determined his identity, sense of belonging and acculturation outcome.

Migration

Kearny (1986: 331) explains migration as the movement of people through geographic space. The United Nations (UN) defines an international migrant as a person who stays outside their usual country of residence for at least one year (Koser 2007: 4). According to that definition, the UN estimated that in 2005 there were about 200 million international migrants worldwide. This means that one in every 35 people in the world today is an international migrant, which in total is 3% of the world's population (Koser 2007: 4). Since 2005 the flow of people throughout the world expanded even more which means the number of migrants is rising every day. A big number of these migrants are children who migrated with their parents or mothers; hence there is no specific data on the amount of migrant children, therefore migrant children are often ignored in data, research and policies. There are different terms and concept used when people talk about migrants, for instance internal migration, cross-border migration, transnational migration, international migration and emigration. It should be noted that the term 'cross-border migration' will refer to movement across common borders, while 'international migration' denotes movements comprising both cross-border and 'transit' (long-distance) migration. There are three main categories among international migrants. (1) voluntary & forced migrants (Diaspora & internally displaced persons). (2) political reasons & economic reasons. (3) Legal migrants & illegal migrants. Another distinction is often made between skilled migrant and unskilled migrants, or between documented migrants vs. undocumented migrants.

Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco (2001: 21) explain that throughout history, immigrants have been driven by twin forces: powerful socioeconomic factors as well as individual agency and motivation. The search for a better standard of living is an enduring motivation among immigrants. Economists who research migration tend to emphasize factors such as employment and wages. On the other hand, sociologists tend to look for the causes of immigration in interpersonal forces and social networkers. Anthropologists tend to focus on the cultural reasons behind immigration for instance the changes in cultural models on what is desirable standards of living (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco 2001: 21-22). That makes immigration a process of comparing the 'here and now' with the 'there and then'. (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco 2001: 37).

Immigration and multiculturalism has been emerging topics on agendas from states to transnational corporations, because of the idea that migrants could be a threat to the 'national culture'. Consequently this had led to many researches on the experiences of migrants in Western countries or the effects of migration on nation-states and its citizens. Often the researches among migrants, migrant children are not included and there is not enough information about the experiences of migrant children. However migrant children deal differently with issues than their parents, for instance; learning a new language, adapting to a

new school setting, finding friends and a sense of belonging to a cultural group and identity formation. This makes the topic of migrant children and their experiences an unexplored topic which needs more academic research and attention. Portes & Rivas (2011: 220) explain that the differences in the social and cultural adaptation between children born abroad (immigrant children) and children of immigrants (first/second immigrant generation) is big. Portes & Rivas also mention a third group which is called the "1.5 generation," which includes children born abroad, but brought to the host society at an early age, making them sociologically closer to the second generation. Therefore one can assume that if a child migrates at an early age they adapt more easily to the society and therefore experiences less difficulties compared to children who migrated at an older age. Hence, this does not exclude the possibility that children who migrated at an older age always face difficulties in the process of adaptation and sense of belonging[8].

South Africa has been one of the main migration countries in Africa, due to recruitment in certain areas and the idea to find economic prosperity in Africa's most buoyant economy. The migration flow to South Africa started in the latter half of the nineteenth century and was mainly caused by the discovery of diamond and gold and was followed by the recruitment of men from Southern African countries (Wentzel & Tlabela 2006: 74).

South Africa is experiencing diverse migration configurations, and it is now serving as origin, transit and destination areas for labor migrants and for migrants in regular and irregular situations, as well as for brain drain and brain circulation of professionals within the region (Adepoju 2006: 42). Migration to South Africa was, and remains, a survival strategy used by members of poor households in Mozambique, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe. What is new in this migration flow is the scale and diversity of origin of present-day immigrants, bringing their skills, enterprise and drive. This mostly means that immigrants take up jobs that most locals loath and accept lower wages and at the same bearing poor living conditions (Adepoju 2006: 40). The 2002 HSRC Migration survey shows that more than half of the immigrants have the intentions to move away from South Africa. The same survey also showed that the migration flow to South Africa is not only dominated by men, but also by women and their children, especially for economic reasons or for cross-border trading. Also the countries of origin of immigrants are adjusting, because it used to be mainly immigrants from Mozambique and Zimbabwe moving to South Africa. Nowadays, immigrants come as far from Somalia, Ethiopia, and Nigeria and there is an increasing number of migrants from the Democratic Republic of Congo.

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[8] Analyzes on immigration age will be discussed through chapter 4 & 5

Methodologies & Techniques

The main methods in this field research were participatory observation and semi-structured interviews. Other methods that were directly related to the research included mental maps and acculturation scale. Most of the decisions about methodologies were made on forehand; however in the field some different choices were made. This chapter will elaborate on the methods and techniques used during this research and it will also zoom in on the consequences or extra insights that were obtained through the choices made.

At the initial stage of the research, participatory observation was used, through following the pupils of grade 6 and 7 as they went through their day at school and off back home. For instance, I walked to school, attend classes with the pupils, join them at break time and walk home together. This approach gave insights into the day-to-day routines of the children, as they interact with each other and their teachers. These first few weeks also provided insights into how the South African school and education system works and how the different relationships between teachers and staff are elaborated. I started with semi-structured interviews after a few weeks of being in the school. The aim for using this method was to be oriented into the various backgrounds of the children, their living situation and mainly also to be able to choose the most eligible children for the purpose of the research. These interviews were held during breaks and after school, using on the empty class rooms to ensure some quiet space and have a normal conversation. Initially most children were shy to talk to me and therefore I decided to use open-end questions instead to allow the children to be relaxed and less nervous. Also this made the conversation less formal and more casual which in turn made the children more relaxed and ready to speak out. For most children this strategy worked, and they would come up forward in other times just for a chat, a comment and or with a question.

After the initial interviews, the children were given letters to give to their parents seeking consent and invitation to make house visit.[9] To some children it was quite a surprise, while others were enthusiastic and welcoming. Other children, who were not part of the research, were also curious and they also expressed their wish to be visited at their houses. The children of grade 6 were more enthusiastic about the house visits compared with the children of grade 7.[10] In fact several requests had to be made among grade 7 children before visiting their houses and as a consequent there were less home visits to grade 7 children. However this was also due to the time that was left before the school could go for term break and holidays, in other words only so much house visits could be squeezed into the remaining time before schools were closed. Also that meant, more visits to grade 6 children's homes and

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[9] This letter can be found in Appendix 4
[10] This may be due to the face that children of grade 7 are the oldest in school and therefore have a different attitude.

therefore I spent more time with the children of grade 6 compared with the children of grade 7. However, another point I observed is that the children in grade 7 seem to have a different attitude and behavior towards me and also the teachers did not offer sufficient access to the children for the research compared to the grade 6. For instance, the time slots which would have suit to interview or visit the house the grade 7 where affect by demand at school.

To obtain quantitative data, the Likert scale could have been of good use, as this could enable one to give their response to the question measured on a scale. However, the fact that the research was with children, it was going to be important to keep the setting and interviews open ended and loose, so that the children would feel comfortable. Consequently this meant that every form of a questionnaire which needed them to respond by giving a measure on scale was now excluded from the research questions. However, even the open-ended response the children gave appeared to show some degree of agree/disagree statements and this was an advantage as I could still measure their sense of belonging and acculturation process. In the end, the strategy was more effective, as for the children it felt more of a natural conversation which based on mutual curiosity and respect. From the initial start of the research the children were curious about me, which meant they often came to me with questions, comments or stories. This in turn was to my benefit me as I took opportunity at those moments to have a chat with the children about a certain topic or just ask general questions. This mutual curiosity also enabled me to get close with the children and invite myself to visit their houses. The bond that I developed with some children gave me extra insights because some of them told me stories that they would not have otherwise tell. In the end, this meant that I could ask even more personal questions and get to know the child better.

To analyze the data that was collected during the fieldwork, I use the urban styles cosmopolitan and localism which were used by Ferguson to categorize the children. During observations a scanning list,[11] was used to observe systematically on every child and included observations about appearance, school, friends, family, language and their houses. The categorization of the children in either the style cosmopolitan or localism is based on a combination of observations and interviews with the children. There are some children who show a different behavior or attitude compared to what they expressed in the interviews. Most children did cultivated one of the cultural styles, however there are some few who did not choose yet or in transition to either one of the cultural styles. The categorization of the cultural styles is based on: hairstyle, dressing, friends, family, behavior and attitude in class and outside school. Children who cultivated the cosmopolitan style are mostly interested in everything that is foreign, whereas children with localist style do no show interest in modern, materialistic products or lifestyles.

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[11] The scanning list can be found in Appendix 1.

The organization of the research

The first days at Rosettenville Central primary school I merely focused on understanding the school system, the relationships between the teachers and pupils and the work ethic of the teachers. The first weeks were also important because the pupils, the teachers and others could get used to me.

I started with observing three classes of grade 6, where pupils are of the age group between 10 and 13 years. Later, I did observe, the grade 7s, and the children are of the age group between 12 and 14 years. Both grades stream consisted of six classes and I had to do the observation in all these classes and that meant keeping one grade for a whole week, while equally observing all the classes. These first few weeks were important for the research because of the relations I was able to build with the children of grade 6 and grade 7. With every class I had a moment to introduce myself to the pupils and talked more about my background and my home country. In turn the pupils introduced themselves, telling their name, background, where they come from and country of birth. Most pupils were eager to tell more about themselves and their backgrounds, though some pupils were shy or curt. This became the first step to know how many immigrant children were in each class and from which countries they were born or came from. Moreover, some curiosity and interest in each other developed between me and the children. Mainly, both pupils in grade 6 and 7 wanted to know more about me, my country and my opinion about Africa and South Africa in particular. Likewise I was equally interested in knowing more about their background, what interested them and among other things. This curiosity was a good starting point for the research as I could have normal conversation with the children day after day. Fortunately the days after my formal introduction, the children felt freer to come up to me and talk to me and ask me specific questions. This in turn was a good opportunity for me to talk with the children informally and ask them questions about themselves, like interests in their families and country of birth. These little conversations with the children ensured that I could make a pre-selection before my interviews started.[12]

Thereafter, the introductions, I got to know the immigrant children in every class both in grade 6 and 7, so I was able to observe the specific children in their classrooms, during breaks and after school. Yet some children were easier to find and observe than others. This consequently had an effect on my selection process for the interviews, as I did not get to be equally close to all children. Nevertheless, 35 children of grade 6 and 7 made it to the selection of participants and the subsequent observation were carried out systematically. For instance, jotting down notes on how they behaved in and outside classroom and how they presented themselves and also what was unique and or specific feature of every child. During

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[12] These informal talks were mostly held during breaks or on the sport fields and the results were reported in the general overview of every child, which can be found in Appendix 2.

breaks I observed the children to see what they do and who their friends are. After school I would make a quick follow up on children who left school earlier and return to continue with those still at school. After doing the observations of the children, I conducted first interviews with 31 children. The first interviews with the children entailed questions regarding specific information about their birth date and country of birth, family, living situation, the reason of migration and their hobbies and friends. These interviews gave me introductory view over the child and were a basis for a relationship with the child. The children would either feel comfortable or uncomfortable with me and this made me choose certain children for the house visits. A few children from the research population were shy and felt uncomfortable being around me and talking to me.

After being at the school five weeks, I had observed and interviewed a group of 31 children. Time was moving fast and five weeks were left before the schools were closed and I needed to carry the house visits within that time left. I had to pick the children that were outstanding so I looked at the children who had an interesting story, who felt comfortable with me or who already told me specific information. Five children of that group told me that I was not able to visit their houses due to different reasons so I had a group of residual 25 children to visit. Another problem that arose during the time of house visits were that some children reluctant to ask their parents for approval or hesitant to say yes to me. Consequently this meant on some days that I could not visit a house, because of different reasons that the children gave me and I did not want to be pushy. In the end I managed to visit the houses of 24 children.

Research Role

My formal introduction at the school was done during a weekly assembly at the school hall and the Principal mentioned my name, where I came from and my intent for the visit to the school and for how long I were to be around. Apart from my formal introduction to the school, there were other announcements including the upcoming events at the school. Interestingly, no specific and further information about my stay or research was given to the pupils. Another announcement was made about education students from Wits University who would come to the school for their practices within a few weeks. These students come to practice and learn at the school for a couple of weeks in different grades and classes. The pupils are used to have these students in their classroom for a couple of weeks every year. This meant consequently that the pupils of grade 6 and 7 thought that I was an education student as well that was practicing to become a teacher. The only difference was that I was white and not from South Africa but from a country in Europe, which they only knew from soccer.

In the beginning most pupils were quite hesitant to approach me and or talk to me. Hence, the formal introductions in class with the pupils made it easier to build a communicating relationship. Interestingly, I became known as 'Miss Holland' (Girl from Holland), moreover not all pupils could pronounce my surname, as is required when addressing their teachers to call them by their surnames. Daily routines in class were standing up to greet the teacher before classes begin. Teachers of grade 6 and 7 engaged also with me often in their class explanation, narratives or class work. The role of as an education student was also more evident to pupils as some came to me seeking help with their class work. Likewise, some teachers would also assign me the duty to watch over the pupils when they are not in class. I had to maintain silence and also did assist the pupils with their class work as much as I could.

Further in the research I became a substitute teacher and each time when a teacher was not around I was placed to keep an eye on the pupils and provide them with work to do. This subsequently led to a change in my research role from the pupils' perspective. I moved from being kind and friendly to being strict and almost unkind. I have never been trained to be a teacher or to control forty children in a small classroom. This was a struggle for me because the pupils did not listen to me; they did not show respect and were not disciplined. I had to punish, scream, yell and in the end be frustrated because I did not get the respect that I would have wanted. The reason why they did not respect me as their teachers was because I started as friendly, kind and open person. One incident that was hard for me to deal with was when I was in charge of a class for the whole day. With not so much work to do for the whole day, the children were quite bored, yet the school rules demanded they remain quiet and settled in classroom. Hence, this was very hard for the children to accomplish. At some point, the children did not want to listen anymore and the leaders of the class started writing down the names of children who were considered to be noisemakers. All the children on the list were sent to Mrs. Mboweni's classroom.[13] Most children came back crying and as I found out later, they were hit with the duster on their finger tips. I felt bad about this, as it was never my intention and even though I was frustrated with the children, I did not want them to be hurt. This made me realize for the purpose of my research, I could not be their teacher and at the same time be kind and friendly after school and do interviews with them, in other words there was conflict of roles.

My role changed constantly during the day, from being strict in class, to being interested in them during break to friendly and sweet at the house visit. These multiple roles made it complex for the children themselves, and I remember one of the participant children said: 'I don't like you anymore, because you are strict and you used to be fun'.

