



UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA  
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA  
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA

EDUCATION AND SOCIO-CULTURAL CHALLENGES OF IMMIGRANT  
STUDENTS IN A SOUTH AFRICAN SCHOOL

By

ADEBANJI CHARLES ADEDAYO

Submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of  
Master of Education in Curriculum and Instructional Design and Development

In the Faculty of Education

UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA

SUPERVISOR: PROF S VANDERYAR

AUGUST 2010

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many people contributed to the successful completion of this study. I would like to extend my heartfelt appreciation and thanks to:

- My heavenly father, the creator of the Heavens and the Earth, for the grace and strength to conduct this research.
- My supervisor, Professor Saloshna Vandeyar for her dedication, patience, encouragement and hard work in responding to my work promptly. Thank you for believing in my ability to do this work. Your encouragement during the PGCHE year paved way for my interest in this field. Your encouragement during the first contact session of the “Assessment in Practice Module” has become invaluable. How powerful could encouraging words be from a good mentor!
- The respondents, without your interest in this work, this research would not have been possible. Thank you for sharing the deep thoughts of your hearts with me, and other people who may benefit from this study.
- My darling wife, Opeyemi Temilola. Thank you for always being there, even when things were not going in the right way. Your encouraging words and understanding kept me going through this rigorous exercise. God bless you.
- My children, Oluwatomisin and Ifeoluwa, for your understanding when I could not focus on your urgent needs as a result of the rigours of this study.
- My friend, Kola Elufisan, who was there during the second round of data capture. Thank you for walking this rigorous road with me.
- Tosin Badeniya, your constant encouragement is well appreciated.

## **DEDICATION**

I would like to dedicate this thesis to God almighty, the maker of the Heavens and the Earth, who has allowed me to enter into the path of my fulfillment after several years of diversion into business. Thank you Lord.



## ACRONYMS

CCT	Culture Centred Theory
CEM	Cultural Ecological Model
CET	Cultural Ecological Theory
CRT	Critical Race Theory
DoE	Department of Education
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
FSU	Former Soviet Union
LOLT	Language of Learning and Teaching
PSS	Pacesetter Secondary School
SA	South Africa
SANPAD	South Africa-Netherlands Research Programme on Alternatives in Development
SGB	School Governing Body
U.S.A	United States of America

## ABSTRACT

This research set out to explore the educational and socio-cultural experiences of DRC immigrant students in South African schools. Utilising a qualitative case study approach, the study attempted to provide a glimpse of the lived experiences of DRC immigrant students inside South African schools by exploring the following aspects: (1) academic performance, (2) schooling experiences, (3) linguistic disposition, (4) acculturation experiences and (5) how the students constructed their identities within South African society. The theoretical framework applied to this study was threefold in nature, namely Cultural Ecological Theory, Culture-Centred Theory and Critical Race Theory. The Major findings emanating from this study were: First, Cultural Ecological Theory could not explain the low academic performance of DRC immigrant students. Second, DRC immigrant students experienced acts of prejudice, isolation, linguistic adjustment incapability and xenophobic attacks. Third, acts of racism were prevalent at the school because teachers who taught them brought in African languages to explain lessons in class to indigenous students at their expense. Fourth, they were confronted by disrespectful modes of behaviour emanating from indigenous students to teachers. Fifth, the opportunity they had at the school, in terms of having access to education without being able to pay tuition fees, likely became their source of low academic achievement. The school had rapid turnover of teachers because the school governing body could not afford to pay additional teachers. Sixth, the students were exposed to uncommon modes of behaviour originating from indigenous students, in terms of gambling and smoking at the school. Seventh, they were exposed to display of weapons by indigenous students. Eighth, the incorporation of culture into their academic work at school seemed to enhance their focus on learning. Ninth, they could not commence acculturation and identity negotiation in mainstream culture.

### Key Terms

- Academic performance
- Acculturation
- Acculturative stress
- Discrimination
- Educational experience
- Identity

- Immigrant
- Racism
- Schooling experiences
- Socio-cultural experiences

**UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA**

**DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY**

**This document must be signed and submitted with every  
essay, report, project, assignment, dissertation and/or thesis.**

Full names of student: **ADEBANJI CHARLES ADEDAYO**

Student number: **26358647**

**Declaration**

1. I understand what plagiarism is and am aware of the university's policy in this regard.
2. I declare that this **thesis** (e.g. essay, report, project, assignment, dissertation, thesis etc.) is my own original work. Where other people's work has been used (either from a printed source, internet or any other source), this has been properly acknowledged and referenced in accordance with departmental requirements.
3. I have not used work previously produced by another student or any other person to hand in as my own.
4. I have not allowed, and will not allow, anyone to copy my work with the intention of passing it off as his or her own work.

**SIGNATURE OF STUDENT**.....

**SIGNATURE OF SUPERVISOR**.....

## ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF LANGUAGE EDITING

Monday, August 30, 2010

This is to certify that I have language edited the following master's dissertation to academic standards:

**TITLE:** Educational and socio-cultural challenges of immigrant students in a South African school

Andrew Graham, BA, MA, PhD; University of Keele

011 475 6724

073 469 5014

happy4andrew@hotmail.com





## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements.....	i
Dedication.....	ii
Acronyms.....	iii
Abstract.....	iv
Key Terms.....	iv
Declaration of originality.....	vi
Acknowledgement of language editing.....	vii
Table of contents.....	viii

### **Chapter One: Introduction**

1.1	Introduction .....	1
1.2	Background context .....	3
1.3	Comprehensive overview, scope and interrelatedness of the broader project and the current study .....	5
1.4	Statement of the problem .....	7
1.5	Rationale.....	7
1.6	Research questions .....	8
1.7	Research strategy .....	9
	1.7.1 Research sample.....	9
	1.7.2 Research methods.....	12
	1.7.3 Data analysis.....	12
	1.7.4 Quality criteria of the research.....	12
	1.7.5 Ethical consideration of the research.....	13
1.8	Outline of chapters.....	15
1.9	Conclusions .....	16

### **Chapter Two: Literature Review**

2.1	Introduction .....	17
2.2	An overview of educational and socio-cultural experiences of immigrant students: National and International perspectives .....	17

2.2.1	Setting the scene: General immigrant issues .....	19
2.2.1.1	The importance of language acquisition among immigrant students.....	20
2.2.1.2	Challenges confronting immigrants in the host society.....	25
2.2.1.3	Cultural influences on immigrant students' experiences .....	26
2.3	Educational experiences of immigrant students.....	28
2.3.1	Academic performance of voluntary and involuntary immigrant students.....	29
2.3.2	Schooling experiences of immigrant students.....	36
2.3.3	Dominant forces impacting immigrant students' schooling experience.....	38
2.4	Socio-cultural experiences of immigrants.....	42
2.4.1	Acculturation of immigrant students to the host country.....	42
2.4.2	Identity formation among immigrant students.....	46
2.4.3	A simple measure of acculturation and identity .....	50
2.5	Summary of findings in the chapter .....	51

### **Chapter Three: The Scaffolds of the Study**

3.1	Introduction.....	55
3.2	Cultural Ecological Theory (CET).....	56
3.2.1	Basic tenets of CET.....	56
3.2.2	Criticisms of CET.....	58
3.3	Culture Centred Theory (CCT).....	60
3.3.1	Basic tenets of CCT.....	61
3.3.2	Criticisms of CCT.....	63
3.4	Critical Race theory (CRT).....	64
3.4.1	Basic tenets of CRT.....	65
3.4.2	Criticisms of CRT.....	66
3.5	Conclusions.....	67

### **Chapter Four: The Navigation**

4.1	Introduction.....	69
4.2	Paradigmatic suppositions.....	69
4.2.1	Meta-theoretical paradigms: Constructivism and Interpretivism.....	70
4.3	Methodological models.....	72



4.3.1	Research method.....	72
4.3.2	Qualitative research.....	77
4.3.3	Reflexivity in qualitative investigation .....	74
4.4	Research design.....	74
4.4.1	Narrative inquiry.....	75
4.4.2	Case study design.....	75
4.4.3	Justification for the use of the case study design.....	76
4.4.4	Limitations of the case study approach.....	77
4.5	Selection of participants.....	78
4.5.1	Selection and description of the research site.....	78
4.5.2	Sampling.....	78
4.5.3	Purposive sampling.....	78
4.6	Data collection.....	79
4.6.1	Semi-structured Interviews.....	79
4.6.2	Observation.....	81
4.6.3	Focus group interviews.....	82
4.6.4	Field notes.....	83
4.7	Data analysis and interpretation.....	83
4.8	Quality criteria of the research.....	84
4.8.1	Trustworthiness.....	85
4.8.2	Credibility.....	85
4.8.3	Transferability.....	85
4.8.4	Dependability.....	86
4.8.5	Confirmability.....	86
4.9	Ethical considerations of the research.....	87
4.10	Credibility of the researcher .....	88
4.11	Conclusions.....	88
 <b>Chapter Five: Discoveries of the Study</b>		
5.1	Introduction.....	90
5.2	Anita: I know everything happens by God's will.....	90

5.3	James: The only thing that I know is to study.....	94
5.4	Josephine: My favourite subject is Arts and Life Orientation.....	96
5.5	Manuel: When they're teaching us something, they don't really explain .....	99
5.6	Anthony: We were paying money to soldiers to escape.....	101
5.7	Gregory: I'm not coping at school.....	104
5.8	Summary of findings and conclusions.....	105

## **Chapter Six: The Dialogue**

6.1	Introduction .....	108
6.2	Educational experiences of DRC immigrant students at the school.....	108
6.2.1	Academic performance of DRC immigrant students.....	108
6.2.2	Schooling experiences of DRC immigrant students.....	115
6.3	Socio-cultural experiences of DRC immigrant students .....	126
6.3.1	Consequences of language proficiency among DRC immigrant students.....	126
6.3.2	The acculturation experiences of DRC immigrant students at the school.....	129
6.3.3	DRC immigrant students' identity construction .....	133
6.4	Summary of discussions on findings.....	134
6.5	Conclusions.....	137

## **Chapter Seven: The Destination**

7.1	Introduction.....	138
7.2	Summary of emerging themes and conclusions from the study.....	138
7.3	Limitations of the study.....	141
7.4	Contributions of the study.....	142
7.4.1	Significance of the study.....	142
7.4.2	Generation of new knowledge.....	143
7.5	Recommendations for further research.....	143
7.6	Conclusions.....	143
	References.....	145



## LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1	An outline of the research strategy process.....	9
Table 4.1	An outline of the research strategy process .....	69

## LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix A	Consent letter to the school principal
Appendix B	Consent letter to parents/guardians
Appendix C	Consent letter to SGB
Appendix D	Consent letter to learner (under age 18)
Appendix E	Consent letter to DoE
Appendix F	Consent letter to teachers
Appendix FLDNT1	Example of field note taken during research observation in March 2010
Appendix SECDRC	Interview protocol for the second round of interviews for DRC immigrant students Ethics Clearance Certificate

## LIST OF APPENDICES STORED INSIDE CD

Appendix J (FGITWP)	Focus group interview transcript with parents.
Appendix L (ITA)	Interview transcript of Anthony.
Appendix M (ITAN)	Interview transcript of Anita.
Appendix N (ITJ)	Interview transcript of James.
Appendix O (ITM)	Interview transcript of Manuel.
Appendix P (ITG)	Interview transcript of Gregory.
Appendix Q (ITJS)	Interview transcript of Josephine.
Appendix R (ITMRSA)	Interview transcript of Mrs. Annertoria.
Appendix S (ITMRSBR)	Interview transcript of Mrs. Bradford.
Appendix T (ITMRKGM)	Interview transcript of Mrs. Kgomotso.
Appendix U (ITMRMHLG)	Interview transcript of Mr. Mahlangu.

## CHAPTER ONE

### THE CONTEMPLATION OF A CRUISE

#### 1.1 Introduction

The termination of apartheid rule and the penalty for disregarding the principles attached to fundamental human rights led to the flexibility which now exists along the previously reinforced borders of South Africa (Klotz, 1997, 2000). With the advent of democracy, this border suppleness spans from “geographical” to a “symbolic sense of access to political power” (Klotz, 2000:831). As a result, there has been an influx of diverse groups of people, commodities and various initiatives into South Africa, especially from the Southern African Development Community (SADC) (Klotz, 2000). South Africa now represents a land of opportunity for many Black immigrants.

Consequently, there has been an increase in the number of Black immigrant students who attend South African schools, often arriving in, and sometimes with one or both parents. At times, parents of immigrant students return to their home country after leaving their children in South Africa (Crush & McDonald, 2000; Klotz, 2000; Minnaar et al., 1995; Sookrajh et al., 2005). For example, immigrants from war-torn countries such as the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) are among the prominent immigrant groups that enter South Africa due to the war, and because they are in search of better living conditions to make them eligible for upward “class mobility” (Cole & Omari, 2003; LaDousa, 2006; Marger, 2001; Sookrajh et al., 2005). Those entering the host society as a result of intervention from a foreign agency or from personal efforts to escape war in their home country are referred to as ‘involuntary immigrant groups’ (Ogbu & Simons, 1998). Others who enter the host country on their own with a view to improving their socio-economic well-being are referred to as ‘voluntary immigrant groups’ (Ogbu & Simons, 1998).

When immigrants come to a host society they bring their culture (Fischer, 2004) and language (Soto, 1997; Wang & Phillion, 2007), which invariably subjects them to negotiating their culture and language with those of the host country or to rejecting them, depending on their experiences in the host society (Oetting & Beauvais, 1990). This study concentrates on exploring the educational and socio-cultural experiences of DRC immigrant students in South



Africa, in a public school that is known to have a high intake of Black immigrant students. An assumption behind the study was based on the notion that there was likely to be some form of negotiation in terms of cultural and language differences at the school (Chow, 2000, 2001; Eyou et al., 2000; Soto, 1997; Wang & Phillion, 2007; Yeh et al., 2008); because the DRC immigrant students come from a Francophone (French speaking) country and so may impact on their educational and socio-cultural experiences in the host society. Similarly, due to the link between language and culture, and language being a cultural connector (Yeh et al., 2008), the encounter between the DRC and South African cultures may produce certain important effects that need to be explored.

Furthermore, because language differences exist between the DRC immigrant students and their South African peers, there may be differences in their “academic performances and schooling experiences (Chow, 2006). In essence, when the latter and former are explored, it is an indication that their educational experiences are being investigated (Chow, 2006; Grobler et al., 2006). Academic performance is a measure of their academic potential, while “schooling experiences” centre on prejudice, discrimination (either by teachers or their peers at the school), xenophobic attacks, self-confidence, level of academic commitment and isolation (Chow, 2006; Yeh et al., 2008).

Socio-cultural experiences (Chow, 2006) involve challenges in the areas of assimilation to the host society (also referred to as acculturation) (Piedra & Engstrom, 2009), linguistic adjustments (also referred to as “language use”) (Chow, 2006; Wang & Phillion, 2007), and identity construction (how they identify themselves in the host society) (Chow, 2006). There is limited research into Black immigrant studies in South Africa (Lucas, 1997; Sookrajh et al., 2005), with more common refugee studies focusing on inclusion and exclusion (Minnar et al., 1995; Sayed, 2002; Sookrajh et al., 2005), post-apartheid migration (Klotz, 2000), investigation of new African immigrant relocation to the region of Durban (Maharaj & Moodley, 2000), cross-border issues and transnationalism (Peberdy & Rogerson, 2000), and immigration and policy issues (Reitzes, 1997). Researchers, who have worked on immigrant students’ experiences have done so outside of the South African terrain (e.g., Awokoya & Clark, 2008; Wallitt, 2008; Waters, 1999; Yeh et al., 2008). Much still needs to be known about Black immigrant students’ educational and socio-cultural experiences in South African schools in post-apartheid South Africa.

This research is part of a broader research project which began in 2008 entitled: Immigrant student identities within South African schools, with data ‘mined’ from a broader research project on immigrant student identities within South African schools, seen through the lens of educational and socio-cultural experiences of immigrant students in South African schools. Although the data obtained from the broader project on immigrant students’ identities in South African schools surpassed issues pertaining to identities alone, extending to inquiring about their demographic factors, “schooling experiences”, language adjustment and “acculturation” (Chow, 2006; Grobler et al., 2006); additional data capture was undertaken to supplement the captured data with a view to directly addressing the educational and socio-cultural experiences of DRC immigrant students. A more comprehensive detail of the scope and the interrelatedness of the broader project on immigrant students’ identities in South African schools and this study are discussed in section 1.3. The aim of following this route was to better understand the educational and socio-cultural experiences of DRC immigrant students in South African schools, because of a paucity in research in South Africa on this discourse.

## **1.2 Background context**

The change from apartheid education to an educational system that is free from the ills of the past was one of the confrontations of the new democratically elected government of South Africa. The democratic government inherited a sectionalized, ethnically divergent and extremely disparate educational structure from the White minority government that had dominated the country (Enslin, 1990; Grobler et al., 2006; Harley et al., 2000; Parkyn, 1994). Unfortunately, the effects of the inequalities of the past still play vital roles in the quality of education in South African schools (Sayed, 2002). The phenomenon of Black immigration into South Africa had always existed before 1994, but not as numerous as in the years following the end of apartheid (Klotz, 1997, 2000). The educational sector in South Africa has been under intense controversy, even before the advent of democracy. There had been conflicts between the White ruling minority and Black majority groups (Klotz, 2000; Sayed, 2002; Sayed et al., 2003). Grobler et al. (2006:450) attest to this phenomenon by arguing that “the South African education system has historically been characterized by racial division”. Between 1994 and 2008 the South African education system changed fundamentally. The introduction of the South African Schools Act of 1996 (SASA) witnessed the gradual diminishing of the detrimental consequences of apartheid education, reversing the previously used curriculum for Black South African children, which was aimed at preventing them from

gaining upward “class mobility” during apartheid (Cole & Omari, 2003). After some time a new development, ‘curriculum 2005’ was initiated, later amended to promote free and fair education. However, the legacy of apartheid continued to affect the South African educational structure (Kallaway et al., 1997; Peck, 2002; Schoole, 2005).

After years of segregation in South Africa, the available resources for education remained disparate between Black and White schools. White learners still enjoy better educational facilities than Black learners, and schools attended by Black children are usually not well funded, nor generally allocated qualified teachers. In many of the public schools in South Africa, Black children attend Black schools and White children attend White schools (Sekete et al., 2001; Yamauchi, 2004).

To further compound the injustices, some Black South Africans discriminate against Blacks from other African countries (Masuku, 2006; Nyamnjoh, 2006). During apartheid, many of the African leaders in South Africa fled to nearby African countries for refuge. At times immigrants were harassed verbally to return to their country (Masuku, 2006; Neocosmos, 2006). Occasionally, they were ignored as if they are non-existent (Sayed et al., 2003). This phenomenon suggests that discrimination is not mainly an issue of colour (Qin et al., 2008; Sayed, 2002; Sayed et al., 2003; Yeh et al., 2008).