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[13] Mrs. Mboweni is the strict teacher of grade 6 who likes to punish children for their bad behavior

House visits

During the house visits I had to create all sort of roles towards the child but also towards the family of the child. For instance on our way to visit their houses, I would create a bond with the child during the walk. Especially with the girls I tried to create a bond that was very secure and open. To do that, I would ask personal questions and they were doing the same. In this way I kind of created a 'big sister bond', so that they would be able to tell me everything. With boys the bond was dependant on how comfortable the boy was with my presence. Some of the boys were very open and curious, and that made it easier to bond in a friendly manner and get personal easily. However some boys were very hesitant to talk or to get personal with me. In such cases, I had to act like a social worker and ask them questions, help them to get comfortable with me by making small jokes or letting them just talk freely. My research role during the house visits towards the parents was slightly different. The children often made the introductions to their parents; however the parents did not always understand my role. They often asked if I was a teacher or a student. In the letter that I wrote to the parents, it said that I am a student from Holland and that I was doing a research among the children on the school. Hence they did not understood my research and just put me in the box of student or teacher. The fact that I was from Europe was more interesting for them and the parents or other family members always wanted to know more about my county.

Most house visits were not planned, which meant that I entered the house without the parents knowing that I was coming. Some reacted surprised, others welcoming. On most house visits they immediately offered me something to drink. On the visits that were planned, the family prepared snacks and drinks for me, whereby if they were not prepared for my visit, the children were often sent out to buy some cold drink. Sometimes I felt it was too generous, especially for the families who were struggling to collect enough money for their own food and then they would buy a bottle of Coca-Cola for me. In a few cases I was just offered some tea or water but in others I received a plate full of food. However, in some families, there no parents and only older brothers and sisters and this did change the setting for my interview and things I would want to observe. While it also meant the children were more different in character and behavior as there were no parents to control them or ask them to behave in a certain way. The sphere often was more informal and open. However such visits were also quite short, because normally with the parents I would sit drink something and chat for long with them. However with no parents around at the time of my visit, I could only do observations and reach my own conclusions and leave as soon I am done.

When I was with the parents, I mostly felt that I also needed to have a conversation with them. In most cases this was an interesting and open conversation, but in other cases I felt that the parents were waiting for me to start talking and expecting me to ask questions to them. This sometimes meant that the children left the room or were sent to buy something to

drink. I enjoyed the visits mostly where I was able to sit on the couch and have conversations with the children and parents about their lives and experiences together. There were some moments when the parents were at home, but who didn't interfere in our conversations, mostly because they were busy with other things or they were not interested.

Ethical concerns

There are few ethical concerns which came up before and during the field research. The first ethical issue had to do with the informed consent, mainly because my research involved children and legally their parents are in charge. Instead of sending letters seeking parental approval, I felt it more useful to send letters which were more informative on what my research was all about and what I aimed to achieve through the participation of their children. This gave parents the opportunity to agree or disagree, however with more information on what the research was all about. Fortunately, in most responses to my letter, parents agreed and I was welcome to their homes.

The other ethical concern related to the parents and to the living situation. A few families had poor living conditions and were struggling to earn enough money for monthly costs, school fees and food for the family. Especially mothers I met during the house visits used the opportunity to ask for financial help, and mainly as they thought coming from Europe, I could be able to help them. This was also reflected in the general question from the mothers who mainly asked if I could help them find sponsors to pay school fees for their children. I felt pity for them and I tried to help the families for instance by looking for sponsors or subsidies through the school, so that they pay subsidized school fees instead.

However, one particular family called me during holiday times to ask if I could come and see them. When the children were chased out of the room, the father started telling me their story about their flight from DRC to South Africa because people were accusing them of illegal practices. This meant the family has been living in fear since they have fled from DRC and the mother has not been able to get out of the house because of injuries from an attack but also because of fear. The situation was so unbearable for the family; they asked me if I could help them to resettle to the Netherlands, via the UNHCR resettlement program. This family gave me a packet of papers, including their refugee papers, their story and photos, which I eventually sent to the IOM (International Organization for Migration) but unfortunately the organizations in the Netherlands can not do anything.[14]

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[14] The UN in the country of migrant, in this case South Africa, was supposed to manage this application.

The setting

This chapter will elaborate on the setting in which the field research took place in Rosettenville, Johannesburg. The chapter will also discuss on important aspects of the neighborhood and actors who either played a significant role in the research or provided facts and knowledge. Furthermore, the chapter's aim is to give insights on the design of the field research and the environment where the research was carried out.

Migrant city

Johannesburg is housing approximately 5 million migrants mainly from Zimbabwe, Zambia, DRC and Somalia. Most migrants are living in the inner-city of Johannesburg because that is a relatively safe place for them because they are surrounded with migrants as compared to townships like Soweto, which consists of mainly South Africans.[15] According to Greenburg (2010: 69) an important reason why migrants do not settle down in a township is because it is an ethnically and linguistically homogeneous place, which means migrants would be considered outsiders. In 2008 migrants were in fear of their lives during xenophobia attacks throughout the country, based on appearance ('too black'), linguistics ('funny accent') and having a foreign name. Due to these categories, 21 South Africans were killed during these attacks because of assumptions and prejudices.[16] In contrast with other receiving countries, where migrants have been housed in camps, South Africa has a policy of urban self-sufficiency and self settlement. This has led to unbearable living conditions in the inner-city of Johannesburg, for example four families can share one flat of 20 m2. This has led to evictions, overcrowding and insecurity within the living space (Greenburg 2010: 72).

Immigrants in South Africa have difficulties obtaining recognized form of documentation, although when encountering the police, immigrants need to be able to identify themselves. The problem surrounding permits or documentations are institutionalized and are in a way a kind of official forms of exclusion. Forms of exclusion are not only used by officials but also by citizens in stereotyping and alienating immigrants. Especially the flow of millions of Zimbabwean migrants caused negative ideas surrounding migrants in general and these ideas are conflicted with the idea that outsiders threaten 'our way of life'. This has caused South Africans to think negatively about migrants and that in turn makes it hard for migrants to settle in South Africa and feel at home. These stereotypes have ignited fear that immigrants are flooding our shores, taking our jobs, overwhelming our social services and inflating our crime rate. Furthermore, immigrants are seen by many as coming from backward

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[15] An example of this is the Central Methodist Church which houses thousands of migrants every night.
[16] This shows that divisions about who is a migrant and who is a South African are not clear.

cultures and ethnic backgrounds that makes it impossible for them to assimilate into mainstream society (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco 2001: 38). South Africans use forms of exclusion towards all migrants through the use of their national multi-languages, skin color and xenophobia attacks. Migrants often feel like they are not safe because of the xenophobia attacks and negative stereotypes surrounding migrants. Therefore many migrants learn to speak one of the South African languages, to be more accepted and less excluded.

Neighborhood Rosettenville

Rosettenville is a diverse community which consists of people from different backgrounds including the local South Africans, black or white, colored, Portuguese,[17] and immigrants from different countries especially African countries. The people seem to live in this diverse community with less conflict among themselves regardless of their varying backgrounds. In terms of income, Rosettenville has people from different income groups and this range from middle income to low income. Historically, Rosettenville used to be a Portuguese neighborhood including immigrants from Portugal, Angola and Mozambique. Therefore the area is influenced by that history. Rosettenville attracted a lot of immigrants because of the South African Home Affairs offices were located in the town. For every immigrant who needed to reside legally in South Africa they had to register at these offices especially the asylum seekers and refugee immigrants. Subsequently, this is how some of the immigrant groups started to settle in Rosettenville and also invited other immigrants from their home country to settle together in the same area. In this way, the immigrant community keeps on growing. Today Rosettenville consists of large groups of immigrants from Congo, Nigeria, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Mozambique, Burundi, Rwanda, Tanzania and Ethiopia.

The town of Rosettenville is characterized with many shops, many with an ethnic tint, for instance one will find Portuguese bakeries and restaurants, and/or the typical Mozambiquan beans and fish shops. There are specific shops with traditional food from almost every country; however most of these products overlap for instance cassava or maize mealie meal are common staple foods for many African countries. At the local market women sell different types of dried fish, vegetables, beans and rice from all over Africa. Moving away from food, fashion is a huge element in the town and there are many small cloth outlets and hair salons both in shops or outside along the streets. The hair-dressers are both women and men and are very creative in making different hairstyles make up for their customers. Most of the clothes sold in these small shops are imported from China and other Asian countries. The informal economy in Rosettenville is enormous, with the largest percentage consisting of selling fruits, food and other products on the street.

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[17] This may mean immigrants from Portugal, however in some cases Portuguese will be used to describe all Portuguese migrants including people from Mozambique and Angola.

The formal market consist of a shopping center which is called Rosettenville Junction Mall and consists of two floors with approximately 25 shops including some big names like Truworths (department store) and PicknPay (supermarket). Services offered include a medical doctor, a pharmacy, a dentist and a hair saloon. Outside the mall, the other biggest supermarkets of South Africa namely, ShopRite (cheaper departmental store) and Spar Supermarket are situated. However, there are also approximately 50 smaller supermarkets/shops where mostly the day to day groceries are sold. Besides the mall and supermarkets, the town as a wide variety of fast food restaurants, including international brands like McDonalds, KFC, and locally big brands like Nando's, Fish & Chips, Scooter pizzas and Steers Burgers. Interestingly to note is that Rosettenville only has four restaurants, compared to the many small places where one could eat.

Recreational activities are quite vibrant in Rosettenville and the town is home to the popular race course in Johannesburg,, a sports stadium called Rand Stadium (which was part of the 2010 World Cup facilities), the recreational area Wemmer Pan, including the dam for water sports, a museum, the park and the swimming pool. There are also annual events which are hosted in the town for instance, the weeklong Lusito Land Festival which celebrate the Portuguese culture and tradition. Rosettenville is situated on the South of Johannesburg city and close to the city centre and the industrial areas and therefore many laborers live in Rosettenville and work in the city. The distance between Rosettenville and the city by car is 10 minutes, 15 minutes by public commuter taxis and/or approximately 30 minutes by walking. Other immigrants, who do not have formal jobs,[18] sell second hand clothes or imported clothes from China, jewelries, cooked food and other goods in the streets of Johannesburg. Besides going to work in Johannesburg city residents of Rosettenville often visit the city center to buy cheaper clothes, food and daily groceries.

Last but not least, there are often criminal incidents in Rosettenville, including robbery, rape, theft, domestic violence and murder. During the field research some of the children have attested to me about the criminal activities they have witnessed in the neighborhood. What is interesting is that during the day, the streets in the area are quite busy with people who are walking and people who are selling products and groceries which make the streets relatively safe. However in the night, the neighborhood is very quiet and dark and therefore the environment changes and this shows that the neighborhood has two different sides during the day and during the night. However the nights are still relatively vibrant as there are several of popular night clubs which attract both the young and older adults.

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[18] Many migrants can not work formally because they do not have the right papers to work in South Africa. Therefore many migrants survive by selling and buying products.

Rosettenville Central Primary School

The primary school was established in 1902 by a mining company. A British Lord called Milner build the school for the many children of the immigrants from England and the Netherlands. In 1910 the whole school was burnt down after a cigarette incident caused by one of the pupils. The school continued by borrowing tins from a neighboring school until the school was built up again in 1915. In 1936 the school hall was built and the administration buildings were added in 1946. Until 1975 the school was an English speaking school with mostly white children. After 1975 however a lot of Portuguese people from Mozambique moved to the neighborhood and the school took in the Portuguese children. After a while the Portuguese people started to get better jobs because of their skin color (under the apartheid system) and they became wealthier. These wealthier Portuguese people started moving to other suburbs of Johannesburg. This relocation saw the number of pupils shrink from 500 to 320 pupils, which was the lowest number of pupils ever. A merger with the junior school which was across the street was decided upon and since then the number of pupils has always been around 800 pupils. In 1993 the school accepted the first Indian children to the school and after the end of apartheid in 1994: black children were also allowed to enroll at the school.

Currently the school consists of two buildings and a playing field and netball fields. The main building is built at a square and has two layers of classrooms. The school also consists of a library, a computer room and a big central hall. The administration building consists of some offices, the staff room and the reception. There are two quads. Every morning and after breaks all the pupils line up for their respective classes according to their grade level. Pupils from grade 1 up to grade 3 line up in the junior quad area close to the central hall. Pupils from grade 4 up to 7 line up in the senior quad which is situated on the parking spaces. When the bell rings in the morning, the children line up seated and wait for their teacher. To discipline the children and waking them up before they go to class, the teachers command the children to follow three positions. The first position is common used, even in class and walking to class, whereby the children place both hands on their heads. Second position entails folding the hands together and third position is clapping thrice on the same rhythm. These positions are repeated for a couple of minutes to silence the pupils. All the pupils are monitored closely to see if they are participating as commanded.

The school has in total 880 pupils divided over seven grades and three classes of every grade. Besides the normal classes there is a special class for the younger pupils to help them with specific learning areas and there is a special class for pupils with behavioral problems. Each grade has three teachers who are specifically trained on subjects, which means that from grade 4, the pupils will be educated by three teachers a day. Nevertheless, the educators have their own assigned classroom and the children rotate from one classroom to another. School starts every day at 7.45 am. Grades 1 to 3 finishes at 1.30 pm every day,

grades 4 to 7 finish on Mondays and Fridays at 1.30 pm. The other days the senior pupils finish at 2 o'clock. A day is divided into periods of 30 minutes and two breaks of 20 minutes. Most of the times one class of forty pupils stay in the same classroom with one teacher until the break or until school finishes. This minimizes the rotation of children and noise in circulation. The senior pupils are educated approximately 5 or $5^{1/}_{2}$ hours per day. On Mondays and Fridays the grades 4 up to 7 start their day in the big hall. This assembly is meant for praying and singing. Besides praying and singing pupils of every grade have the opportunity to prepare a presentation on a certain subject. On Wednesdays the junior pupils also have their assembly in the hall, where they will learn to sing and pray together.

The school fees for the Rosettenville Central primary school are R3300 per year and R350 book fees. That is an equivalent of €365 per year. The pupils do receive stationery which includes pencils and pens, coloring crayons, an eraser, a scissor, a glue stick, a ruler, workbooks and papers. The children in higher grades carry bags full of their workbooks of the twelve courses they take. The pupils are supposed to keep their work books tidy and clear. They do this by bordering their work. When a pupil gets a paper that needs to be in their books, they are suppose to cut it neatly, paste it in their book, put the date above the paper and border everything with a crayon. 60% of the pupils receive lunch from school. The lunch varies from one or two slices of breads to a packet of bread, a drink and a sweet. There is also a 'tuck shop' at the school where pupils can buy sweets, drinks, chips and ice-cream for a reduced price. A lot of children eat chips during their breaks instead of bread.

Activities on school

Every semester the school offers different sports which are accessible to all pupils regardless of their grade level. During first semester the sports are netball for the girls and soccer for the boys. Different teachers coach pupils from different age groups. There are two netball fields at the back of the school and a big field where normally the pupils play during breaks and the same field is used for soccer matches. There are sports tournaments where the teams compete against other schools that they visit or invite at Rosettenville Central Primary school. For the girls in grade 7 there is the possibility to lose weight by participating in aerobics classes. Apart from sporting activities, the school offers different sorts of social clubs. The common club is called ´buddy's' where pupils talk and share freely about their experiences and they use drama, music and dance to express that. Central in the buddy's club is Christianity and the use and help of God. Grade 6 and 7 pupils who like to read and who are good in English, they can enter the competition ´Battle of the Books'. This is a national competition whereby the pupils read the same books and their knowledge is tested in different rounds. Grade 6 pupils can be become a media prefect if they have high grades and interest in books and leadership. The media prefects help out in the library sorting books, looking for books for younger pupils

and keeping the library tidy. Becoming a media prefect is a step closer to become a leader or head girl/boy in grade 7.

The school organizes a few events which are often linked to charity or a public holiday. For instance, there was a distribution of maize meal to the poor by a famous South African boy, and this event was broadcasted on national TV. A theoretical group came to perform a play about human trafficking and sexual violence to create awareness among pupils. On the birthday of Nelson Mandela the teachers went to do voluntary work which was part of the national campaign 67 minutes of service. The school shows effort in charity, social responsibility and awareness creation. On Africa day, the school encouraged the pupils to wear traditional clothes from their home country and bring traditional food. Teachers among themselves prepared traditional meals to share with one another. During the research I witnessed about 30% of the pupils who dressed themselves in cultural clothes on the Africa Day, however most children were wearing their own clothes. The school also organizes a Miss and Mister competition where children from grade 4 up to 7 can enter the competition. During this competition, the pupils had to dress themselves with recycling materials, like newspapers, plastic bags and cans and bottles. It was organized on a Thursday evening and the competition was hosted by a presenter and there was a formal judge. With most events or activities the children are asked to pay 1 or 2 Rand, which the school uses for funding or charity.

Pupils

All pupils wear a uniform which includes black shoes and a combination of grey trousers and a green polo shirt and a grey or green sweater. Girls can choose to either wear a green dress or grey trousers. Pupils explained that they do not like to wear the uniforms, as they say it is old-fashion and boring. The green polo shirts become vague and that means that every pupil has a different color of their shirt. Most of the pupils only have one uniform and they need to wear it the whole week. They are supposed to wash it when they come home, but sometimes it is not yet dry the next day. On Friday the pupils are allowed to wear their own clothes. This ranges from jean trousers, a T-shirt and a sweater or a vest. The pupils will however have to pay R2 to dress casual on Fridays (which is 0.20 eurocent). Especially the younger pupils wear their own clothes on a Friday. The reason why casual dressing is popular among pupils is that in a way it allows them to show off what they normally wear off school. In a way it also shows if children can afford to pay to show their own clothes. The children from a middle-class family show their designer clothes and this can lead to a sort of competition between the pupils. Some pupils explained that they do not want to wear their own clothes, because they are not allowed to wear anything that they want because the rules are very strict.

30% of all pupils are immigrants and most immigrants come from Congo, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Portugal. The school has always had lots of pupils from other countries. Other schools in the area are hesitant to take on immigrant children because they do not know how to integrate the pupils. The principal explained that most immigrant children who start at the school do not know how to speak English and that meant spending the first year in silent. After two years of English schooling, the pupils where speaking English fluently. Every child had a chance to study at Rosettenville Central Primary School, regardless of their background, religion, race or culture.

Pupils who are outstanding on either educational level or social level, they can be awarded with a price for their behavior or results. Every week the merit badges are awarded to pupils who behaved well in class, did excellent in schoolwork or helped out other pupils or the teachers. If pupils are showing interest that they want to grow, learn or be excellent, the teachers often gives these pupils opportunities or tasks. Every class has a pupil that picks up the lunch from the kitchen. From grade 4, there are more duties to be fulfilled in class, including watching other pupils, cleaning the classroom or fetching something for the teachers. Each class has a few leaders, mainly the pupils who look after the other pupils in class when the teacher is not in the classroom or they collect books/papers. The leading pupils enjoy being leaders because they feel like they receive respect from their teachers or from their classmates and especially that they are noticed. Most pupils who are leaders strive to become the grade 7's Head girl or Head boy of Rosettenville Central Primary school. This title means you are the smartest of your class, you have the highest grades, you behave in appropriate manners and you look tidy and groomed. You deserve this title by showing all these elements to your teachers from grade 5 and grade 6, because these teachers decide who gets the title in grade 7. Becoming a deputy head girl of boy means you are nearly as good in those elements as the chosen Head girl/boy. Another option in grade 7 is becoming a leader, which entails to be leader over all the pupils from grade 1 up to 6 and providing an example in schoolwork, behavior and appearance. There are approximately 25 leaders in grade 7 who fulfill different sorts of tasks during breaks and during classes and after school, for instance keeping the children quiet when they are waiting in line-up. The leaders and head boys and girls wear extra features next to their uniforms including colorful jackets and positions tags.

The Staff

The school consists of 34 staff members, whereof 25 are teachers for grade 1 up to grade 7. There are four staff members who work in the administration of the school including finances, administration and office/secretary. There are five people working as a concierge, which includes cleaning of the classroom and the building, but also maintenance tasks and being in charge of the gates. The woman of the tuck-shop runs her own business.

At this school the staff consists of twenty black staff members and the other remaining are white staff. The division of the staff members is quite surprising, especially because the neighborhood is primarily black and considered dangerous. The principal is a white man, who has been working at the school for 25 years and got educated at Rosettenville Central primary school as well. The deputy principal is a black woman, who is also a grade 7 teacher. Interesting to note is that the staff that is working in the offices are all white, although the staff that is working in the cleaning/maintenance section are all black. The teachers in the foundation phase (grade 1 to grade 3) are mainly white women, with a few black women. In the intermediate phase (grade 4 up to grade 7) the teachers are mostly all black. There are two male teachers, one in grade 5 and in grade 6. They ultimately also arrange the soccer practices/tournaments for the boys. The other teachers are all women, ranging from the age of 27 up to 64. In the offices they are only women, working together with the principal. The kitchen is cleaned and catered by a woman. The rest of the maintenance/cleaning staff consist of men.

Every teacher has his or her own class which is decorated in line with their own preferences, which can include a desk, posters, and a computer, cupboards or a TV. During breaks teachers gather in the staff room, drinking coffee or tea and eat lunch. Some teachers are always the first ones to close their classrooms and sit in the staffroom; however other ones do not leave their classrooms during break and are never in the staffroom. I observed that in the staffroom, a group of white women who sit on one side of the room together and often speak in Afrikaans. Black women, who enter the room, also often sit together and start their conversation in either Zulu or Tswana. This causes a divide between the white and the black staff members. Especially considering that everyone speaks English and teaches the children in English. In one occasion this divide was made clear through the giving of money for a retiring concierge. Charles worked at the school for 40 years so a few teachers wanted to collect money to be able to buy him a gift. The contribution of the white staff was in comparison with what the black staff gave a joke, whereby I heard the black staff talking about their unkind way of giving. However on farewell for Charles, there was food (prepared by the black staff) and white staff members came and ate gratefully.

There is a difference in the way of teaching between teachers in foundation classes and intermediate classes. The former teachers teach all the subjects without specialization. The latter teachers, in the intermediate phase, are all specialized in a certain subject like mathematics, science, English or Afrikaans. Nevertheless most teachers teach three subjects, which are often linked to each other, for instance, science, technology and mathematics. The teachers of Afrikaans are not always native Afrikaans speakers. However under the apartheid law, all the pupils had to learn Afrikaans at school and were also educated in Afrikaans. So it is common for a black adult to understand Afrikaans and even speak it. At Rosettenville

primary school, there are few black teachers who teach Afrikaans. Coming back to the staffroom where the black teachers speak in their own language and white teachers are more at disadvantage in language wise because almost everyone knows both English and Afrikaans.

Some teachers of this school seem not to be motivated, this is shown through the way they teach, interact with pupils and even how they present themselves. In some cases, the pupils complained about their teachers who do not teach them well because they do not take time to explain the matter, because they have to do other administrative things. Some teachers handle the administrative things themselves, whereas other teachers use pupils to distribute letters, send pupils to ask a certain question or even bringing a cup of tea to the kitchen is done by pupils. This means that some teachers rather stay in their classrooms without interfering in school business too much.

The parents

Parents are not actively involved at the school or in school activities. The younger pupils are picked up at school by their parents, but many children walk alone or with siblings or friends. The only time when parents are asked to come to school is to collect the report of their child at the end of every semester, which is four times a year. During that time it is possible to ask questions to the teachers or to comment on anything.

For many parents it is quite hard to be able to pay school fees every month. Once in every semester letters are distributed on the amount outstanding on fees payments to the school. During one of my sitting observation in a class 80% of the class received a letter, and some pupils were uncomfortable to receive this letter because the other pupils would know that his/her family did not pay for school fees yet. The school offers subsidy to families who are struggling to make ends meet and for special cases. The families are exempted from paying school fees, these include orphans, children living with grandparents and when one of the parents is ill or handicapped. A social worker examines all the applications for subsidies, to see which cases need the help more than others. However, most parents need the help, but sometimes do not receive any financial help because either there is not enough or their case is not unbearable enough compared to others. Most parents seem positive about the school; however some explained that their sons or daughters are not supervised enough in their school work.

Being a migrant child in Rosettenville

This chapter will elaborate on and discuss the migrant children that were part of this research. A general introduction will be given on the children including information about their age, country of origin and migration age. Because the data of the research consists of both personal stories from interviews and characteristics found through observation a comparison can be made between what they say they do and what they actually do. Different aspects of the data will be explained. Firstly, the observations made of the children will be examined on the basis of appearance, hair style, clothes and behavior. These observations will give insights in the livelihoods of the children. Secondly, certain statements will be examined which are taken from the interviews and conversations with the children. Thirdly, a case study of ten children out of the research will show the paths that some children are going through in the processes of acculturation and finding their sense of belonging.

Background information

This research was conducted among 31 children who were all attending school at Rosettenville central primary school. The children were either in grade 6 or in grade 7 and the ages range from 11 up to 14 years old. The six countries of origin of the 31 children are Zimbabwe, Zambia, Mozambique, Democratic Republic of Congo, Burundi and Rwanda. The research population consists of 17 girls and 14 boys, whereof two girls were born in South African from immigrant parents. Therefore for most data we will use the data of 29 children instead of 31 children. 17 children of the research were schooling in grade 6 and 14 children were in grade 7. The age when the 29 children migrated to South Africa differs, ranging from migration as an infant at the age of 0, to the oldest migration age which is nine years old. 12 children out of 29 children migrated when they were younger than three years, seven children were between 3 and 6 years old when they left their home countries and ten children migrated in the age between 7 and 9.

Age	11	12	13	14	Total	Mean
Girls Grade 6	3	4	3		10	12
Girls Grade 7		4	3		7	12,5
Boys Grade 6	1	4	2		7	12
Boys Grade 7		2	3	2	7	13
Total children	5	14	11	2	31	

Migration age	Girls	Boys	Total
0-3 years	6	6	12
4-6 years	5	2	7
7-10 years	4	6	10

Fig. 1 Age of migrant children and Migration age

Almost all children are bilingual and speak besides English at least one language of their home country; however some speak three languages from their home country. At home, all children, with a few exceptions, speak languages from their country of origin. Most migrant children from DRC speak both French and another mother tongue, which might be Lingala, Swahili or Tshiluba. All Zimbabwean children speak English and Shona. The other migrant children who are mainly from East Africa know how to speak Swahili as well. There is a large amount of children who also know how to speak or understand Zulu,[19] or Portuguese.[20] Despite the fact that all children speak more than two languages, at school most children speak English with each other. For instance, if there are two children who both speak French at home, at school they communicate in English. This may be partly because at school everyone speaks English or because it has turned into a habit.

At school, all children have to wear a uniform, which is a normal school custom in South Africa; according to the pupils it is boring and old-fashioned. If all children wear a uniform, it can be assumed that children cannot make their own style and show their identity. However, at least a quarter of the children of grade 6 and 7 try to differentiate themselves by adding or removing something from/to their uniform. However, a difference needs to be noted between children who take care of their uniforms and look tidy, against those who look untidy. Interesting to note is that most girls take care of their uniforms and mostly boys have broken or dirty uniforms, partly because they play soccer before school and during breaks, which damages their uniform. Secondly, another way which children can show their identity is through hair style, backpacks, and type of shoes. Moreover children do add things like a scarf, a hat or gloves. Yet still, the children are able to show off their individual identity by wearing their own clothes on civvies day (Friday), which enables them to show off themselves.

Hairstyle is the biggest form of differentiating oneself or making oneself unique. Because most migrant children have frizzy hair, which is hard to handle, therefore they style their hair, especially the girls are fond of that. Because the frizzy hair does not grow as long as they wish, most girl use weaves,[21] to braid in a specific style or style their new hair according to their wishes. These styles can stay varying from 4 up to 6 weeks, and then they change again to a different style. However, there are some girls who style their own hair using clips, hair bands and elastic bands. Most girls pay a lot of attention to their hair and appearance. The boys generally have their hair shaved as 'cheesekop', which means short; however some of the boys shave it in a different style or let their hair grow. The school has

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[19] Zulu is one of the official South African languages, most spoken in that area by South Africans.
[20] This is due to the fact that Rosettenville is originally a Portuguese neighborhood.
[21] It is a type of artificial hair which can be bought in different colors, styles and lengths. They attach this artificial hair to the real hair to create different styles of braiding.

strict rules according to hair styles, boys must all have a cheesekop and the girls are not allowed to have all hairstyles they want. The reason behind this is that the school wants their pupils to look clean and smart.

Most children enjoy listening to music genres from the U.S. including R&B, Hip-Hop and they are fan of artists like Rihanna, Drake, Justin Bieber, 50 Cent & Nicki Minaj. However, there is a big group of the children who also listens to either South African music or specific music from their country of origin. Especially South African House music is popular among the children and some South African artists are quite commonly known among them.