The discrimination against Black immigrants occurs in the form of xenophobic attacks (Doodson, 2002). Xenophobic attacks originate from the rural areas of South Africa, and gradually spread to the cities (Danson & McDonald, 2000). Consequently, in May 2008, xenophobic attacks reached the peak because Black South African indigenes began to perceive immigrants from other Black African countries as competitors for the available jobs and resources in South Africa (Stemmett, 2008).

The “Human Rights Watch” has documented physical assaults on Black immigrants as well as the looting of their possessions. It has also accused the South African government authorities of victimizing immigrants (Human Rights Watch, 1998). Immigrants were harassed verbally to return to their country, and “in some cases, verbal abuse led to physical attacks” (Human Rights Watch, 1998:3). This indicated a certain sensitivity of indigenous South Africans towards Black immigrants (Neocosmos, 2006; Nyamnjoh, 2006; Sichone, 2008). This opinion of disgust, harboured by indigenous South Africans however elicits the

need to investigate how Black immigrant students react and conduct themselves in their different schools in response to the prevailing socio-cultural forces within South Africa.

Many immigrants were displaced, some killed and a number ousted by physically and verbally imploring them to go back to their countries of origin. There has been intense competition between South Africans and immigrants (Maharaj, 2004). This suggests the level of intolerance and insubordination that is ingrained among South Africans (Masuku, 2006). Discrimination against Black immigrants has been a serious issue in South Africa, despite the abolition of apartheid rule since 1994 (Minnaar et al., 1995; Neocosmos, 2006; Nyamnjob, 2006; Reitzes, 1994; Sichone, 2008). Consequently, this study aims to investigate the effects of these vices on the educational and socio-cultural experiences of DRC immigrant students in South African schools. Section 1.3 gives an overview of the scope and interrelatedness of the broader study on how Black immigrant students negotiate their identities in South African schools and this current study.

### **1.3 Comprehensive overview, scope and interrelatedness of the broader project and the current study**

As mentioned in the introduction of this study, the purpose of this study was to investigate the educational and socio-cultural experiences of Black immigrant students in South African schools. This research has arisen out of a broader research project<sup>1</sup> on how Black immigrant students construct their identities in South African schools which began in 2008. The team leader of this broader project is Professor Saloshna Vandeyar, and there were five team members. The broader project on how Black immigrant students construct their identities in South African schools concentrated on three schools, one of which was chosen as the research site to conduct this study. This school had a high intake of Black immigrant students, the majority of whom were from the DRC. Convenience sampling was thus used. Data was mined<sup>2</sup> from the broader research project for this research, through the lens of educational and socio-cultural experiences of immigrant students in South African schools.

---

<sup>1</sup> Data for the broader project on the first round of interviews conducted in 2008 has been kept in the Department of Humanities, University of Pretoria with the project leader, Professor S Vandeyar. Those included in this thesis have been included with permission from Prof. S Vandeyar.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix L (ITA), Appendix M (ITAN), Appendix N (ITJ), Appendix O (ITM), Appendix P (ITG), Appendix Q (ITJS), Appendix R (ITMRSA), Appendix S (ITMRSBR), Appendix T (ITMRKGM) and Appendix U (ITMRMHLG) for the mined data on CD.

The research focused on the experiences of DRC immigrant students in South African schools. Since I was one of the five members involved in the data capture of the broader project, one of the factors that also stimulated my interest to conduct this study was that I am not from the DRC. I am an immigrant student from Nigeria; hence issues bordering on subjectivity will not affect the reflexive stance of this study.

The captured data on the broader immigrant students' identities project was used as a springboard to further probe the educational and socio-cultural experiences of DRC immigrant students. Open-ended questions that were asked during the data capture on the broader immigrant student identities project cut across issues pertaining to the identities (Vandeyar, 2008) of the Black immigrants into their family background, home country experiences, their perception with respect to South Africa, their experiences when they initially came to South Africa, their "status frame of reference" (Ogbu & Simons, 1998), language use, acculturation, and schooling experiences (Chow, 2006). Hence, the intention was to go back to capture more data if necessary<sup>3</sup>, that would be useful for the current study on the educational and socio-cultural experiences of DRC immigrant students to elucidate issues that needed further understanding.

Consequently, limited secondary data capture<sup>4</sup> was conducted in March 2010, and transcribed and analysed in April 2010. The DRC immigrant students were observed during normal class lessons, while changing classes, during break, and while they were interacting with their peers within the school premises as well as while they were going home after school hours. The intention was to collect data from teachers and the parents of DRC immigrant students at this school, and through focus group interviews to provide an amiable forum for interaction among the teachers as well as to organize an individual interview with the school principal. This was attempted to triangulate data in the research field in order to meet the requirements of validation, credibility, and trustworthiness of the study (Golafshani, 2003; Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2007; Winter, 2003).

---

<sup>3</sup> The additional data capture was not as informative as the data capture during the broader project because much had been revealed from the broader study by the DRC immigrant students. Subsequent data capture on DRC immigrant students seemed repetitive, establishing the validity of data initially collected in 2008.

<sup>4</sup> See Appendix J (FGITWP) for interview transcript for DRC parents conducted in March/April 2010 on the CD, Appendix FLDNT1 and Appendix SECDRC in the Appendix section of this thesis.

All the observation schedules were recorded<sup>5</sup> in video tapes for subsequent analysis, so as to afford repeated opportunity of referring to the data, to gain adequate understanding of the experiences of the DRC immigrant students under study at this school. The video recording gives opportunity for step-by-step analysis of the behaviour of DRC immigrant students under study. This study is important because it is capable of providing explanation of the educational and socio-cultural challenges confronting immigrant students in a typical South African schooling context.

#### **1.4 Statement of the problem**

This study sought to explore the educational and socio-cultural experiences of DRC immigrant students in South African schools. The advent of democracy in South Africa witnessed the influx of immigrants, especially from the SADC countries in the hope of a better future. Many of these immigrants now see South Africa as ‘the land of opportunities’ (Klotz, 1997, 2000). Consequently, there has been an influx of immigrant students into South African public schools. DRC immigrant student enter the South African public schooling system with little or no language proficiency in English. They lack proficiency in any of the indigenous Black languages, they are fluent in French. Some of these students come from war-torn countries and their journey into South Africa has been a traumatic one. What are their experiences within social context of South African schools? What are some of the opportunities and challenges that they encounter in South African public schools? How do they experience schooling in South Africa?

#### **1.5 Rationale**

The quest to conduct this study began during the data capture sessions of the broader immigrant students’ identity study where many DRC immigrant students were interviewed and reasons why they were so many at this research site was sought. It was also found that one of the DRC immigrant students at the study site was on the Representative Council of Learners (RCL), a notable position of leadership among distinguished students; out of all the different groups of immigrants from different Black African countries and South African students in that school. The interview conducted on this DRC immigrant student was rich in information which further stimulated an intense desire to conduct a case study on DRC immigrants within that particular schooling context.

---

<sup>5</sup> Observation data obtained during the broader project, using video recorder has been kept in the Department of Humanities, Faculty of Education, University of Pretoria with Prof. S. Vandeyar.

Secondly, it was also observed that in some South African schools, immigrant students usually excel in comparison to other students, and this appears to be congruent with international findings (Awokoya & Clark, 2008; Gillborn, 1997; Ogbu, 1987, 1999, 2003; Ogbu & Simons, 1998; Qin et al., 2008; Yeh et al., 2008). Consequently, this study sought to determine whether this observation applied to this particular schooling context as well. Much work is needed to investigate Black immigrant students' educational and socio-cultural experiences in South Africa as Lucas (1997:3) argues: "while our understanding of immigrant education in general is limited", there is an intense need to have a broadened understanding in terms of the actual secondary school educational experiences of immigrant groups of children.

This study will be focusing specifically on immigrants from the DRC, because in recent times observation has been made on the enormity of influx of many immigrants from the DRC. Curiosity to conduct this study was further aroused by informal discussions with a known DRC immigrant family, narrating their experiences from the DRC to South Africa. Furthermore, during the data capture of the broader project, on how Black immigrant students negotiate their identities in South African schools, it was observed that among the immigrant students' population at one of the three research sites, the population of DRC immigrant students was very high at one of the identified schools. The question arose: What are the educational and socio-cultural experiences of DRC immigrant students at South African schools? Secondly, what are the opportunities and challenges confronting Black immigrant students in South African schools? For the purposes of this study, focus will be on the school environment in particular, but the community and family ties will be utilized as supplementary sources to try to understand the educational and socio-cultural experiences of DRC immigrant students within the schooling context.

## **1.6 Research questions**

Against the above background, the main research question is:

**What are the educational and socio-cultural experiences of DRC immigrant students in South African schools?**

### **1.6.1 Research sub-questions**

Sub-questions for research are:

1.6.2. What are the educational opportunities and challenges confronting DRC immigrant students in South African schools?

1.6.3. What are the socio-cultural issues confronting DRC immigrant students in South African schools?

## 1.7 Research strategy

In table 1.1 (below), the research strategy process is depicted to give an understanding of the details negotiated in conducting this study. Detailed explanation of the research strategy process is presented in chapter four.