In general, most children watch a lot of TV. After school most children watch cartoons, however in the evening the soaps are the only thing to watch via cable TV. Cable TV consists of only four channels, which does not show a lot of cartoons. Therefore most families pay to watch extra channels, via a digital receiver which gives access to 40 or more channels, including a few cartoon channels, channels for soaps and series and movies. For the children this means, they can watch uninterrupted cartoons after school. Most girls from the research loved watching South African soaps which are full of stories of love, sex, cheating, betrayal, money and poverty. They like watching these TV series as they give them ideas about life which can both inspire or teach them a lesson. Another thing that is popular among migrant families is watching Nigerian movies. The children explained that they like watching this more compared with American movies, because it is taken from an African setting and perspective and it shows problems and issues that are more common for them.

The houses where the migrant families live differ from a small garage to a house with six rooms. This is dependent on the social economic class where that family would fit in. However there are some interesting characteristics that can be found in any house. To start with every family had a TV, ranging from a smaller TV to a flatscreen TV. Whereas some just had a DVD-player, other families had big music installments including big speakers, an amplifier and DVD/CD player. A big number of the families also had a DSTV contract which enabled them to watch digital channels on TV. A few families had the extended contract of DSTV, which also showed channels from other African countries including Nigeria, Congo, Ghana and so forth. For some families it meant that due to the amount of electronic gadgets, their living rooms were quite full. This was also due to the multiple couches that were situated near to the TV. There were a few families who did not have space for a couch, so they used either their bed or some plastic chairs to watch television.

Most families had some kind of religious pamphlets or posters hanging in their houses. Photos of the children, which were mostly made by the school photographer, were often hanging or standing on a cupboard. Family photos which showed the whole family were in most houses absent. Hence, there were some photos which showed only the children or only the parents. In many cases the migrant children showed their family pictures, which were

in some cases abundant. Almost all houses were decorated with artificial flowers which were hanging on the wall, laying on a tray or standing in a vase. Other decorations included cushions, pillows, curtains and seat covers mostly designed with an African print. The families with a better economic situation had more signs of African decorations and more extras in the house.

Most children explain that they eat a lot of pap,[22] for supper which is made of maize meal.[23] Probably the reason for families eating pap is because it is cheap and it fills up the stomach quickly, which means that if one eats enough pap for supper, there will be no need for breakfast the next morning. There are enough children who do not eat breakfast, because there is simply nothing to eat, and could just have to drink a tea with some milk and sugar. The children who do not have enough food at home, they will receive lunch from school. Some children eat when they get home from school, before making their homework, although some children have to wait to eat again at supper. This means that some children are hungry for the greater part of the day, which can affect their concentration, mental health and psychological health. Some children explained that their favorite food was either pap or traditional food from their home country. However others preferred to eat fast food,[24] pasta or rice, including some global dishes like macaroni and cheese.

The data shows a distinction which can be linked to the two cultural styles devised by Ferguson. On the one hand immigrants try to keep a connection with their home country or with the 'rural', and on the other hand most children show an interest in the foreign, urban styles and lifestyles based on movies and TV. For instance, the data shows that all children and their families try to keep the connection with their home country tradition by eating their local food. However, on the other hand, there are some children who prefer eating fast food from McDonalds and KFC and drink Coca-Cola. However a distinction between the two styles can be found through food, music, TV, dressing, friends, attitude and behavior. However a difference between how children behave at school and at home can be noted. At school the children can show off which style they have cultivated more than at home because at home they are behavior according to the norms and values of their family. Therefore the data will show that some children do not show their cultural style as clear, whereas others switch from one style to another at school and at home. Thus at home the parents are made to believe their children keep a tie with their home country culture, whereas at school they show a different behavior which shows no signs of keeping a connection with their home country.[25]

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[22] This is a mixture of maize meal with hot water which results in a thick and stiff paste.

[23] Maize meal is close to corn flour and it is made of maize/corn and grinded to white flour.

[24] This can range from hamburgers, chicken and fish including French fries and soft drink.

[25] One example of this behavior will be highlighted in the case-study (Case Blessing), however more children displayed this behavior, which I choose not to include in the case study.

Agreements

The data from the interviews showed a few topics that were coming back in every interview. Therefore I sort the most interesting topics from all the interviews and counted how many children agreed with one statement or disagreed with another topic. This gave some concrete answers to topics and issues the migrant children deal with. For instance, it will be explained that 10 out of the 29 children expressed their opinion about this topic which I found after counting. The agreements will be explained here, to understand the way the children think about certain aspects of their lives.

A topic where most children agreed with was about the responsibilities they had in their households. It showed that most children (70%) help their families by cleaning the house, doing the dishes, doing groceries or cooking. Some do this more than others, the few children who do not help in their households, mostly have a maid in house or have older siblings who are assigned to those tasks. Most children explained that they eat specific food from their country of origin; this applies to vegetables, fish or staple food, but also to the preparation of a certain dish. The biggest staple food in South Africa is maize meal, which is used to make porridge for breakfast or pap for supper. Maize meal is also used in many other African countries, however the preparation method differs and therefore migrant children experience the way they eat their food differs from how South Africans do it. Most children explained that some specific food items could not be found in South Africa or they were expensive, these include several types of rice and certain fruits.

Half of the children expressed their opinion about the difference between South African children and themselves, or children from their own country of origin. They expressed it along the lines of: South African children are less mannered, they do not show respect to older people and their parents allow them to do whatever they want. Often quotes like this arose: 'We focus more on our studies and we are not involved in behaviors which involve drugs, love and sex'. This shows that children are aware of the differences between how children from their own country are compared to South African children. This difference is also shown in the classroom, whereby the bullies are mostly South Africans and the cleverest children are mostly Congolese children. Nevertheless, there are some cases where these divisions are turned around, where immigrant children are also involved in bullying. Another interesting comment which is expressed a few times is that in South Africa a child can report to police if he or she has been subjected to corporal punishment by his/her parents. Some children in the research found that odd, because in 'their culture' it is common that parents beat their children and it is either to teach them something or to show them manners.

A big number of the children expressed their feelings about the difference between their country of origin and their new host country South Africa. Some said: 'South Africa is more modern, my home country is undeveloped' and others explained: 'In my country of

origin, they cook outside and they do not have electricity'. Nine out of 29 children expressed that they miss their country of origin; this was often related to missing their family members, friends or just the environment which they remember. And given these comments, there was no need to include such specific question as most children expressed themselves during the interviews how much they missed their home country. Ten out of the 29 children expressed that they are treated as foreigners sometimes; this can be related to their skin color, language or via institutions. Some of them could give clear examples of what happened whereby they felt treated differently, whereas others never felt any difference in treatment.

Most children have groups of friends on school; some of those groups are mixed with both South African and immigrant children, however some children only have South African friends. Hence, there are some children that prefer having only friends from their country of origin. The children explained that this is because they understand each other better and they can speak in the same language. Although eight children expressed this, most of them have a mixed group of friends.

The data

The data shows a few themes which are important for the lives of migrant children in Rosettenville. These themes can be categorized under two categories which are home and school. These categories were also selected on forehand to see the difference in the behavior of the child at school and at home. However the data from the interviews shows a distinction between home and school as well, whereby some children value home more over school and vice versa. The distinction means that children who do not focus on their home situation are more interested everything outside their home situation, which includes being at school (therefore it does not mean perform well in school), hanging out with friends, and trying to settle in South Africa. Therefore the theme school does not apply to the children dedication or motivation for school, but it rather stands for everything that happens outside the home situation and therefore it includes school, because that is where most children spend most of their days. If children value their home situation over everything that happens outside, it is often connected with a strong identification with their family and/or country of origin. It does not mean that if children are focused on their home situation, they do not perform well in school, because this is the case with most children who value home more. It must be noted that the home situation of the children that focus on school is difficult, harsh or unbearable; they just do no show interest in their home situation and thereby in their home country. In short; a focus on their home situation is often linked with their country of origin, a focus on school is often linked with living and settling in South Africa. Focusing on either their home or school situation, it means having a preference for where he or she would rather want to be. The observations showed that the children, who do not value their home situation a lot, stay

longer at school or hang out with their friends until it gets dark. Compared with the children who value home a lot, they went home as quickly as possible or rather wanted to go home than stay on school.

It must be noted that children who focus on everything that happens outside their home situation are easier to observe compared with children who focus on home. This is mainly because children with a focus on their home situation do not show this as explicitly. Therefore I had to use both data from interviews and observations to determine to which category the children would focus on. For instance, there are some children who are motivated with their schoolwork, however they are not interested in what is going on school, and therefore have their focus on their home situation. Another observation showed that the children who focus on just being at school, in most cases do not perform well in school and also do no take care of their uniform. Compared to the children with a focus on their home situation, take care of their schoolwork and uniform.

The other themes that came out of the interviews and observations are also linked with either the situation at home or on school. For instance the themes of role and attitude that is, the role the children play in their family or in the household, for instance a big brother who is taking care of his siblings or as the one who cooks for the family. However at school, the child would show a different attitude, for instance "I'm cool, together with my friends", compared at home where they have to responsible and caring. Besides the themes that fall under these two categories, there are also four themes that can be either part of or influenced by the home and school situation which includes dressing, which is partly influenced by their family and friends, as well as the theme language. The themes are:

Home		School
Family		Friends
Going back		Feeling at home
Discrimination		Accepted
Role		Attitude
TV		Music
	Dress	
	Food	
	SES	
	Language	

Case-study

I would want to show how the processes of acculturation and sense of belonging among migrant children in Rosettenville took place, however I cannot describe all the stories of the 29 children. Therefore I picked out ten children who displayed the way often and most migrant children deal with acculturation and sense of belonging process. These ten children have cultivated one of the two cultural styles, which are used in this thesis, and focus on one of two overarching themes school or home. The stories of these ten children show a clear pattern compared to other children, whereby their focus, acculturation strategy and cultural style can be seen through observation. Furthermore these children showed a complete story including all the information about topics that I needed to know, compared with other children however, interesting their experiences where, I did not have all the information I needed to have a complete picture of them. Therefore these ten where chosen because compared with other children their answers or choices are more clear and explicit. In other words, there are some children who sometimes show a focus on their lives outside school, but in some aspects they have a strong connection with their home situation. Therefore the pattern among those children is hard to find. For the 10 children that were chosen, other people would be more likely to see the same pattern as what I did during observation. Besides this, these children represent the whole group by showing similar expressions, values and outcomes of acculturation, sense of belonging, focus and cultural style.

At first, I will start with a scheme which shows the background information of the children and which acculturation strategy they choose and which cultural style they cultivated. Next to the scheme, a detailed and systematic story about the children will be presented. In particular the stories of the children include background information, reason for migration, living situation, friends, school, and languages and in detail it will explain their acculturation strategy, focus, sense of belonging and the cultural styles they cultivated. First of all the acculturations strategy will be determined, which is often connected with other aspects of their lives. The acculturation strategies can be integration, separation and assimilation. I will discuss their sense of belonging; even though a sense of belonging is hard to measure so therefore this is based on interpretation from the interviews and observations. The children could have chosen two cultural styles to cultivate, either localist or cosmopolitan. It needs to be noted that the cosmopolitan style is easier to observe compared with the localist style. Therefore I had to combine the data from both observations and interviews together. Besides, some children show their cultural style differently in every different context, which makes it hard to place them in one category. Therefore some children have not decided yet, which I call 'in transition', which means that they are in the process of finding out their focus or cultural style. It can be compared with standing on a crossroad, where they are either choosing to go right or left.

These categories are based on observations and interviews and look specifically on dressing, hair styles, language use, music preference, friends, family and behavior and attitude on school and outside school. Using the cultural styles in this research, I will perceive the localist style as having a connection with their rural home or country of origin. The cosmopolitan style is connected with the foreign in terms of music, dress, speech and gestures. One may think it is hard to see when a child has a connection either with the rural or with the foreign, however there are some indications. Some indications are clear, compared to other indications which are unambiguous.

The data shows a pattern among migrant children, whereby they either choose for the home situation or the situation outside their house, family and home country. This preference is mostly connected with the acculturation strategy, sense of belonging and cultural style. However there are some children who are in the middle of their home and school situation, I call this 'in transition'.

Children	Age	Migration Age	Country of origin	Focus	Acculturation	Cultural style
Safi	12	8	DRC	Home	Integration	Localist
Trish	12	8	Zimbabwe	Home	Separation/ Integration	Localist
Danny	12	7	DRC	Home	Integration	Localist
Nasibu	13	0	DRC	In transition	Integration	Localist
Jonathan	12	1	Angola/ DRC	School	Assimilation	Cosmopolitan
Ahmad	14	6	Burundi	School	Assimilation	Cosmopolitan
Emilda	13	2	Zambia	School	Assimilation	Cosmopolitan
Naomi	12	4	DRC	School	Integration	In transition
Blessing	13	7	DRC	In transition	Integration	Cosmopolitan
Paula	13	5	Zimbabwe	In transition	Integration	Cosmopolitan

Table 1. Ten children of the case study including age, migration age, country of origin, focus, acculturation strategy and cultural style.

Case Safi

Safi is a 12-year old girl who migrated from DRC when she was eight years old. She migrated to South Africa because her grandmother lived alone and needed help in South Africa. Safi's parents and siblings live and work in Geneva. Safi lives with her grandmother in a small room

and they are financially supported by Safi's parents. The room is quite packed, however decorated with curtains and pillows, which Safi's grandmother makes herself. Safi does miss her mother a lot, she has not seen them for 5 years and they call only once a week. There were some aspects of her family story that she was not comfortable telling. Nevertheless, she loves living with her grandmother and they are good friends. Safi helps her grandmother with doing the dishes, cleaning the house, doing laundry and she cooks in the weekend. Her favorite food is pap, especially if it is made the Congolese way.

Safi is a motivated and clever student and she is one of the top students in her class. She likes going to school because she wants to learn, even at home, she studies a lot. Therefore school means a lot to her, because she thinks it is very important. Safi has many friends on school, but she is not part of a certain group of friends. Some of her friends are from Congo, some are South Africans. When Safi started at this school, her English was not as good; however some Congolese girls helped her with that. She is a leader in her class and she would love to become a leader in grade 7 or Head Girl.