**Table 1.1:** An outline of the research strategy process

<b>PARADIGMATIC SUPPOSITIONS</b>	
<b>Epistemological models</b>	Constructivism and Interpretivism
<b>Methodological models</b>	Qualitative study approach
<b>RESEARCH DESIGN</b>	
Narrative inquiry and Case study	
<b>SELECTION OF PARTICIPANTS</b>	
Purposeful sampling	Selection of 6 DRC immigrant students out of 26 Black students that were interviewed during the broader project in 2008, 4 teachers, 3 native students and the school principal  Secondary interviews with selected 6 DRC immigrant students and two sets of DRC parents in 2010
<b>DATA COLLECTION</b>	
<b>Data collection methods</b>	Semi-structured interviews, focus group interviews, observations, observational journal writing and field notes
<b>DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION</b>	
Content analysis: coding, formation of meaning units, condensed meaning units, categories and themes (Krippendorff, 1980; Mayring, 2000)	
<b>QUALITY CRITERIA OF THE RESEARCH</b>	
Credibility, Transferability, Dependability and Confirmability	
<b>ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS OF THE RESEARCH</b>	
Informed consent, anonymity, safety considerations, confidentiality and reliance	
<b>CONCLUSIONS</b>	



### 1.7.1 Research Sample

During the broader study on how Black immigrant students negotiate their identities within South African schools, semi-structured interviews were conducted once off with 26 Black immigrant students, six of whom were DRC immigrant students. Teachers who taught them, the principal and South African students were also interviewed. For the purpose of this study, a second round of interviews was conducted with the six identified DRC immigrant students, focusing on the identified gaps in terms of “educational” and “socio-cultural” (Chow, 2006) experiences. Focus group interviews were conducted with two sets of parents of these identified learners. The other four sets of parents were unavailable in South Africa. The six DRC immigrant students were observed during normal class lessons, while changing classes, during break time and while on their way home. Field notes were written on the school environment, and the level of acquaintance of the DRC students to the school environment. All these will allow the writing of stories based on six DRC immigrant students that were interviewed at one of the three research sites of the broader project on immigrant student identities with a high intake of Black immigrant students in Pretoria (Cohen et al., 2007).

The DRC immigrant students were chosen by divulging the intentions of the project to the principal of the target school after following the due process of ethical clearance and informed consent (APA, 1992; CPA, 1991; Smythe & Murray, 2000). This was premised on the opinion that the school principal would give direction to the appropriate quarters, where to locate and engage with the DRC students in a manner that would promote their confidentiality (Smythe & Murray, 2000). A purposive sampling method was used during the first and second series of interviews. Purposive sampling was chosen in the study because it has been affirmed that:

the selection is done purposefully, not randomly; that is, a particular person, site, program, process, community, or other bounded system is selected because it exhibits characteristics of interest to the researcher (Merriam & Associates, 2002:179).

Secondly, purposive sampling (Merriam & Associates, 2002) was used because it was used during the research on the broader project on how Black immigrant students negotiate their identities in South African schools. This was done in order to be consistent since data was being mined (Bratko & Suc, 2003; Janasik et al., 2009) from the broader project. In an attempt to give a comprehensive description to the reader, the participants of the broader study comprised of a purposive selection of Black immigrant students from the Southern

African Development Community (SADC) (e.g., Angola, Mozambique, Zambia, DRC, Lesotho, and Namibia) as well as India, Pakistan, Nigeria, Sri Lanka and Cameroun. Since the focus of the study was on DRC immigrant students, the school was revisited and the focus was on the six DRC immigrant students that were initially interviewed in the broader study.

A second series of interviews was conducted<sup>6</sup> with DRC immigrant students to augment the existing data capture, with the emphasis now on their “educational and socio-cultural” experiences (Chow, 2006). During the second round of interviews in March 2010, gaps that had been identified in the initial data capture were addressed. Data was captured<sup>7</sup> by reaching the respondents, who were the DRC immigrant students (six in number), teachers who taught them<sup>8</sup> (three in number), the school principal and indigenous South African students (three in number). This was to ensue intensive data collection which would aid comprehensive understanding of the situation under examination and triangulation. The duration of the interviews was approximately an hour per respondent. Data that was obtained in this regard from the broader project on how Black immigrant students negotiate their identities in South African schools was used to form part of the data for this current study. Field notes<sup>9</sup> were taken by writing down all the details that could not be obtained through verbal means such as body language, mood swing of the DRC immigrants and the degree of confidence exhibited during the interview. All the six DRC immigrant students were observed to capture and match data recorded through the audio tape with the video recording that was done on each of the six DRC immigrant students. The observation sessions were consolidated by considering the field notes after completing the data capture so as to be able to take note of every detail that would assist me in making the right judgment on the stance of all six DRC immigrant students under investigation. Each of the six DRC immigrant students was interviewed and observed.

---

<sup>6</sup> See Appendix SECDRC for interview protocol used for DRC immigrant students in March 2010.

<sup>7</sup> Although ‘data’ is a Latin plural of datum, it may also be used grammatically as an uncountable singular, as is the case in this paper.

<sup>8</sup> See Appendix R (ITMRSA), Appendix S (ITMRSBR), and Appendix U (ITMRMHLG) for transcripts of teachers on CD. These originated from the initial data capture, and are inserted with permission from the broader project leader, Prof. S. Vandeyar.

<sup>9</sup> See Appendix FLDNT1 for field note taken on 25/03/2010.

In order to accomplish data trustworthiness in this research; triangulation of research instruments, word for word transcriptions and choice of appropriate participants were engaged. Reflexivity in the entire study was ensured by maintaining a stance that did not preempt the respondents' responses during the interview sessions. The data from the different sources, that is, the six DRC immigrant students, their peers and their teachers were cross-checked, compared and contrasted to check on their consistency on connected issues.

### **1.7.2 Research methods**

Data was collected by conducting semi-structured interviews with DRC immigrant students, the school principal<sup>10</sup> and their indigenous peers<sup>11</sup>. Teachers who taught them were interviewed using focus group interview. DRC immigrant students were observed at the school. Field notes were also taken to capture the normal events at the research site. Data was obtained from different sources to ascertain triangulation of data. The data from the first set of interviews during the broader project on how Black immigrant students negotiate their identities within South African schools and the follow up data collection in March and April 2010 were resourceful in achieving triangulation of data (Golafshani, 2003; Nyarawanda, 2003). The interview sessions were recorded using an audio tape recorder in order to give room for transcription of the obtained data. The combined data was used to augment notes taken in the field. A thick description of the research site between 2008 and 2010 is presented in chapter four, section 4.5.1.

### **1.7.3 Data analysis**

In this study, content analysis (Ezzy, 2002; Mayring, 2000) was used to analyze the data, because the aim of qualitative content analysis concerns all aspects of sending and receiving information, for example, interviews, video tape recordings, and field notes. Furthermore, the ancient definition of Krippendorff (1969) of "content analysis" illuminates an understanding by affirming that it is the engagement of reproducible and suitable procedures that enable the researcher to make particular deductions from transcripts to other situations or derivative of that source of transcript. Content analysis can be achieved in two categorical stages, inductive and deductive (Mayring, 2000). Details of content analysis are discussed in chapter four.

---

<sup>10</sup> See Appendix T (ITMRKGM) for the transcript of the school principal on the CD (Inserted with permission from the broader project leader, Prof. S. Vandeyar).

<sup>11</sup> See Appendix 002 on the CD for the interview protocol of the indigenous learner cited in this thesis (Inserted with permission from the project leader, Prof. S. Vandeyar).

#### **1.7.4 Quality criteria of the research**

In this study, cognizance of quality has been taken into consideration. The reader is invited to look at the attempt to ascertain rigour and quality; although trustworthiness is perceived to be objectively unattainable (Riessman, 1993). Barbie and Mouton (2001) argue that trustworthiness is premised on how the researcher is capable of convincing the audience that the output of the research is meaningful. Poggenpoel (1998:348-350) attempted to ascribe description to Guba's dimension of ascertaining trustworthiness by contemplating four principles: the value of truth, relevance, regularity and objectivity. Based on a hermeneutic model (Burck, 2005; Donald et al., 2002; Guba & Lincoln, 1994), these may be interpreted as credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability. In this study, trustworthiness was assured by attempting to attain several criteria, discussed below. These features assisted in dealing with the limitations of the choices made in this study:

Credibility relates to the confidence of the investigator, with details of the findings with respect to the research design, respondents of the study and the perspective. When results from the study were compared with what is available in literature (e.g., Gibson & Carrasco, 2009; Gilbert, 2009; Qin et al., 2008; Rangvid, 2007; Yeh et al., 2008), this criterion of quality was maintained. The reviewed literature in chapter two served as an instrument for improvement or evaluation in vital aspects that may have been left out from the focus group interviews (Debus, 1990). A literature review (Jesson & Lacey, 2006) also presented a vivid comprehension of the vital features obtained from present and preceding investigations.

Dependability relates to whether the findings of this study would be similar if replicated with the same research participants or in a comparable context, linked to transferability or the capacity to take a broad view of bigger populations. However, since the goal of this study is divergent from being generalisable, the notion that participants' inputs were welcome reinforces the possibility of the consistency of the study. Consequently, the findings of the study may be comparable to other contexts.

Confirmability relates to the extent to which the findings are the end products of the spotlight of the investigation, and not of the subjectivity of the researcher (Mouton, 2001). This was assured by presenting the findings of this study to my supervisor, so that her input would assist in further analysis.

#### **1.7.5 Ethical consideration**

Before the commencement of the research process, the overall purpose of the research and the rationale for every step taken were explained to the research participants. The 6 DRC immigrant students were observed during normal class lessons, when changing classes and during break time, and when going home. They were told the reasons for doing so, in order not to unduly infringe on their rights and privacy. Anonymity and strict confidentiality was assured by informing them their personal names would not be mentioned in the research report writing, nor the name of their school (APA, 1992; Smythe & Murray, 2000).

Participants were informed that they could decide to relinquish their participation at any time they felt uncomfortable. The tone of the letter of free and informed consent sent to participants was worded to assure them that their non-participation would not lead to any punitive action against them<sup>12</sup>, especially in their academics. Free and informed consent letters were also given to teachers<sup>13</sup>, the school governing body<sup>14</sup>, the Department of Education<sup>15</sup> (DoE), indigenous South African students<sup>16</sup>, immigrants from other Black African countries<sup>17</sup>, and parents<sup>18</sup> of the immigrant students (APA, 1992). The initial and additional interview sessions did not commence until ethical clearance was obtained to conform to the rule given by Denzin (1989:83) suggesting that:

our primary obligation is always to the people we study, not to our project or to a larger discipline. The lives and stories that we hear and study are given to us under a promise, that promise being that we protect those who have shared them with us.

Risk factors were conveyed to the participants of the study in their letters of consent and verbally before the commencement of the interview sessions, and measures to alleviate such risks were taken (APA, 1992; Smythe & Murray, 2000). One such measure on the part of the immigrant students was to tactfully devise a means whereby their indigenous peers did not know that immigrant students were to be interviewed. This action was to shield the DRC immigrant students from potential ridicule in the midst of the ongoing xenophobic attacks (Masuku, 2006) at the commencement of the first set of interviews in 2008. Teachers were

---

<sup>12</sup> See Appendix D.

<sup>13</sup> See Appendix F.

<sup>14</sup> See Appendix C.

<sup>15</sup> See Appendix E.

<sup>16</sup> See Appendix D.

<sup>17</sup> See Appendix D.

<sup>18</sup> See Appendix B.

assured confidentiality by pledging that their class lessons were not being recorded as evidence against them, and that the divulged information would not be used as evidence against them. All these pledges<sup>19</sup> were adequately reflected in their letters of free and informed consent (APA, 1992; Christians, 2000; CPA, 1991; Denzin, 1989).

## 1.8 Outline of chapters

**Chapter One** presented the course of the study by describing the scope of the broader project on how Black immigrant students negotiate their identities in South African schools, and linking it to the broader project. The following issues were addressed in this chapter: background context, statement of the problem, rationale, research questions, research strategy, paradigmatic assumptions, methodological paradigm, data analysis, quality criteria, ethical considerations, definition of terms and the outline of chapters.

**Chapter Two** will present a review of the literature on educational and socio-cultural experiences of immigrants on international and national perspectives. The chapter concludes with a summary of findings in literature.

**Chapter Three** will contemplate the scaffolds of the study. Three theoretical frameworks are presented in this chapter, namely, Cultural Ecological Theory (CET), Culture Centred Theory (CCT) and Critical Race Theory (CRT) in an attempt to understand the educational and socio-cultural experiences of DRC immigrant students at the research site.

**Chapter Four** will present the research strategy of this study. The paradigmatic suppositions, research methodology, data collection and data analysis methods will be discussed. Quality criteria and relevant ethical considerations and suggestions will also be discussed in detail.

**Chapter Five** will present the findings of the study with respect to the emergence of themes and sub-themes in the data. Relevant examples from the research participants will be given to augment the presentation of the results.

---

<sup>19</sup> See Appendix F.

**Chapter six** will relate the findings of the study to the literature reviewed in chapter two so as to establish the findings based on the work of other researchers in literature. The three theoretical frameworks will also be engaged with, in an attempt to explain the educational and socio-cultural experiences of the 6 DRC immigrant students.

**Chapter seven** will present a summary of the findings related to the research questions. Recommendations and contributions based on the experiences of the DRC immigrants will be offered. Prospects for future research will be presented.

## **1.9 Conclusions**

This chapter has discussed the trend of the entire research by providing a précis of the track of unfolding events. In this chapter, the interrelatedness of the broader project entitled: Immigrant students' identities in South African schools and this study has been demonstrated. Furthermore, it has been demonstrated that the data obtained from the broader project cut across immigrant students' identity formation into their use of language, schooling experiences, and their acculturation experiences in the host society (Chow, 2006; Grobler et al., 2006). It was indicated that additional data capture was conducted to consolidate the data already captured in the broader immigrant students' identities project and to account for the gaps that needed to be filled. This action necessitated returning to make inquiries about their academic records, and to also conduct follow up interviews with the 6 DRC immigrant students. This was done to ensure trustworthiness, triangulation and validity of the obtained data (Golafshani, 2003; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2007; Patton, 2002). Subsequent chapters give more comprehensive details on each of the topics discussed in this chapter. The next chapter presents the literature review on immigrant students' educational and socio-cultural experiences from national and international perspectives, as well as the overarching issues confronting them in mainstream culture.

## CHAPTER TWO

### UNKNOTTING THE PUZZLE FOR THE CRUISE TO BEGIN

#### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a review of the literature on the educational and socio-cultural experiences of immigrant students in South Africa and elsewhere in the world. The literature review offers some reasons that account for the observed trend of an increase in the number of immigrants in different host societies of the world. Hence the recently documented worldwide phenomenon of immigration is contemplated, and the effects that stem from immigration are problematized. This chapter begins by contemplating the educational and socio-cultural experiences of immigrant students in the voluminous literature.

The definitions of Chow (2006) form the foundation for the exploration of the meaning of educational and socio-cultural experiences. To create a foundation of understanding for the reader, educational experiences involve “academic performance” and “schooling experiences”. Socio-cultural experiences relate to issues pertaining to “language use”, “acculturation”, and “identity” (Chow, 2006). The frameworks of Grobler et al. (2006) and Xu et al. (2007) provide additional information on the exploration of the study. The chapter concludes by giving a succinct summary on immigration issues, and the dimensions through which the study has been taken to ensure comprehensible insight.

#### 2.2 An overview of educational and socio-cultural experiences of immigrant students: National and International perspectives

The current trend of immigration in South Africa is as a result of the flexibility at its borders, partly responsible for the increased population of Black immigrant students in South African schools (Klotz, 2000). It has been observed in literature (Lucas, 1997; Sookrajh et al., 2005) that there is minimal research on the educational and socio-cultural experiences of Black immigrant students in South Africa. Around the world, various studies have been conducted to try to understand issues involving immigrant students’ experiences in general. To mention a few of the studies perused, Abada et al. (2009) conducted a quantitative study among immigrant children attending Canadian schools, in an attempt to explain the effects of ethnic differences on educational attainment and school completion rates. They found that



race/culture was an important issue in “educational stratification”, resulting in the achievement of “upward mobility” from one generation to the other among most of the immigrant groups, with the exception of Black immigrants and Filipinos. Awokoya and Clark (2008) reviewed the relevance and the effectiveness of using cultural theories (Cultural Ecological Theory (CET), Culture Centred Theory (CCT) and Critical Race Theory (CRT) to explore the socio-cultural experiences of Black immigrant students in American schools. They highlighted the usefulness of the three theories (CET, CCT and CRT). However, they reiterate, to advance our understanding of immigrant experiences; a combination of other relevant theories needs to be developed. Andriessen et al. (2006:827), in a quantitative survey of Dutch schools gave insight to the future goal seeking, task motivation and learning potential among immigrant and non-immigrant children. They contend, “distant future goals enhance” immigrant and non-immigrant students’ enthusiasm and interest to learn; when they recognized constructive “instrumentality”, and as long as their learning was “internally” moderated by future goal setting.

The work of Gilbert (2009), in a quantitative analysis of the effectiveness of using CET as an analytical tool for explaining academic achievement between immigrant and non immigrant students suggests that, immigrant and non-immigrant children do not differ in academic achievement. It was further suggested that there may be other relevant means of explaining the dynamics of school achievement between them.

Baubock et al. (1996) recognize this phenomenon of immigration as the origin of challenges and opportunities to any nation, thus giving the inclination to explore the challenges and opportunities confronting DRC immigrant students in South African schools. The majority of the scholarly work of researchers in South Africa concentrates on the reality that South African Black people exhibit hatred for foreigners who come into the country, especially from other Black African countries (Masuku, 2006; Minnaar, Pretorius & Wentzel, 1995; Reitzes, 1994).

Issues relating to xenophobia can be found in literature, but not on the educational and socio-cultural experiences of Black immigrant students in South Africa. Maharaj and Moodley (2000) focused on new African migration into the Durban region, but not the educational or socio-cultural experiences of Black immigrant students. The emphasis of Sookrajh et al. (2005) was on interrogating inclusionary and exclusionary practices among learners of war

and flight. Reitzes (1997:9) reports that because of prejudice against foreigners in the educational set-up, many foreign children have decided to remain without education. This assertion particularly becomes a sensitive issue that is worthy of exploration because of the consequences of prejudice against foreigners in South African schools (Sookrajh et al., 2005).

Section 2.2.1 begins with an attempt to give configuration to what will be investigated in this study, based on the findings in literature. These findings assist in helping to present foundations for the study; and assist in engaging the findings in chapter six with what is already known (Jesson & Lacey, 2006).