Safi speaks English, French and Lingala. Because she speaks English at school, she prefers speaking in French or Lingala with her grandmother, as she does not want to lose the languages. She loves to talk with her grandmother about DRC; together they have many photos of DRC and they did share memories and stories about their family and experiences. Their room is full of photos of DRC, family members and for instance birthday parties of Safi in DRC. Safi misses her home country a lot, although she thinks it is better to stay in South Africa for her studies and future career. Therefore she is integrating into the society to be able to be part of South Africa. Even though her acculturation strategy is integration, she still keeps a strong bond with her country of origin. Therefore her sense of belonging is towards DRC. She does not feel completely at home in South Africa, because she has that strong bond with DRC her home country. Safi's focus is on the situation at home and the connection with DRC and she is shows less interest in the practices surrounding school including friends, boys and other popular things. Safi goes straight home after school, partly because she goes to church three times per week in the afternoon. Her favorite music is Gospel, because she says she understands where they are singing about. 'When I listen to a song of Rihanna, I don't know what she is talking about and it does not have meaning to me'. She likes watching South African soaps, cartoons and Nigerian movies.

Safi cultivated the cultural style localist which can be seen through her dressing, hair style, attitude and behavior which shows no interest in foreign, luxury and or modern products. In her dressing, there is no sign of particular brands or fashion and her hair style is loose. Safi's uniform looks proper,[26] besides her uniform, she dresses casual with a jeans and

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[26] Proper according to the rules of uniforms by the Rosettenville primary school

a T-shirt. Compared to other girls, Safi does not pay too much attention to her hair, which means that she does not braid it or go to the hair salon as often. Safi's attitude and behavior is quite considerate and sincere; therefore many people like her because she is herself. The observations at home showed that she was so comfortable, especially when she started talking about DRC and showing pictures. She keeps a connection with her home country through talking about it with her grandmother, photos and talking with other family members. And she expressed: 'the biggest difference between South Africa and DRC is that I feel more at home there, more than here.'

Case Trish

Trish is a 12-year old girl who migrated from Zimbabwe to South Africa when she was 8 years old. The reason for migration is economically driven as both of her parents did not receive a sufficient salary given the bad economic situation in Zimbabwe. Trish is the oldest child; she has a younger brother and sister. The family lives in a flat, although the room they live in consists of 20 m2 and it is quite small for the whole family. They use plastic chairs to sit on and the children have to sleep on mattresses on the floor. Next to the TV, there are three portraits of photos taken at school. The rest of the house walls are decorated with things like calendar, Christian pamphlets and a typical Zimbabwean woven decoration are hanging in the room. Trish' father has a job, however her mother have not been able to find a job yet. Therefore the family does not have a lot of money to spend. Trish and her family discuss together what they want to eat the next month and make a scheme for that. This reduces the costs for supper, because they can buy products in bulk, for instance potatoes or rice. Trish' parents do not think the meat from South Africa is good, they claim that it has been produced with chemicals. Therefore the family eats chicken once per week, on Sunday after church. In Zimbabwe the family used to have their own crop garden. Trish helps in the household with doing dishes, cooking, cleaning and ironing. She is not allowed to watch a lot of TV and she does not seem interested in it as well. Her favorite music is Gospel and she also sings in church.

Trish likes going to school and she is focused on her schoolwork. In class she is quiet and serious. Trish is not a leader nor head girl in her grade; however this is not based on her school performances. Trish' school uniform looks neat and taken care of. Trish has two best friends, one from Malawi and the other is from South Africa. She would love to have friends who are also from Zimbabwe because they can speak in the same language and understand each other better, however there are not many children from Zimbabwe in her class. She goes to school to get educated and she shows that it is important to her; however her focus in on her home situation, her family, siblings and her home country Zimbabwe.

Trish expressed several times that she cannot wait to go back to her home country. She misses her family, friends and talking in Shona with them. At home the family speaks Shona, because the parents do not want them to forget the language. At school Trish speaks English. Because Trish and her family will eventually move back to Zimbabwe, they do no take the effort to integrate in the South African society. However for Trish and her siblings it is hard not to integrate at all, therefore they made friends on school to at least enjoy being in South Africa. The acculturation strategy of Trish' parents would be separation, but the outcome for Trish is integration because of her participation at school. However her sense of belonging is towards Zimbabwe.

Trish has cultivated the localist style because she tries to keep the connection with the rural of her home country. Trish shows no interest in foreign style of dressing, music, TV or speech. The localist styles shows she through her dress, which consists of trousers, a T-shirt and a vest, her hair style which is often not braided. She expressed: 'I just feel more at home there than here and our live there was nicer than here'.

Case Danny

Danny is a 12-year old boy who migrated from DRC when he was 7 years old. The family moved to South Africa after the father found a job there. The family lives in a house which consists of two rooms and it houses five children, uncle, aunt and two parents. Danny, his uncle and brother sleep on mattresses on the floor. His father works somewhere else in SA, therefore he only comes back twice in the month. Danny's mother makes curtains and sells them on the streets and markets. Danny and his sister help with the applying the decorations on the curtains whenever they can. The house is decorated with some photos of the children and of the parents separately and a calendar and a poster. The family has a big flat screen TV with a DVD and CD players. Danny explained that the family is struggling to make end meets and Danny often complains about being hungry.

Danny's best friend is Kikudi, who is also from DRC; however he has many other friends in his grade. 'It is nice to have friends from different races and backgrounds, because you can learn from each other.' With his friends he speaks English. At home they speak French, Lingala and he is learning how to speak Tshiluba. Danny is one of the top students in his class, also because he is motivated and dedicated to his schoolwork. He is in the competition Battle of the books, where he has to read English books. He would like to become a leader or head boy in grade 7, therefore he is always trying to be one of the best students and behave well in school. When Danny gets home, he loves to read books, or otherwise he likes watching cartoons or Bollywood movies. He likes listening to American Hip-hop artists, although he also loves listening to music from Congo. Danny's father and uncle have a big collection of Congolese music and a few movies from DRC.

Danny does not like living in South Africa mainly because of high rate of crime and women sexual abuses. Besides that, he feels that people from home affairs[27] treat them badly because they are foreigners. Also at school he claims that there are some teachers who say bad things about Congolese or foreigners. Therefore he does not feel at home in South Africa, because people treat him as a foreigner and he does not feel welcome. However, Danny knows a lot about the situation in DRC and he is not happy with the way the president is dealing with the problems there. He thinks he can make it a better country and therefore he wants to become the president of DRC one day. Nevertheless, the situation in DRC is at this moment not yet good, therefore the family will stay in South Africa. Therefore Danny is integrating in the society, but up to a certain level, because he does not feel at home and does not want to lose connection with his home country. His sense of belonging is towards DRC which is based on the bond that he has with DRC and the way he feels in South Africa.

The cultural style that Danny has cultivated is the localist style; however he also shows signs of the cosmopolitan style. He has a strong connection with the rural or his home country, therefore the localist style fits him. Although he has interest in moving to Canada because he thinks life will be better there. However his behavior and attitude show a more localist style in the sense that he stays himself, he is not influenced by others and he is not interested in modern things, fashionable clothes or materialistic items.

Case Nasibu

Nasibu is a 13-year old boy who migrated from DRC to South Africa when he was only 3 months old. His parents had to flee their home country because they were accused of having documents that a rebel group in DRC was looking for. Therefore the family had to travel with different sorts of transport from DRC to finally come to Johannesburg. The family still lives in fear in South Africa after being attacked thrice and being physically hurt. Besides the fear, the family only has refugee papers which do not allow them to work in South Africa; therefore the family is struggling to make end means. The family consists of the two parents, Nasibu is the oldest and he has two younger siblings. The family lives in a room 12m2, however the rent is still too much too pay for the family. The room consists of a big bed, a cupboard, a fridge, salon table and a TV cabinet including a TV, DVD player and speakers. On the cabinet there are some photos standing of the children and of the family together.

Nasibu however likes going to school, especially to be with his friends and to play. Nasibu's performance in school is average, although he tries; he is often distracted or not concentrated enough. Nasibu has many friends in his grade and he seems to be accepted and appreciated by other. Some of his friends are also from DRC, but to him it does not matter

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[27] Immigration office

where his friends are from. Nasibu also have other friends outside school where he plays with after school or in the weekends. Nasibu learned to speak English via watching cartoons and other TV programs. Nowadays he speaks English at school, but Swahili and Lingala at home. Nasibu's parents do not speak English well English, so the children help them with translation or writing. Nasibu helps in the household with cleaning and doing laundry. When Nasibu gets home, he makes his homework and then he plays outsides of watches cartoons. His favorite music is pop but he also likes listening to South African house music. His mother watches a lot of Nigerian movies, because the stories are close to their lives and experiences.

Although Nasibu was still young when he left his home country, he feels he knows a lot about it and he has a bond with his country of origin. His parents showed them many pictures of the country, the place where they used to live and the family and told them many stories about their country. Nasibu would love to go back when the situation has stabilized. The family cannot go back to their country right now, however they would love to move to another country where they could be safer and not live in fear every day. Nasibu has integrated in the South African society, this is partly because he is 1.5 child,[28] which means that he was young when he migrated and therefore more has a connection with the country of residence. This means that his sense of belonging is not clear, even though he may feel like he belongs to his home country DRC; he actually belongs more in South Africa. His acculturation strategy is integration, because he wants to be part of the society where he lives in, but he does not want to lose the connection with his home country and culture. Nasibu's focus is in transition, because he is interested in both. He has interest in the practices surrounding school; however he is not a part of that. Besides he also shows an interest in the home situation, his home country and his family. Therefore he does not show a clear focus but both in his observations and interviews all the themes got up and they are all intertwined.

This same applies for the cultural style, because Nasibu cultivated the localist style although it is hard to see. Because on the one hand is he integrated in the South African society but on the other hand he seems not to be interested in the foreign. For instance his dressing is very nonchalant. He does not take care of his uniform, but besides his uniform he often wears sweatpants, a T-shirt and slippers. His school uniform is not complete and does not look neat. He does not pay attention to his hair or his appearance. Furtherrest he shows interest in his country of origin. In a discussion with one of his friends who explained that he did not know if he had a culture, Nasibu explained: 'Even though I was three months old when I left Congo, I have an idea how it looks like and how life is'. He sees his background as a part of him and let it play a role in his life and therefore he cultivated the localist style.

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[28] He was born abroad, but he moved to South Africa at an early age, which makes him sociologically closer to South Africa than to his home country.

Case Jonathan

Jonathan is a 12-year old boy who migrated when he was a baby; the exact age and reason for migration are unknown to Jonathan. Even his country of birth is unknown, nevertheless Jonathan's father is from DRC and his mother is from Angola so it should be one of these two countries. Soon after Jonathan was born, his parents divorced and that is the moment when the father moved to South Africa with his three sons. Jonathan lives with his father, stepmother, 2 brothers, 3 stepsisters and 3 cousins in a relatively big house. Jonathan explained that they moved a few years ago, although the house does not look maintained or new. In the yard a few cars are parked, some are broken and some are still working. The house consists of three rooms and another room is created outside, where Jonathan sleeps with his brother. The living room is full of electronics: TV, DVD player, DSTV, speakers and an amplifier. Around the TV, there are many stuffed animals and artificial flowers as decoration. On the walls there are pictures of the children and the parents hanging.

Jonathan is a popular boy on school and he has many friends, who are mostly South Africans. Jonathan has a particular group of friends, who are feared by many others because they bully, tease, discriminate and fight. Jonathan is the only foreigner within that group, although they have accepted Jonathan completely. Jonathan expressed in the first interview that he wants to be better and not bully other children anymore, however it seems the peer pressure is too big and therefore he continues his behavior. His behavior in class is often disturbing because he bullies, talks and district other classmates. Therefore his school performances insufficient and he is not motivated to work for it. After school Jonathan hangs out with his friends and he only goes home for supper.

Jonathan speaks English, Lingala and French. At home they speak all three languages, although mostly they use French. Outside his home situation he only speaks English. Among his friends he understands Zulu, although he does not know how to speak it. The family has a satellite TV which shows them channels from all over Africa, including channels from Congo which include news, sports and music. During the house visit, Jonathan's brother and cousin were listening to African house music via one of those channels. Jonathan is not interested in his country of origin, even though the TV shows information or music from Congo, he does not care. He looks more interested in his life in South Africa, with his friends, looking for girls and other practices where he is involved with.

His acculturation strategy is assimilation because he does not want to keep a bond with his country of origin. He rather wants to be assimilated into the South African society, also partly because he feels at home there. He never felt discriminated by others because he is a foreigner. This may be due to the fact that he feels like he is a South African. Therefore his focus is outside his home situation and based on school and everything that happens after school. He expressed: 'If I would get pocket money, I would not come home for supper

anymore' which shows that he rather stays on the street than going home. His parents do not care nor guide him; therefore he figured out his own path. This in turn affected the processes of acculturation and sense of belonging because he does not feel a bond with his country of origin; therefore he turns to his new society, South Africa.

Jonathan cultivated the cosmopolitan style which is shown through his dressing, speech, way of walking, and his attitude. Outside school he wears international brands, low jeans, big T-shirts and always a cap, skew on his head. His school uniform on the other hand looks like he does not take care of it and it is often incomplete. He shows big interest in brands, international music and foreign products and lifestyles. He said: 'Life is nice; some people say life is boring, maybe they don't have money, but for me life is good'.

Case Ahmad

Ahmad is a 14-year old boy who migrated from Burundi when he was 6 years old. There was a war in the surrounding countries and therefore the situation was unstable so Ahmad and his mother moved to South Africa. Now Ahmad lives with his mother and stepfather in a suburb of Johannesburg which is situated 20 km from Rosettenville. The family used to live in the area of Rosettenville; however Ahmad's stepfather wanted to move to a better area. However Ahmad does not like living in the suburb, especially because he does not have friends there. The house consists of a few rooms; however they rent most rooms out to other people. The living room consists of some photos of Ahmad, paintings that he made and some artificial flowers. They have a TV, DVD player and DSTV, where he likes to watch cooking programs and listen to music. He loves cooking and in the weekend; he loves to make pizzas and lasagne. He is also interested in making Ethiopian dishes and Ethiopian music and lifestyle. He expressed that he is often bored when he is at home.

Ahmad has to travel with the bus for 30 minutes to go to school. However he loves going to school, but mainly because of his friends. Ahmad has many friends, who are, besides his cousin, mostly South Africans. He expressed: 'I feel like school is the only place where I am happy. I can see my friends, talk to them and this is the place where I can say is home to me. Everybody I love is here, I play and sometimes I wish school does not end'. Even though he loves going to school, he is not doing so well in school, this is mainly because he is not concentrated. He is more concerned with issues outside his schoolwork and therefore he has an arrear in his schoolwork. His uniform does not look neat and it is not complete.