### **2.2.1 Setting the scene: General immigrant issues**

Immigration issues occur wherever people envision and locate the opportunity to improve their socio-economic predicaments (Klotz, 2000; Salome, 2008; Snel et al., 2006; Sookrajh et al., 2005). With this issue in mind, it is important to note the effects that immigration to another country may have on immigrants, especially when there is difference in languages spoken between the two countries. Language issues will be investigated because DRC immigrant students under investigation are coming from a Francophone country (French speaking) country. There are eleven official languages in South Africa, out of the eleven official languages English has been adopted as the language of learning and teaching (LOLT) at most public schools (Cummins, 1978, 1979; Louw, 2004; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2005).

Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco (2002) argue that one out of every five children living in America is from an immigrant-headed home. Furthermore, they argue that the resultant effects of immigration include the stripping of immigrants' home language, 'cultures', as well as their identities. Consequently, immigrant children are predisposed to conforming to the prevailing language, cultures, and identities of their host countries, depending on the kind of hold their cultural inclination in their home country has on them (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2000; Valenzuela, 1999; Worthy, Rodríguez-Galindo, Assaf, Martínez, & Cuero, 2003). This further implies that a critical look has to be taken at the experiences of the immigrant children with respect to language acquisition, cultural integration, acculturation and identity in the host country (Berry et al., 2006; Chow, 2006; Fischer, 2004; Nieto, 2002; Vandeyar, 2008; Wang & Phillion, 2007).

### **2.2.1.1 The importance of language acquisition among immigrant students**

In the review of literature, the versatility of language among immigrant and indigenous students has been presented. Chow (2001, 2006), in quantitative studies, explains the resourcefulness of English language acquisition among immigrant students in Canada by arguing that immigrants must attain a high level of proficiency in English language in order to adapt effectively to the Canadian society. It was recommended that remedial classes aimed at revamping their linguistic concerns should be created. Yeh et al. (2008) presented the correlation between language and intercultural competence concerns, a measure of the interaction between dominant and cultural groups of children. They reported that English language acquisition enhanced immigrant students' acculturation to the American society, and academic performance. Language serves the purpose of forming the foundation for interaction within the school environment (Asanova, 2005; Wang & Phillion, 2007). It is vital to guarantee academic performance as essential for assisting immigrants to form their identities (Vandeyar, 2008), as an aid to assimilation of immigrants to the host society (Berry & Sam, 1995). Hence, language use among immigrant students appears to be pivotal to their educational and socio-cultural experiences in mainstream culture.

Osborn and Osborn (2005:4) support the current argument by affirming that "language is a basic human right and the opportunity to learn from other 'cultures' is fundamental to an education in a democratic society". When immigrants are deprived and destitute of the basic tenets of language in a community, there is a possibility of exclusion (Sayed, 2002; Wang & Phillion, 2007). This implies that immigrants have the right to learn the language of communication in their host country so as not to be excluded at the school (Sayed, 2002). Exclusion may become more paramount when they are excluded from the LOLT (Wang & Phillion, 2007; Yeh et al., 2008), and when immigrants are not able to understand the language of communication at the school, their learning may become impaired, resulting in low "academic performance" (Ogbu & Simons, 1998; Sookrajh et al., 2005).

In host societies, issues of language are not always comprehensible by immigrant groups because "language is not just a cultural issue but a political one" (Wang & Phillion 2007:95). In essence the inability of immigrant groups to communicate well in mainstream culture may lead to their exclusion at school and in the host society (Osborn & Osborn, 2005; Sayed et al., 2002, 2003). Especially in this study, DRC immigrant students are from a Francophone

(French speaking country). Consequently, their language competence in South Africa is problematized (Cummins, 1978, 1979; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2005).

Wang and Phillion (2007) observe that the home language of students is de-emphasized by both the nation and school. The languages spoken by students, which are eventually spoken at school, are resources. Didactic cultures are based on the previous understanding as well as the training which the learners have had over the years in their home language (Nieto, 2002). The issue of becoming aware that one is in a democratic environment, which gives the right to education for all, becomes relevant when considering the argument of Sookrajh et al. (2005:3) that “besides intentional exclusion by citizens and the authorities, some immigrant children are precluded from access to schooling because they are not competent in the language of instruction”. This may apply to DRC immigrants in this study, necessitating the action of problematizing language competence among them for investigation.

Language of communication is not limited to homes alone, but is used in wider society as a means of relating and exchanging ideas. In an environment where dominant and non-dominant languages co-exist, the phenomenon of communication is diverse (Soto, 1997; Wang & Phillion, 2007). Among dominant language ‘speakers’, language of communication within the premises of the ‘home’ and ‘at school’ is usually taken as an assumption. Within the home front, a certain language is used to pass on information to children. At the school, usually one major language is employed as the medium of teaching and learning (Chow, 2006; Grobler et al., 2006; Soto, 1997; Wang & Phillion, 2007). The reaction to this statement is: Does this apply to South Africa? Do teachers mainly use the language of instruction to teach in South African schools? - both questions to be investigated in this study. The situation of immigrant language speakers is different because there is often a disparity “between the language of the home and that of the school” (Extra & Yagmur, 2006:50). The continued use of such language is dependent on the degree of importance attached to its use, based on the ‘cultural identity’ (Eyou et al., 2000) of its users (Extra & Yagmur, 2006).

On the international scene, there has been a serious debate among Dutch policymakers, opinion leaders in the media, and even ‘educational specialists’, who “have increasingly begun to identify the use of a language other than Dutch at home as a major underlying barrier to educational success” (Extra & Yagmur, 2006:53). This implies that there is a possibility that the educational success of students could be impaired if there is no

universality in the mode of communication at home or at school. This situation gives a measure of understanding concerning the experiences of immigrants within an environment that is culturally diverse in terms of language use (Eyou et al., 2000). When viewing the complexity present in that particular domain with respect to “language use” (Chow, 2006), intermingled with the complexity derived, when immigrants enter such diverse environments, it becomes clearer that language of communication is of immense importance when dealing with immigrants in mainstream culture (Chow, 2001; Yeh et al., 2006).

In a country that has adopted the English language as the LOLT, English language proficiency is capable of lessening impairment to communication and developing relations between immigrant and dominant groups of children (Pak, Dion, & Dion; 1985; Salgado De Snyder, 1987a, 1987b). It props up self-worth and provides safeguards, in opposition to strains emanating from adjustment as a result of cultural upheaval and inter-racial clash (Bowler, Rauch, & Scwarzer, 1986). Summarily, immigrant teenagers who are capable of operating from one culture to the other may possibly adapt better to the novel cultural situation in which they find themselves (LaFromboise et al., 1993).

Language competence (Wang & Phillion, 2007) and “acculturation” (Sam, 2006) of immigrants to the host society are intricately connected. The level of “acculturation” (Berry et al., 2006) among immigrant children can be measured by examining their degree of language acquisition (Jinyang & Gordon, 2007; Mouw & Xie, 1999). The reason is that they are afforded the right of entry to the prevailing culture (Nieto, 2002), as it promotes a greater tendency for cultural adaptation (Fisher, 2004) to take place (Yeh, 2003; Yeh & Inose, 2002), foretelling better academic performance (Gillborn, 1997; Huang, 1997).

In essence, when English language acquisition is slow, adaptation of immigrants to their new environment may become uneasy (Church, 1982) in schools that have adopted English as the language of instruction. After considering the account of language on the international scene, the next agenda is to present a unique experience on local scene to compare and contrast the two scenarios. In attempting to do this, the work of Sookrajh et al. (2005:11) is significant, as it identifies resilience as a character predisposing immigrants, who were learners of war and flight in Durban region, South Africa to learning English language which is the adopted LOLT (Louw, 2004) at school. These immigrants originate from “Mozambique, Zaire, Tanzania, Algeria, Burundi, Rwanda, Ghana and Senegal” (Sookrajh et al., 2005:5). They

have been reported to always exit their home countries because of hardship, war and low infrastructural development characterizing their home countries (Reitzes, 1997). Sookrajh et al. (2005) argue that immigrant students under investigation in their research were skilled at learning the mainstream language, ethnic values and way of life faster than adults.

The inference that can be drawn from their experience is that immigrants are prone to dedicating their whole beings to achieving high success in their host country, especially those coming from war torn and economically estranged backgrounds. Their unpalatable ‘back home’ experience may be inferred to be the reason for their commitment to learning English in the host country, so that “acculturation” (Berry & Sam, 1997) may begin. This may also be because their ultimate aim was to ascend the ladder of social class mobility (Cole & Omari, 2003) in the host country (Gillborn, 1997; Korzenny, 1998; LaDousa, 2006; Ogbu, 1999). They perceive that when they learn the language of communication, they would be on track in terms of having high achievement in their academic pursuits.

It has been reported that they have good commendation from their teachers that they are high achievers who concentrate on their school work and fight against peer pressure which would have predisposed them to not having high academic achievement in their school work (Yeh et al., 2008; Qin et al., 2008). The question arises, could it also imply that their dedication to learning English language emanates from the observation of Andriessen et al. (2006) that the “future goal setting” characteristics of immigrant students predisposes them to fighting against challenges encountered in the host society, so as to gain the upward mobility (Cole & Omari, 2003) stratum? This will be investigated in this study.

Furthermore, as a result of the notion that this study centres on exploring the educational and socio-cultural experiences of DRC immigrant students, issues pertaining to language are vital for investigation among them at the school. In doing this, its effect on their “academic performance”, “schooling experiences”, “acculturation” and how they identify themselves in the host society become important for exploration (Chow, 2006; Grobler et al., 2006; Yeh et al., 2008). This situation may be compounded when the languages spoken in the home country of immigrants are different from those spoken in the host society, and this challenge may tend to affect them (Louw, 2004; Rangvid, 2007; Worthy et al., 2003).