Ahmad does not want to keep a connection with his country of origin. He expressed this a few times during the interviews, inter alia: 'I do have some friends who are from Burundi, but it's not that nice, because I don't feel really comfortable with them, mostly because we speak in our own language. I rather have friends from South Africa.' With his mother he speaks Swahili, but with all his friends he rather speaks English. He can also

understand Zulu. Talking the difference between South Africa and Burundi, he expressed that he cannot remember a lot from Burundi and besides that he enjoys living in South Africa a lot. 'I feel at home in South Africa, at least I don't feel very different from South Africans'. Therefore his acculturation strategy is assimilation because he would want to be part of South Africa more and he does not want to keep a bond with his home country. His sense of belonging is also towards South Africa because he feels at home here and does not feel a bond with his home country. Ahmad cultivated the cosmopolitan style because he has a big interest in everything that is foreign, from music, clothing to food. He likes to wear international brands; he is interested in fashion and therefore he wears clothes which are considered fashionable. He loves listening to international music and movies from America. Besides this interest in the foreign, he does not show any interest when it comes to his home country, culture or his background, which shows that he does not want to be related with that. Several indications also show that Ahmad focuses on everything that happens outside the home situation. His focus is on school and everything that happens outside school, where he can be himself and explore.

Case Emilda

Emilda is 13-year old girl who moved from Zambia when she was two years old. Her mother is originally from Congo and her Father from Zambia. Emilda's father died when she was five years old. The family moved initially because the economic situation in Zambia was not as good. Emilda's mother is now a single mother of three children who is struggling to make end means. Therefore Emilda is staying with a friend of her mother now who has a bigger house and who can take care of her. In this way Emilda can focus on her schoolwork and she does not have to worry much about the situation at home. Emilda's mother stays in a room 6m2 with two children and two adults in an area which is considered to be dangerous. She is living on a compound with many foreigners and single mothers. This is nothing compared with the house where Emilda stays where she has her own room, TV and DSTV.

Emilda is very focused on her school, which makes her one of the top students in her year. She was chosen to be a leader in grade 7; however after an incident with one of her teachers, she got demoted. This does not take away that she is clever, concentrated and dedicated when it comes to her schoolwork. Her school uniform looks perfect and taken care of. After school, she always does sports, may it be aerobics, netball or running. She is very sportive and that is also where she puts her frustrations. After sports she goes to her friend's home to do homework and revision of her studies. She also does this because she does not want to go home yet because then she will start worrying and thinking a lot about the situation. At school she can focus on other things so that she does not have to think about what is happening at home. Emilda has a mixed group of friends and she likes that because

they can learn from each other. With her friends Emilda speaks in English. Emilda's mother speaks French and Lingala, but Emilda only understands Nyanja [29] and little bit of Lingala. However she often speaks in English with her mother.

When Emilda goes home she likes to watch South African soaps and American shows. Her favorite music is R&B and Hip-hop and her favorite artists are American musicians. Her mother loves to play Congolese music, however Emilda is not interested in that. At her mother's house, the TV is not working and there is nothing else to do there. The traditional food that her mother makes is not Emilda's favorite food. She does prefer the way her mother makes the pap compared with the South African way.

Emilda shows no interest in her home country; therefore her acculturation strategy is assimilation. Mainly because wants to be part of the South African society, but does not want to have a bond with her home country. She cannot remember anything from Zambia and she is not interested to know more or to visit the country again. She would rather stay in South Africa or move to another place outside Africa. Her sense of belonging is towards South Africa because she feels at home here and does not feel that same thing for Zambia. The cultural style that she cultivated is cosmopolitan based on her interest in the foreign and no interest in her home country or the rural. Emilda shows this style through her friends, attitude and interests. However Emilda cannot show this style through her dressing, because there is not money to buy fashionable clothes. However she acts like a cosmopolitan around her friends and other classmates. She shows this through her behavior, attitude 'I belong here' and the way she interacts. This is mainly because she wants to be part of the group. Her focus is thence on the situation at school and everything surrounding that. This is not because she does not want to focus on her home situation and her family, but she is struggling to cope with everything that is happening in her home situation. Therefore she put her focus on her schoolwork and other school related things to be able to deal with the situation.

Case Naomi

Naomi is a 12-year old girl who migrated from DRC when she was 4 years old. Naomi is the youngest in his family and she has 11 other siblings. Both of her parents live in DRC, together with six of her siblings. In Johannesburg the other six siblings (including Naomi) live together in a house. The parents decided to move to South Africa because the father found a job there, however after a few years he went back but he wanted his children to obtain their education in South Africa. Therefore he bought a house there and nowadays he sponsors his children to be able to live there. Naomi's older brother and sister do have jobs, so in a way they also support their siblings. The house where they live in consists of three bedrooms, a living room, a

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[29] Nyanja is one of the Zambian official languages.

kitchen, bathroom and a backyard. They have all the newest electronics in house, including a laptop, DSTV and flat screen TV. Naomi has her own blackberry which she uses to chat with people or friends. In the house there are photos hanging of the whole family, Christian pamphlets and artificial flowers as decorations.

Naomi is one of the top students in his class, mainly because she puts effort into her schoolwork. Although she is a popular girl in school, she pays a lot of attention to her schoolwork. She works neat and concentrated, also because she wants to become the head girl next year. Therefore her uniform looks very neat and she takes care of it. Naomi has a group of friends, but actually everyone is her friends. She has friends from all different countries, even though she likes to talk in the same language with her friends from Congo, she likes it also to have friends from South Africa who learned her to speak Zulu. She has a particular group of girls where she walks to and from school with. Naomi plays netball on a high level. She loves playing sports a lot, therefore Naomi often stays longer at school. For recreation she loves to watch TV, especially soaps and reality shows. Her favorite music is kwaito[30] and R&B and her favorite artists are a mixture of American and South African musicians.

Naomi does not remember a lot from Congo: 'I have heard some stories but I don't know how life is there and how it looked like. I just know that I like to live here and I feel at home here'. She would want to visit DRC once, but she does not want to stay there. She explained that she is more used to South Africa, therefore she does not have a real interest in DRC. However, she is still proud to be a Congolese and therefore she does not like it if people treat her differently because she is a foreigner. Naomi has integrated in the society completely. It is not clear how strong the connection with her home country is, however she does not want to let go of that connection totally, also because part of her family still lives there. Her sense of belonging, on the other hand, shows a strong preference for South Africa. She feels like she belongs there and she wants to be part of the society.

Naomi has not cultivated a cultural style yet because she in transition. She shows styles in her behavior, style and attitude. The cosmopolitan style is expressed through an interest in the foreign and fashionable dressing. In her dressing she might be influenced by her older sisters who also love to dress themselves according to the latest trends. Besides she has bigger interest in foreign TV shows, music and lifestyles. However she has an interest in her home country and she feel proud to be a Congolese. Besides she is self-assured and not easily influenced by others and she is not a show it off person .Naomi does not have braided hair; she makes different styles with her own hair, using clips and hair bands. Her uniform always looks perfect and taken care of. She inclines towards the cosmopolitan style, however for now she is still in transition.

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[30] South African house style

Case Blessing

Blessing is a 13-year old girl who migrated from DRC to South Africa when she was 7 old. Her mother was looking economic improvement in South Africa because in DRC the economic system was not good. Blessing lives with her mother, stepfather and stepbrother in a garage of 8m2, where Blessing has to sleep on the ground. The garage consists of a bed, two couches, a cupboard and a TV. On the wall there are some pictures and poster hanging. Blessings stepfather is a priest however he cannot find work in South Africa so the family has to rely on the income of the mother, who sews clothes and sells second hand clothes on the street, which does not give enough income to take care of everyone. The family is struggling to make end means and this means that they often eat dry pap without a sauce or vegetables. Blessing helps in the household with cleaning, cooking and doing laundry and the dishes.

Blessing has many friends, although sometimes she hangs out with South African girls and another time she is with a mixed group of friends, including girls from DRC. Blessing likes going to school, especially to hang out with her friends and talk. She wants to perform well in school and she takes the effort, however her school performances are not as good. Blessing explained that in DRC she would get more help from her teachers is she did not understand the subject, however here she does not get personal attention if she is struggling with a subject. Blessing speaks English and French. At home they speak French all the time, because her mother is not so good in English. Blessing's mother wants to go back to DRC but she is afraid that Blessing is 'too South African'. She explained: 'in DRC we only speak French and no English, however Blessings speaks a lot of English.' Blessing liked living in DRC; however she knows that the situation was not good.

Blessing is an example of a child that behaves differently at home than at school. At home she appears to be a real Congolese, in the sense that she is true to family, religion and culture. She explained that South African children are not focusing on their schoolwork but on things involving boys, sex, alcohol and drugs and she rejects that kind of behavior. However on school, she is friends with girls who are involved in practices describes above and she does not seem to care about the principles where she would agree on with her mother at home. Therefore Blessing' focus is not clear because she shows two different things at home and at school. She shows a lot of interest at the things that happen outside the home situation, although at home she behaves and expresses herself differently. Even though her acculturation strategy is integration, because she does not want to lose the connection with her country of origin, but on the other hand she wants to be part of the South African society. Her sense of belonging is also not clear because she shows that she belongs to Congo, however her preference is more towards South Africa. She expressed: 'Life is so hard here, everything is expensive and everything costs money, but life can be also very boring here'

One thing which was quite clear in Blessing's case is the cultural style she cultivated, namely Cosmopolitan style which can be seen through her dressing, speech, walking and attitude. Blessing is very interested in everything which is foreign, from music styles, to fashion and her future aspirations. She enjoys listening to Nigerian house music and American R&B artists. Besides her school uniform, Blessing loves to wear tight clothes with matching earrings, hair bands, clips and shoes. She is obsesses with the ways she looks and she is always trying to style her outfit perfectly. She would love to become a designer, a stylist or an actress. Another dream is to go and study in the USA.

Case Paula

Paula is 13-year old girl from Zimbabwe who migrated when she was five years old. The situation in Zimbabwe was not stable so the family decided to move to South Africa. Paula lives with her mother, stepfather, her sister and stepbrother. The family lives in a big house with consist of four rooms. The living room consists of two couches, a big TV installation and big cupboards. Also the kitchen is full of kitchen machines and cupboards full of pots. Paula helps in the house by cooking and doing the dishes. Paula's mother sells fruits and vegetables on the street in front of their house. Paula's stepfather sews clothes, also on the street. The family seems well off, in terms of their house, the interior, electronics and the car which is parked in front of the house. Besides Paula gets a lot of pocket money and spends that on buying chips and sweets at the tuck shop.

Paula's friends are mostly South Africans besides her sister and cousin. For Paula it does not matter where her friends are from. Paula likes going to school but that is not because of the schoolwork. Paula is struggling on school because she is behind on her schoolwork and she does not feel motivated to work harder. Paula has an attitude of 'I don't care' which can scare of people sometimes. This attitude is the front stage of Paula, although in her backstage she shows more of herself including emotion and insecurities. Paula speaks English and Shona and at home they speak both languages.

Paula used to like living in Zimbabwe and she would love to go back when the situation has stabilized. The family goes back to Zimbabwe every year; Paula likes that because she misses her country a lot. Although since she has been living in South Africa, she clearly sees the difference between Zimbabwe and South Africa and that is that South Africa is much more modern and Zimbabwe can be boring because often there is no electricity. But she also expressed: 'I would still choose for my home country, it's where I come from. I like it here now, but eventually we will go back, although the president is not good'.

Paula enjoys living in South Africa; therefore she is integrating into the society. However she does not dismiss her country of origin and does not want to loose the connection with Zimbabwe. Her sense of belonging is not clear, because she feels at home in South

Africa however she misses her country and would love to go back when it is possible. Therefore her sense of belonging is more towards Zimbabwe, but sometimes it looks like she is still deciding. Paula has cultivated the cosmopolitan style based on her dressing, speech, food and her behavior. Paula likes to wear designer clothes and she has adapted a 'cool' style of dressing, including T-shirts with prints, jeans and a hat (not a cap). Paula shows interested in foreign things like designer clothes, modern electronics and movies and music from the USA. Her attitude and behavior also show signs of the adaptation of an urban style which is connected with what she sees in movies and in music.

Reflection on field research

After the field research, I discovered some pitfalls in the research mainly on the aspect of data collection. Even though I interviewed a group of children and observed their lives, specific data was missing. This was mainly caused because I did not have a specific categorization. It would have been good if a categorization on would have been made forehand, so that I would look for indications among those children for certain categories. Now I have collected general data about the lives of migrant children living in Rosettenville, mainly because I expected to find struggles, difficulties or problems among those children. Although I prepared enough with the literature, later I found other researches among migrant children which showed other methods and topics.

I choose not to use formal interview settings because the research was conducted among children. However this meant that the interviews were not as systematic and structured, for instance within one interview I would focus on the relationship with their country of origin but another interview was focused on their friends. Therefore I did deviate the structure of the interview a little bit according to the situation and the reaction of the child. In a good setting, if both I and the child were comfortable and open to each other, more data was collected compared with a situation whereby one of us would not feel comfortable. Besides focusing only on interviewing the children, interviewing the parents and/or the teachers would give other insights in the process the children were in. This research shows that family narratives are important for the choices the migrant children make, so therefore it would have benefitted the outcome of the data.

Conclusion

The data showed a pattern among migrant children whereby they either choose to focus on their home situation, family and country of origin or their focus would be outside their home situation, including school, friends and their lives in South Africa. Therefore the children deliberately choose for their country of origin or for their new country of residence South

Africa. Their focus on either their home or school situation also determines their acculturation outcome, sense of belonging and the cultural style they have cultivated. This can be explained because all these issues are connected with having or not willing to have a connection or bond with their home country.

Other factors that play a significant role in the lives of migrant children are the family, friends, school performance, discrimination, social economic status and ideas about the future. The country of origin of the migrant children plays a role in all stories and lives of the children, because they are in a way always connected to it, may be it through language, appearance or negative experiences as discrimination. Some children are happy with this bond they have, whereas other children would rather relinquish all bonds with their home country.

The case study showed that they are three groups. (1) the children that value their home, family and country of origin. (2) The children that value their life in South Africa, including their friends, school and certain lifestyles. (3) The children that are 'in transition' whereby they haven't chosen their focus or cultural style yet. Most of these children display two different things at home and at school, which shows that they have not decided yet or is combining the two things together.

Research outcomes

This chapter will link the results from the field research with the theories discussed in the theoretical framework and the scholarly engagements around these topics. This will be highlighted with examples from the field research. The five hypotheses that were devised will be examined and answered on the basis of the data from the research. This chapter will give including thoughts about the field research and topics of migration and migrant children.

Factors which are of influence on the lives of migrant children

Lives of migrant children can be divided between home and school, and this distinction has been important during the field research. Generally there are six factors identified, that have an impact on the ways children choose to either focus on their home or school situation. Besides choosing their focus these factors also influence the processes of acculturation, finding their sense of belonging and in a way the cultivation of a cultural style. These six factors include family, friends, immigration age, social economic status, discrimination, and aspirations for the future.