The challenges faced by educators at schools are diverse because it has been reported that they “are rarely prepared to understand the complex lives and connections their students have

to multiple places, cultures, and languages” (Rodriguez, 2009:18). Invariably, the academic performance of DRC immigrant children and their schooling experiences become necessary to be investigated. In essence, when this is done, the first part of this study’s main research question is being addressed: What are the educational experiences of DRC immigrant students in South African schools?

Another group of researchers (Carger, 1996; Collier, 1995; Fantino & Colak, 2001; Nsubuga-Kyobe & Dimock, 2002; Rutter & Jones, 1998) also reiterate that, among immigrant students in the host society, it is important to set them aside until they are capable of demonstrating competence in the minimum requirement in the language of instruction, so that their academic performance (Chow, 2006), schooling experiences (Chow, 2006), assimilation (Piedra & Engstrom, 2009) into the host society and how they construct their identities (Kohn, 2002) in the host society may not be compromised. It will be investigated at the school whether remedial actions are taken on the DRC immigrant students to ensure that they are capable of taking tuition in English before being allowed to attend classes with their indigenous peers, since they are coming from a Francophone country.

However, in a study conducted in Copenhagen, where immigrant students were introduced to language classes to reduce the communication ineffectiveness between them and the indigenous students, and also to enhance their ability to understand what was being taught at the school, it was found that the achievement gaps between the immigrants and the indigenous students were not reduced (Rangvid, 2007). Rangvid (2007:314) argues that “strengthening the culture of achievement at schools with high concentrations of immigrant students might be a promising approach”, and suggests that setting immigrant students aside to learn the language of instruction may not be an important tool for ensuring high academic achievement, but the initiation of the culture of having high academic achievement.

At this instance the finding of Yeh et al. (2008) is relevant, in that language is a “cultural bridge” that assists immigrants in the direction of adjusting to the host society. This assertion also suggests that an investigation into their “cultural capital” (Birman & Tricket, 2001; Comstock et al., 2008; Derrington & Kendall, 2007; Fernandez-Kelly, 2008; Sergiovanni, 2001) and reaction to the intermingling of cultures is vital (Nieto, 2002; Fischer, 2004; Grobler et al., 2006). Similarly, Chow (2006:2) argues that “proficiency in English is a major consideration in the necessity, rapidity, and ease with which immigrants adapt to a milieu dominated by English”, and Rodriguez (2009:18) that “learning English becomes the most

important goal for the children of immigrants to attain” in the host society that has adopted English language as the medium of instruction at school.

English language competence of DRC immigrant students is presented as a dilemma in this study for investigation of its effects on DRC immigrant students in terms of their “academic performance”, “schooling experiences”, “acculturation” and how they identify themselves within the South African society (Chow, 2006; Grobler et al., 2006). An attempt has been made to argue that language is a “cultural bridge” (Yeh et al., 2008) that accentuates the route to adjust to the host society (Sam, 2006; Yeh et al., 2008). Its proficiency aids academic performance, identity formation, conducive schooling experiences and it may help immigrant students to overcome the detrimental effects of isolation at school, because they would not be left out of discourses among their indigenous peers. Section 2.2.1.2 provides instances of challenges that have been reported in literature confronting immigrants in mainstream society.

#### **2.2.1.2 Challenges confronting immigrants in the host society**

At this instance, it is relevant to ask this question: What challenges do immigrant students confront in the host society? This question originates from the argument of Baubock et al. (1996) that the phenomenon of immigration is the origin of challenges and opportunities confronting host societies. Immigrant students in the host society experience bullying (Asanova, 2005), ‘social and emotional imbalances’ (Qin et al., 2008; Yeh et al., 2008), and racism (Delgado & Stefancic, 2000; Lynn & Adams, 2002; Ladson-Billings, 1998, 1999). The findings on prejudice, discrimination and harassment among immigrants in literature (Asanova, 2005; Baubock et al., 1996; Derrington & Kendall, 2007; Gilbert, 2009; Ofsted, 1996, 2001, 2003; Qin et al., 2008; Yeh et al., 2008) give rise to using the Critical Race Theory (CRT) to investigate practices of racism at schools and the effects it has on immigrant students. These issues suggest that with immigration comes marginalization of immigrants in the host society, as well as prejudice, discrimination and isolation, making the argument of Baubock et al. (1996) relevant among immigrant groups of children in mainstream culture. Consequently, the movement of DRC immigrants from their home country to South Africa is problematized in this study.

It has been reported that commendation from teachers of immigrants about their excellent academic achievement may also predispose them to stern prejudice from indigenous students



(Qin et al., 2008). This is a premise for investigating the “academic performance” (Chow, 2006) of DRC immigrant students and the reaction of indigenous students at schools, based on the argument of Qin et al. (2008) that the recognition gained by immigrants at schools due to their academic commitment also constitutes reasons for prejudice, harassment and discrimination. Hence, the co-existence of DRC immigrant students and indigenous students is problematized for investigation, with the assistance of Critical Race Theory (CRT) (Delgado & Stefancic, 2000; Lynn & Adams, 2002; Villenas & Deyhle, 1999).

Furthermore, it has been reported that when immigrants from the same country do not ‘stick together’ at school, they experience bullying and harassment from dominant students in the host society (Qin et al., 2008). This is often a problem when immigrants from the same country meet at school in their host country, and because of inter-tribal or inter-ethnic differences existing in their home country, they do not come together to form formidable teams, dominant children within their school environment may take advantage of them (Qin et al., 2008:36-37). Does it then imply that “members of the dominant group within any society have the power to oppress members of other groups in numerous ways, formally and informally?” (Parker. 2003:156).

This study gives opportunity to explore whether these challenges are experienced by DRC immigrant students in South African schools as well. On the other hand, nationally, Sookrajh et al. (2005) reported that despite acts of prejudice, discrimination and harassment from indigenous South Africans, immigrant students are resilient and proficient at learning English language at the school. This implies that the goals and aspirations of immigrant students may differ and it may not be advisable to make generalized statements on their experiences in the host society. Consequently, racial bullying, prejudice, discrimination and isolation are presented as topics for investigation, as are challenges among DRC immigrant students in this study. Section 2.2.1.3 provides an overview of cultural influences on immigrant students in the host society.

### **2.2.1.3 Cultural influences on immigrant students’ experiences**

There is a possibility that cultural values can be transferred between the home countries of immigrants to the host society (Snel et al., 2008). A unique experience that may be called the “carry over effects” of transnational cultural harmonization is indicated as a possibility among immigrant students in mainstream culture (Rodriguez, 2009; Snel et al., 2006; Yeh et

al., 2008). It has been argued that there is a likelihood that immigrants from the same country can come together to form groups in their host country (Rodriguez, 2009). When they do, a transnational social space (Rodriguez, 2009; Snel et al., 2006) is formed, especially if the immigrant students intend to maintain links with their country of origin (Snel et al., 2006). It is believed that immigrants who are teenagers enter their host country with instituted ideas concerning the responsibility and objectives of the school according to how it has been marked out by their schooling system in their home country, and by their parents. Consequently, there is the likelihood of transference of ideas and cultures across borders in “transnational social space” (Snel et al., 2006). This probably explains why Rodriguez (2009: 17) reports that “Dominican-American youth straddle multiple worlds, negotiating experiences related to family, schooling, and identity in transnational social spaces”. This is visible when there is disruption in settlement within the family, necessitating them living apart in two different countries. The resultant effect is that information crosses the two borders, emanating in the exchange of socio-cultural and economic ideas (Salome et al., 2008). Another dilemma has been unfolded for this study, that is whether DRC immigrants in South Africa also form “transnational social spaces” (Rodriguez, 2009) between their home country and the host society, as has been reported in the international literature and studies (Rodriguez, 2009). This will enable an inquiry into whether parents of DRC immigrant students also live apart between South Africa and the DRC to form “transnational social space” (Rodriguez, 2009:17).

Transnational social space formation (Rodriguez, 2009) is a cultural phenomenon. Culture<sup>20</sup> may be defined as the way of life that has been chosen by people from different ethnic groups (Fischer, 2004; Nieto, 2002; Ogbu & Simons, 1998). Culture appears to be a way of life that is upheld among different ethnic groups (Wang & Phillion, 2007). For example, Chinese immigrant parents register their intention to uphold cultural values from their home country in the host country by talking “to their children about school work”, helping to “organize Chinese cultural events in school”, and working “as volunteers in class” (Wang & Phillion, 2007:98). What then is the aim of immigrant parents’ adherence to cultural norms?

There is a positive indication among scholars that immigrant children with stern observance of their cultural ethos do better academically than those without strict adherence (Deyhle,

---

<sup>20</sup> The importance of culture among immigrants is emphasized here because it is directly linked to their behaviour and adaptation experiences in the host society.