Family is an important factor for immigrant children because it is provides the children some stability especially as they emigrate from their home country to another country. This stability is critical to the children's identity and acculturation more importantly for those who had to flee from an unstable situation caused by war and civil strife. And it will important to note here that the ways parents deal with the reasons for emigrating plays a crucial influence to the children, as it makes the difference on how much the children will be willing to either assimilate and develop a new sense of belong with the new society or keep their identity attached to their home countries. Hence this initial process of migration affects the way the children acculturate and find their sense of belonging. Family can be either a protective factor or a risk to the child well-being, for instance after trauma. The research showed how important the family stories where for the adaptation of the migrant children in the new society. For instance, the children who had to flee because of the war have a lesser strong bond with both their families and home country. However, children who want to return back to their home countries did seem to have both a strong bond with their parents and country of origin.

Parents or the family are also important because much of the socialization is through oral sharing of social and cultural values of life which includes cultural traits, family values, norms, language and behavioral aspects. The society where the child grows up within plays also a role in that socialization process, hence when a family moves from one country to another, the socialization which is initially being done by the society or community where the

child lived, now depended largely on the family. Another aspect of this socialization includes sharing information about their home country; however this is mostly the case when children migrated at an early age. However, even if children do have memories about their home country, the family is still the only link they have with their home country therefore it is of importance that the children are informed about their country of origin.

Outside the family circle, friends are important for the children to gain the feeling of acceptance and belonging into the new society. While it is a struggle for children to also quickly make new friends as they will be still missing friends from their home country. Van Blerk & Ansell (2006: 459) note that friends are crucial to their identity formation and if children do not find friends this consequently means that these children are isolated and focus more to their home situation and family. However the research showed that migrant children tend to befriend other children from the same country of origin as theirs. It seemed easier to make friends with other children from the same background especially in terms of language and personal appearance. However having friends works also in opposite direction, whereby through peer pressure children can get isolated from their home situation and value their friends and being away from home more. So for instance some children would show up back home at the end of the day very late because they were with their friends. This research showed that the children who do not wish to maintain their cultural identity often tend to get involved with South African friends as this enabled them to be part of the South African society and consequently paid lesser attention to their home situation as well as their home country.

Immigration age turned out to be a significant factor in determine the several process of acculturation and settling the migrant children were going through. Thus children, who migrated at an early age, did not have the memories about the whole migration experience as their parents and or older siblings had. Unlike children who migrated at an older age, they had some good memories of their home countries and things they would mention missing from their country of origin. If a child remembers some aspects of his/her country of origin, it often means that that child has a bond or connection with his country of origin which is often natural. While it also turned out that for some children who migrated at an early age, they still had some fair level of connection and bond with their home country. This is achieved through oral tradition of narrating stories by older siblings and parents about their home country, while other things like photos taken from home country did give these children a clue of how their home country looked like. The immigration age can also affect the way migrant children adapt to their new society. A migrant child, who migrated at an early age, is used to living in the country of residence and therefore adapted more easily to the society compared with a child that migrated at an older age. And this affects the processes of acculturation, sense of belonging and cultivation of a cultural style.

The data from the field research shows that children who migrated at an early age (before the age of 3) settled in well into the South African society. The children who migrated in the age between 4 and 6 years old show two patterns. These children have either chosen to belong to South Africa or to maintain their cultural identity which is connected with their home country. From the children who migrated after the age of 7 years, it can be noted that most have a strong connection with their home country and therefore less willing to adapt to their new society. There are some few exceptions in the latter group, because there are a few children who migrated at an older age, although they have adapted to the South African society and relinquished their bonds with their home countries completely.

Discrimination is a factor that can be socially disruptive for migrant children as it is a form of social exclusion and it is a difficult experience for children trying to form new friendships. Being excluded due to a given attribute of accent, ethnicity, religion, color or being an immigrant can have significant impact on the sense of belonging and acculturation outcome. Correa-Velez, Gifford & Barnett (2010: 1405) explain that perceived discrimination is one of the most important barriers to adapt to a new society for immigrant youth. In South Africa the local people can be quite skeptical and negative towards migrants, which can be also be experienced by migrant children. For instance, a mother of a migrant child went to the clinic but could not get treated because the nurses were talking in Zulu, so she got excluded because she did not speak a local language. For migrant children, the ways the parents are dealing with the new circumstances and changes in their lives are of importance. Social scientists have argued that the capital that the immigrant families bring with them have a clear influence on the immigrant experience (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco 2001: 5).

Discrimination is often linked with the social economic status of the migrant family that is, their financial situation or status within a community or neighborhood. The research data shows that children with a middle social economic status have adapted more easily to the South African society than the ones with a low SES. However the children also showed more interest in materialistic things for instance clothes or goods like a cell phone, this may be due to the fact that South Africa is a modernized country in terms of electronics and clothes. The children with a low social economic status may have the same interest but they did not express it the same as other children. Both discrimination and social economic status can be factors that can affect the lives of migrant children negatively.

Good aspirations for the future, is one equally crucial factor which can stimulate migrant children. And this is consistent with one of the often cited reasons by their parents for migration which is an aspiration for a better future, especially for their children. Therefore migrant children also have aspirations to have a better life than their parents had. Some children expressed their dreams to go abroad for their studies and the aspirations for a good job so that they could also take care of their families.

Cultural style by Ferguson

Ferguson devised two cultural styles which were based on urban life on the Zambian Copperbelt. He called these two styles localist and cosmopolitan which Ferguson explains as a performance which are part of daily lives; however they are not values or worldviews (Trager 2005: 2). Cosmopolitan is linked with the foreign, urban and modern, whereas localist is linked with the rural, home and culture. People who cultivated the localist style have an intention to return to their 'home' community, whereas cosmopolitans reject rural alliances and distance themselves from the rural (Hodgson 2003: 86). Ferguson also states that both cultural styles can and do belong and co-exist in the same social order, where one is not better than the other (Datta 2001: 470). Even though Ferguson is so skeptical towards dualistic thinking of local and global or the modern and traditional, he made a distinction between the ways urban mineworkers form their relationship with the rural. This distinction is still closely linked with the notions of rural – urban and of modern and backwards.

According to Datta (2001: 470) the cultural styles are a way of coping with modernization, whereby a person could both incorporate the localist style and in another context display the cosmopolitan style. The idea that Datta displays is a more realistic approach compared with the static and ideological cultural styles localism and cosmopolitan. Especially because Ferguson key indications for those cultural styles are language and clothing, although a person can both adjust his clothing and speech in different situations. Besides this, Ferguson states that a person cultivates a style and shows off the style and acts upon it. Although this seems like it is a personal choice, Ferguson (1999:98) notes that it is a skilled action you do, without being aware of it. This makes the whole idea more complex, because on the one hand it is based on personal choices and considerations, but on the other hand people are not conscious of their cultural style, because it is something they do and live out. Hence it's a fair comment to say, it is hard to cultivate only one style, either localist or cosmopolitan, because it is still possible to be unaware how each cultural style is reflected and expressed and thereby show traits of both cultural styles in their daily lives.

Several reviews on Ferguson' book also criticize the way the cultural styles were observed and researched, simply by 'looking at' and talking to several people in bars Ferguson created two ideal styles which are connected with certain characteristic. The limitations in his observations are the fact that it is hard to apply these examples to other settings. Besides the cultural styles are not an approach to examine how people deal with the difficulties of every day lives (Hansen 2001: 863).

Although Ferguson sees both cultural styles as part of an urban setting, I believe that only the cosmopolitan style is closely linked to the urban. However the localist style does not have a connection with an urban setting per se, especially because it is mostly based on the rural and the home community. Although Ferguson states that both cultural styles have a

relationship with the rural, but that does not show how localist is an urban style. For Ferguson this urban styles, are based on the observations he did in an urban setting, although in a rural settings both of these styles could also be performed by its members. I used the cultural styles also in an urban setting; however I do not see a connection with the urban in this division. Outside Ferguson's book, the use of the word cosmopolitan would refer to a person who lives in a global city and who dresses according to the latest fashion trends, is aware of the speech, gestures and behavior according to that urban setting. However compared with this example, the cosmopolitan style on urban Zambian Copperbelt refers to a different type of cosmopolitan.

Within my research I could translate the cultural styles into having interest in the foreign or in the local or rural. I think that other things like dress, gestures, speech, walking and behavior are connected with that interest. However many things can have an overlap, therefore I think it is not achievable for an urban person to cultivate one style, with having no traits of the other cultural style.

Connecting themes

In the theoretical framework the notion of culture has been differentiated in 'instrumental culture' and 'expressive culture'. Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco (2001: 156) explain instrumental culture as the skills, competencies and social behaviors that are required to successfully make a living and contribute to society. By expressive culture, they mean the realm of values, worldviews, and patterning of interpersonal relations that give meaning and sustain the sense of self. Comparing this with the data it will be clear that migrant children need instrumental culture to deal with the migration from their home country to a new society and the differences in culture, norms and values and people. Settling in a new society, making friends and participating in the community contributes to a stronger position within the new country of residence. The expressive culture might have socialized through their family and the community back in their country of origin. It may mean that the values, norms and worldviews of the migrant children deviate from those of the members of the new society. This can lead to a conflict where both the immigrant and the member of the host society have to get use to each other and find a way to live together. The expressive culture corresponds with the processes of acculturation whereby both the newcomer (immigrant) and the local person experience new aspects of culture which they may decide to blend or to reject.

Even though the notion of acculturation has received numerous critiques, it is an analysis that is applicable to the situation of migration and for migrant children. I do not believe in the fixed acculturation strategies, mainly because I believe that migrant will find their own way of adapting to the new society. They can be considered as guidelines to the way immigrants deal with the changes in their lives after migration. Moreover the concept of

acculturation can be used without references to acculturation strategies, whenever there is contact between two cultural groups and the process that comes out of that contact. Albeit, it will make it hard to measure, nevertheless there are some characteristics which can be looked at specifically including language use, consumption, identification and participation in cultural activities.

The field research in South Africa showed a divide between the children who want to keep a connection with their home country and the children do no wish to maintain a tie with their home country which also reflect in their acculturation outcome. Not surprisingly, the acculturation strategy the children choose to implement is strongly connected with their sense of belonging. Even though a sense of belonging is hard to measure, because it is a feeling or an experience, it is again connected with if one wants to keep a connection with their country of origin or rather wants to belong to the country of residence. The research data shows that the acculturation strategy and sense of belonging corresponds with each other in most cases.

The migrant children who were part in this research were; besides dealing with their differences and adapting to the new society, they also were in the middle of personal identity formation. Identity formation in turn is also influenced by the choices they make on the level of acculturation, sense of belonging and cultural style. Generally, it is a common observation agreed upon that the society and other social actors have an effect on how children perceive themselves. Therefore for children it is good to be able to identify with a group of friends, their family or people in their community. And because migrant children do not want to be or feel different, they want to fit in and participate, which can sometimes cause friction between the expectations of the parents and the interest of the child. The data showed that the home situation of the migrant child has an impact on the identity formation.

For example, a 12-year old boy from Zambia does not have a connection with his home country, partly because he does not remember anything but also because he does not speak any of the local languages. Therefore the family looks like an average South African family, which is confusing for him. He expressed: 'I don't know if I have a culture' and later he said: 'I lived in the city, so I don't know what is going on in the village, like with culture and languages'. Clearly he has some ideas about culture, although he can not situate it within himself or within his family. This in turn affects the processes of identity formation, acculturation, the development of a sense of belonging and cultivation of a cultural style, because he feels like he doesn't know anything about his background.

The two categories home and school are also closely linked to the other processes that migrant children go through, however I found these two themes overlapping on other processes. Home is linked to the family, home country, socialization and it has an impact on the identity formation. School on the other hand is linked to friends, sense of belonging (wanting to belong to a group), acculturation and in a sense also identity formation because

children want to identify with a group or other children. There can be a tension between home and school because parents want their children to do well in school, but also be involved in the home situation and fulfill their responsibilities. Besides this, there are numerous parents who would want their children to maintain their cultural identity and stay connected with their home country. However this can be a stimulant or it can be reversed where children can reject their home country and focus on their new country of residence, which can be hard for the parents to deal with.

Hypotheses

I will explore the six hypotheses that I proposed before, during and after my fieldwork in South Africa. Thereby I will give an example of one of the children who part of this research.

- Hypothesis 1: Migrant children who are residing in Rosettenville are struggling on economic, social and adaptation level.

This hypothesis was an expectation held before going to the field. However after the field research among migrant children, the outcome was to reject the hypothesis. This does not mean that none of the children are struggling, because a fair percentage of the children are struggling. However struggles are mainly focused at economic level, which is not always related to the children but more to the parents. On the social and adaptation level, most children are doing well and enjoying their lives as children. Thus there were no numerous social adaptation problems for the children found caused by their migration to South Africa. Most children are not struggling with adapting to the new situation and they are finding a way of dealing with the changes. Nevertheless, there are children who have worries about their lives, their parents' problems and not having enough to eat, although at school, the children try to forget about their problems and can be simply a child. This in the end places the children between scenarios. On the one hand there are children who have to deal with their families who are struggling on several levels and trying to survive, and on the other hand try to enjoying life and handling the numerous social changes in their lives well.

- Hypothesis 2: There is not one particular acculturation strategy for migrant children who are residing in Rosettenville.

This hypothesis turned out to be true because the migrant children from my research all had different acculturation outcomes and chose different paths to acculturate themselves. However, most children chose either integration or assimilation, due to the fact that they attend a school where there were children from other different backgrounds and countries. Attending a school is already a way and means to integration, as the children become more

socially active within the community and get to know some people, the area and the shops better. The issue of acculturation in this research was concerned with finding weather the children wanted to maintain a bond with their country of origin or not. For children who didn't want to maintain their home cultural identity they would choose to assimilate into the new society. Whereas children who want to keep a connection with their home country, choose to integrate, that is, adapting and synthesizes both cultures and societies in their lives. And this turned out to be the most important consideration for migrant children residing in Rosettenville and which is also connected with their focus, sense of belonging and cultural style.

At the extreme, there were some children who seemed to lean towards separation, although it also seemed quite difficult to maintain that, as the children have daily contact with children from other cultural groups at school. However, this Zimbabwean girl Wadzani misses her country so much that she does not want to get involved in South Africa. She does have some friends at school; however she does not participate actively in school or in the community whereby she minimizes the level of integration.

- Hypothesis 3: If children migrated at an early they have adapted well into the South African society and feel more at home in South Africa.

I assumed that when a child would migrate when it is still young, it easily adapts to the new society and therefore feel at home in South Africa. This hypothesis is partly true because most children who migrated at an early age have adapted well, although it does ultimately means that they feel more at home in South Africa compared with their home country. However, a Congolese boy who migrated when he a few months, still feels like a Congolese and knows a lot about his home country, through the information he received from his parents and photos.

One could also assume that a child who migrated at an older age would experience difficulties adapting to the new society because of the connection they have with their country of origin. Most children who migrated at an older age have indeed a stronger bond with their country of origin which affects their acculturation outcome, sense of belonging and cultural style. However, there are examples of children who left their home countries when they were older, and feel no connection with their country and therefore focus on integration in South Africa. For instance, there are two boys from Burundi and both left their country because of the war when they were 6 and 8 years old. Both boys claim they cannot remember a lot from their country and both show no interest in returning back or retaining the connection with their country of origin. This may be caused by the fact that they left their country because of war and their memories about the country are not so positive, which consequently means that they feel safe in South Africa and therefore easily adapt and feel at home.

Interestingly to note is that some children cannot remember a lot from their country of origin, even though they were 5 years old when they migrated. Whereas there are some children who migrated when they were 3 or 4 years old but still remember how the streets and their house look like. The children who have memories about their home country, often feel more connected and feel more 'Congolese' compared with children who do not have memories.

- Hypothesis 4: The reason for migration is of influence affects the sense of belonging among migrant children.

This hypothesis is difficult to answer because there is no straight pattern to find among the migrant children which shows the effect of the reason of migration. However an example of Zimbabwean migrant children shows that the idea behind or the reason for migration makes a big difference. Most Zimbabwean families moved to South African because of the unstable political situation and were often motivated to find a safer place for their children. Therefore, the reason for migration was a short-term solution and perceived as temporarily with the idea of returning back when the situation would have been stabilized. This affected the way both the parents and the migrant child acculturated into the South African society, because they did not want to get integrated in the society because they already knew they would return back eventually. The five Zimbabwean children from the research would want to move back to Zimbabwe when the situation has stabilized. Even though there are a few within that group that have adapted to the South African way of living and like that as well, which can make it hard for them to move back.

Another example is about children who fled their countries because of war and negative experiences which in turn affect the way identification with their new situation. Within acculturation studies there has been a model that assumes that there is a linear process where immigrant would relinquish the identification with their home country and they would move toward identification with the host culture by adapting norms, values and behaviors (van Oudenhoven et al. 2006: 640). This example may imply for children who fled from war as they no longer want to be identified with their country of origin and therefore identify with the host country instead. Identifying with the host country means developing a feel at home in your new country and letting go of the connection with one's country of origin. An example from the research is Kabuya, 14-year old boy from DRC who does not know the reason why they migrated and it looks like he does not care about his home country. He explained that he does not want people to see him as a Congolese, he just want to be South African because he feels at home in South Africa. This example showed that Kabuya identified with his host country quickly and relinquished his connection with DRC completely and this affected his sense of belonging.

- Hypothesis 5: Children from a middle-income class don't experience discrimination.

This hypothesis comes out the question I posed in the first interview which is if the children feel treated as foreigners. This implies when someone feels treated as a foreigner by official institutions, on school or by people in the neighborhood who express their feelings towards migrants. The children who feel treated as foreigners and discriminated are all children from a low economic class. However, there are children from both lower and middle income class who do not feel treated as foreigners. Therefore this hypothesis needs to be rejected, because discrimination or treated as foreigners is not based on class, but on the experience of the children itself. Some children who explained they felt treated as foreigners, pick up small expressions by people and perceive it as discrimination, although another child would not feel the same.

An example is Danny a boy from DRC who is clever and doing well in school, therefore he is preferred by some of his teachers. However he explained that some teachers in grade 5 said bad things about Congolese people including that they could not be trusted because they would put poison in their food. Danny's best friend Kikudi has always been in the same class and has also be preferred by teachers, but he never felt this way about teachers who talk badly about Congolese people. Several researches show that discrimination or bullying have negative effects on the way migrant children adapt to their host society. Due to discrimination Danny is struggling to integrate in the South African society, whilst Kikudi, who does not experience discrimination has adapted well into his new society.

Conclusion

This thesis explored the experiences of migrant children in terms of migration, acculturation, sense of belonging and adapting to their new life in South Africa. The two themes, school and home, came out of the data as the overarching themes which includes all the experiences that migrant children encounter. The data showed that the two themes are connected with the acculturation outcome, sense of belonging and cultural style. That pattern can be divided in two categories and one subcategory.

Those categories are based on the way they acculturate, their sense of belonging, the cultural style they have cultivated and the most important factor was if the children wanted to keep a connection with their home country. The first category are children who have a strong bond with their country of origin, therefore their sense of belonging is towards their home country and their acculturation strategy is integration, because they want to integrate, but not loose their own culture. The cultural style that these children have cultivated is the localist style, especially because of their interest in their home country or community. The second category are children who do no wish to maintain their cultural identity which is linked with their home country, therefore they have assimilated into the South African society and their sense of belonging is towards South Africa. The cultural style of these children is in most cases the cosmopolitan style because they show an interest in the foreign. The last category includes children who have not figured out either their cultural style or sense of belonging yet, which in most cases mean that they show two different things at home and at school. Therefore the observation of this category is not enough to determine their choice.

The notion of cultural style by Ferguson (1999) is used to divide the migrant children in terms of their behavior, dressing and interests. The migrant children could either cultivate the localist or the cosmopolitan style in their social performance. The choice of either one or the other cultural styles is in this case based on how much they keep a strong connection with their home and family and on the other hand how much interest they have with the outside world, including things like TV, music, dressing. This divided also explains the different acculturation outcome and the development of a sense of belonging is also strongly connected to the choice of a cultural style.

The acculturation outcomes of the migrant children who reside in Rosettenville were closely linked with the relationship the children had with their country of origin. If children would want to retain a connection with their country of origin, they would choose integration as an acculturation strategy. However for children who do not wish to stay connected with their country of origin; they rather choose assimilation and thereby focus on their adaptation in the South African society. The strategy marginalization was not adopted by one of the

migrant children, however some children would want to adopt the separation strategy, though it impossible because of the contact with children on school.

The development of a sense of belonging for migrant children is not as simply as a connection with their home country. This is also due to the fact that it might be different on school and at home. Because on school, children want to belong to a certain group of friends, and that might not be connected with either belonging to their country of origin or their new host country. However, it is interesting to note that most children who lived in their home countries for a longer period (up to 6 years) expressed that they do not feel at home in South Africa and thereby imply that they belong to their country of origin. Subsequently, children who can not remember their home country or have bad memories about it, they easily feel home in South Africa and feel like they belong in South Africa because they made it their own.

There are factors that are of influence on the processes described above. Both family and friends play a significant role in those processes, because the children want to identify with both even though the perceptions of the family and friends can be contradicting. The family plays a role in the transmission of cultural socialization and keeping a connection with their country of origin through stories, photos and information. Besides the transmission, the family is also the safety net of the migrant children when it comes to guidance through the processes they experience. The friends of migrant children are of importance because through friends the migrant children get to experience new ways of life. The friends can also exercise peer pressure which in turn affects the way the migrant children go through processes of acculturation and sense of belonging. The age when the children migrated to South Africa has shown to be of influence on the processes that migrant children experience. Some children migrated from their country of origin at an early age; however some children left their countries behind when they were older than 6 years old. This affects the way they adapt to their new society, because for some children it may mean that South Africa is all they know however for other children they can compare their home countries to South Africa and therefore feel hesitant to adapt into that society. The data shows that children who migrated at an early age have adapted well into the host society, however this does not imply that these children do not feel connected with their home country. The children who migrated at an older age can be divided in two groups; the ones that do not want to keep a connection with their country of origin and focus mainly on South Africa. And the second ground includes children who feel a strong bond with their home country and therefore choose to integrate into the new society, but only up to a certain level.

Factors that have negative influence on the processes among migrant children are discrimination and social economic status. The migrant children need to feel accepted into the host society to feel they can adapt to it and choose an acculturation strategy, however when

they feel discriminated or bullied because of varying reasons, the processes are negatively affected and mostly mean that children are resisted against South Africa. All children have positive aspirations and dreams for the future, which shows they feel free to dream further.

The research showed that the migration has not been experienced as negatively by the children itself, only the difficulties that some families are facing which are bound to money, work and the right papers are causing problems. Most children are actually doing well in the sense of adapting to their life in South Africa and finding their way in school and friends. There are still some children who are in transition, may it either be in sense of belonging or the cultural style. However all children show signs of leaning towards either an acculturation strategy, sense of belonging and cultural style. I believe more research needs to be conducted around this topic and especially among migrant children. Migrant children show interesting processes that can give insights in cultural socialization, acculturation processes and the development of sense of belonging.

To conclude, the relationship the children have with their country of origin will be of great influence on the lives of migrant children. Even though if they do not wish to maintain a relationship with their home country. However, it shows that the migrant children have an agency to be able to choose whether they want to keep their cultural identity or to be able to create a new identity, which is made possible through migration.

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Appendix 1 - Scanning list

Appearance
- Clothes

  old/new, tear up, extra's/missing things on uniform
- Shoes

  What kind of shoes, new/old/broken
- Jackets and warm attributes (in winter)
- Hats

  How do they wear it, backwards, skew
- Hairstyle

  Do they change a lot/different types of styles
- Bags

  How do they wear the bags – high/low - prints
- Jewelry
- Extra's

Classroom
- Where do they sit?
- Who is sitting next to his/her
- Special sitting space in classroom?
- What kind of behavior – Silent, present, annoying, bullying, attentive, smart, not paying attention, not listening, busy with other children
- How do they react on teachers?
- What do teachers say about the children – any specific ideas

Friends
- Specific group of friends
- With who are they during the break or after school?
- Playing – what kind of plays or interaction
- Friends from specific country of origin – mixed, separated, preserved

  Do they look the same/similarities/differences?
- Friends of different ages/gender
- Behavior among friends

Language

o   What languages do they speak?

o   What is the most common language at home and at school?

o   What language do they speak with their peers?

o   What language is spoken in their favorite music?

Family

o   Do they walk home – alone/friends/siblings or are they picked up by the car?

o   Do they interact/play with siblings/family members

o   How is the sphere in the house?

o   Differences/similarities between family members

o   Who takes care of what? Who is home when?

House

o   What is hanging on the wall

   - Pictures

   - Art

   - Map of country

   - Degrees

   - Decorations

o   Type of service/china

o   Type of pots

o   Types of furniture (big couches, decorations on couches, decorations)

o   Where is the TV situated (does it have boxes, music installments)

o   What else is visible in the house (suitcases, bags, sacks)

o   How many rooms are in the house?

o   How many rooms are for sleeping – and shared with how many people

o   Do people have heaters/heating?

o   What type of music is listened to or is there any sign of music?

o   Is there a computer? What kind of – desktop/laptop

Appendix 2 – General overview of the child

Name: ……………………………..

Gender: Boy   Girl

Age: 10   11   12   13   14
Birthday:

Grade: 6   7

Country of Birth: Zimbabwe   Congo (DRC)   Zambia Mozambique   Burundi
            Rwanda   Tanzania

Place of birth:

Languages: English   Shona   Ndebele   French   Swahili   Lingala

Living with: Siblings: 1   2   3   4   5
                  Parents: Mother + Father   Mother   Father
                  Family members: Aunt   Uncle   Grandmother/father Cousin

What kind of house:

Migrated in what year:

Duration in Johannesburg:

Behavior aspects/ personality:

Hobbies:

Friends:

Extras:

Appendix 3 – Interview questions

Name:
Age:
Country of origin:
Move to SA:

Do you remember anything from you trip from …. To South Africa?

When you first came here, did you already speak English?

Can you remember how that felt, that you didn't understand the people and they could not understand you?

How and where did you learn English? Did it took long for your to learn English?

Are you sometimes still struggling with English, or does it feel natural now?

Do you speak English at home? Can your parents speak English?

What is the most common language that you speak with your friends? And the second language?

Do you speak any South African languages?

What do you think of this community/area?

Do you know a lot of people in the community?

Do you feel safe where you live?

Are you allowed to walk alone during the day? And in the evening?

Do you walk to school? Alone or with who?

Friends

Do you have friends who are also coming from… ?

Do you think it is better if your friend is from the same country? Do you understand each other better?

Do you spend time with your friends outside school? What do you like doing with your friends?

Do you see any differences between yourself and South African children?

How do other children on school treat you? Is that because you are not from South Africa?

Do you feel accepted at school?

After school do you go home immediately or you stay at school after school?

What do you when you come home?

Do you have specific tasks in the house?

When did you start helping in the house with chores?

What do you like to do when you are at home?

What kinds of things do you watch on tv?

Do you like listening to music? What kind of music?

Are you fan of a specific artist or group?

Do you like African music? Mostly from South Africa of your country of origin?

Do you have a computer? What do you do on the computer?

Who taught you how to use the computer?

Do you play with your siblings of with friends?

Do you spend a lot of time with your family? What do you do together?

What food do you prefer to eat?

Do you eat any specific from Congo/Zambia/Zimbabwe …?

Do you miss traditional food from your country of origin?

What is preferred: pap/rice/pasta/ potatoes/cassava?

Do you know how to cook? Do you help with the cooking or preparing food?

At home, do you talk about your country of origin? Would you like to k now more about it?

Do your parents tell your stories about your home country?

What do you think is the biggest difference between your country of origin and South Africa?

Would you want to go back to your country of origin? And for what purpose? Work or permanently?

Do you miss your country?

Do you sometimes feel as a foreigner here in South Africa?

What do you think of South Africans?

Do people treat you differently if they know you are from… ?

Appendix 4 – Letter to parents

Dear Parents/guardians of grade 6 & 7 learners,

My name is Debbie Lansbergen and I'm a student from the Netherlands, Europe. I'm doing a research on Rosettenville Central Primary school with children from grade 6 and 7. The research is about daily live experiences of immigrant children in Johannesburg. These experiences can be related to their school, friends, families, languages and the country of origin.

I would love to visit your home once during the research, so that the children are able to show me how they live. This means that after school I will walk with your child to your house, where he or she can show me around. During that time I will also ask some questions to your child about his or her experiences.

If your child is in grade 6, I would love to visit during these weeks:

1.   21 May – 25 May
2.   28 May – 1 June
3.   4 June – 8 June

If your child is in grade 7, I would love to visit during these weeks:

1.   4 June – 8 June
2.   11 June – 15 June
3.   18 June – 22 June

Yours sincerely,

Debbie Lansbergen
(0768496490)