1995; Gibson, 1997; Zhou & Bankston, 1998). This idea exposes the interrelationship between ethnic culture and academic performance, suggesting that these two concepts of culture and academic achievement are connected. It may not be ideal to exclude one while the other is discussed. This discourse is set in motion by starting with the findings of Portes and McLeod (1996), who perceived that immigrants originating in communities promoting cultural adherence are prone to having better academic achievements in schooling contexts that promote togetherness among immigrants and indigenes. This observation is buttressed by a study conducted by Asanova (2005) on immigrant students who attend schools with cultural integration. To further support the importance of culture, Van Maanen argues that “culture is not itself visible, but is made visible only through its representation” among people of ethnic diversity (Van Maanen 1997:3). The next question is: What influence does the incorporation of cultural discourses in the curriculum have on immigrant students in the host society? Based on the finding that immigrant children “often grow up with strong ties to two countries, two cultures, and two ways of being, which can produce multiple realities, multiple ways of being and communicating with the world” (Rodriguez, 2009:17); cultural days may be set aside to encourage the understanding of diverse forms of culture among immigrants and dominant youths (Asanova, 2005). When a wholesome educational environment is created, where exposure to diverse backgrounds of culture is encouraged, the development of all students may be guaranteed where there may be freedom from acts of prejudice (Asanova, 2005; Qin et al., 2008). This is another dimension to the issue about the recognition of the culture of immigrant students in the host society, when compared with the findings from other researchers presented in this review.

### **2.3 Educational experiences of immigrant students**

A search has been made in literature (Chow, 2006; Grobler et al., 2006; Xu et al., 2007) to establish the basis for investigating discourses on this current study. The work of Chow (2006), Grobler et al. (2006) and Xu et al. (2007) have been found informative, and form a foundation for exploring this study. Chow (2006) defined educational experiences as “academic performance” and “schooling experiences”. Grobler et al. (2006) contend that community ties and family ties become important when contemplating issues involving immigrant children, while Xu et al. (2007) indicate that narratives from immigrant children in the host society may form a theoretical framework for exploring immigrant students’ educational experiences. In the course of reading for this study, it has been discovered that “academic performance and schooling experiences” (Chow, 2006) are inseparable, in that

they influence each other, and these two perspectives are presented in terms of their inter-relatedness in section 2.3.1. Language issues still play vital roles in the academic performance of immigrant students, as suggested in literature (Chow, 2000, 2001, 2006; Extra & Yagmur, 2006; Rodriguez, 2009; Soto, 1997; Waggoner, 1993; Wang & Phillion, 2007; Yeh et al., 2008). Therefore, the discourse in section 2.3.1 will retain the undertone of language as an important factor linking academic performance (Chow, 2006) and the experiences negotiated by immigrant students in the host society and schools. It also attempts to distinguish between voluntary and involuntary immigrants in terms of what has been discussed in literature (Foster, 2005, 2005a, 2005b, 2005c, 2005d; Gilbert, 2009; Gillborn, 1997; Ogbu & Simons, 1998; Rangvid, 2007), particularly their achievement gaps. It is important to distinguish between voluntary and involuntary immigrants in this study, so as to compare findings from this study with what has been reported in the CET.

### **2.3.1 Academic performance of voluntary and involuntary immigrant students**

The academic performance of voluntary and involuntary immigrant students may be impaired because of language incompetence (Yeh et al., 2008). Reports on national and international perspectives on language among immigrants in their host countries are inconsistent, some studies reporting that immigrants are proficient at speaking and learning in the LOLT (Sookrajh et al., 2005; Yeh et al., 2008), while others report that they find it difficult to grasp (Chow, 2000, 2001, 2006; Rumberger & Larson, 1998). This may become noticeable if such immigrants are from francophone countries such as the DRC (Sookrajh et al., 2005). It is therefore necessary to look at the disparities in academic achievement as argued in literature (Gilbert, 2009; Gillborn, 1997; Ogbu, 1987, 1990, 1991, 1995a, 1995b, 1999, 2003; Qin et al., 2008; Rangvid, 2007; Yeh et al., 2008).

Involuntary immigrants have been stigmatized as having low academic performance (Ogbu, 1990, 1991). The DRC immigrant students under study can be classified as involuntary if their reason for migrating to mainstream culture is as a result of the war in their home country (Ogbu & Simon, 1998), and voluntary immigrants if they willingly chose to exit their country.

From the literature (Awokoya & Clark, 2008; Foster, 2004; Gilborn, 1997; Hamann, 2004; Hermans, 2004; Kalekin-Fishman, 2004; Qin et al., 2008; Yeh et al., 2008), it appears as if Ogbu's generalized classification of voluntary immigrant students as academic achievers is

preponderant and contextual (Hamann, 2004). From the literature (Chow, 2000, 2001, 2006), it appears as if language differences form part of the challenges confronting the academic achievement of immigrant children in the host society. However, “there are inconsistencies in the findings related to Black student academic achievement” (Gilbert, 2009:78), suggesting that “there may be other factors that account for these students’ academic success or failure” (Gilbert, 2009:78) at the school. This is a concern in this study.

Various authors argue that before the academic achievement of immigrant children in the host society can be adequately assessed they have to be set aside for a period of time so that they are able to learn the LOLT in their host country (Bankston & Zhou, 1995; Chow, 2000, 2001, 2006; Rumberger & Larson, 1998; Wang & Phillion, 2007; Xu et al., 2007; Yeh et al., 2008). At the stage of transit (i.e., while migrants are moving from place to place), Ogbu’s argument may explain the predicament of certain groups of immigrants in terms of not being able to perform well academically. A time may come that involuntary immigrants tend to negotiate their identities (Hamann, 2004), learn the LOLT, and begin their acculturation process, until they reach the level that may foster their academic capabilities in mainstream culture (Yeh et al., 2008). Based on the criticisms of Ogbu’s explanation (e.g., Awokoya & Clark, 2008; Foster, 2004; Hamann, 2004; Trueba, 1991) of immigrant students’ academic performance, it may be futile to make generalized statements that all involuntary immigrants (Ogbu & Simons, 1998) do not perform well academically (Erickson, 1987; Hamann, 2004). For example, Matute-Bianchi (1986) was able to assert that between the immigrant students from Mexico and Japan, high academic performance had direct influence as a result of strong identification with Mexican culture, and culture had a strong influence on immigrant students in general (Asanova, 2005; Eyou et al., 2000). In other words, there may be a shift in individual identities (Hamann, 2004) of immigrants in mainstream culture, which may lead to academic advantage among them in the host society.

Similarly, in the case study conducted on immigrant students from Vietnam by Bankston and Zhou (1995), it was argued that when immigrant students are proficient in their home language there is a high possibility for academic achievement. This implies that the scenario under which Ogbu conducted his research needs to be investigated, to determine whether language issues played vital roles on immigrant students’ academic achievement at school. In this study, this argument gives foundation for investigating the home language of the immigrants, in order to make important evaluations on their academic performance (Wang &

Phillion, 2007). Consequently, the research of Ogbu only forms a guide for this study, and would not be dogmatically applied. Researcher reflexivity (Golafshani, 2003) would be maintained throughout this study by not allowing the findings of Ogbu (Ogbu, 1990, 1991) to blindfold the reality of the current study.

A study conducted in Canada reveals that Chinese immigrants performed “exceptionally well in Canadian schools despite acculturative struggles and English being their second language” (Li, 2001:477). In this report, they were not classified into voluntary or involuntary groups (Ogbu & Simons, 1998) but the consensus in this context suggests that they have a record of high academic performance. A group of scholars have also made it clear that immigrant youths have the ability to perform well at school (Caplan, Choy, & Whitmore, 1992; Duran & Weffer, 1992; Gibson, 1993; Rumbaut, 1990), but they did not classify immigrants as voluntary or involuntary as Ogbu had done. Kao and Tienda (1995:3) argue that in general:

differences in family communication about school experiences, and parental participation in school activities are aspects of family life that may influence educational outcomes and differ across generational status groups.

Their finding suggests that the academic performance of immigrants may depend on the inquisitiveness of parents in the schoolwork of their children and their monitoring capability. Caplan et al. (1992) were able to assert that the family units of immigrants have a great influence over their children with respect to the marks achieved at school, by ensuring that they engage in academic endeavours above petty activities. Parental involvement among immigrant children in the host society is thus problematized for investigation.

Immigrant students have been reported as succeeding at school in spite of repressive forces of racism (Trueba, 1993) against them, as a result of stories of unease narrated by their parents about how they had forfeited their lives to get to the United States of America (USA) (Villenas & Deyhle, 1999). Similarly, Suarez-Orozco (1989) reported that immigrants of a Central American high school also persevered by acting against discrimination to succeed because of the involvement of their parents in escaping from their motherland to the USA. These findings suggest that obligation, allegiance, and pledge to immigrant parents in compensatory terms have been the driving force behind these immigrant children’s achievement in high school. For example, Carger (1996:20-21) explains how the stories narrated in the ethnographic studies carried out on understanding the experiences of immigrants among the Latinos/as has been able to afford comprehensive understanding of

their experiences. In that study, certain hard experiences were divulged by the participants about the degree of suffering experienced by immigrant parents to see that their immigrant children went to school and succeeded. According to Carger (1996), some parents reported how they worked several hours without stopping, to see that their immigrant children attended school in the USA, giving them firsthand experience of their parents' sufferings. Their hardiness and determination to have high academic achievement was driven by a narration of these experiences by their immigrant parents. Carger (1996) argues that these immigrant children were able to resist peer pressure which would have predisposed them to drug abuse, riotous living, and other delinquent vices prevalent in the U.S. society. According to Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco (1995:201), "many teachers already know immigrants bring a special energy and optimism, perhaps to compensate for all the losses and mourning, resulting from immigration". Therefore, it becomes compelling to investigate whether the parents of DRC immigrant students in this study also approach the educational issues of their children in this manner. Skinner and Belmont (1993) argue that the extent to which students engage with their studies depends on their "sense of belonging" (Osterman, 2000; Asanova, 2005) to the school system. In other words, when students have affinity for the school they attend, this may tend to have an effect on their academic commitment.

Wallitt (2008:3) illustrates that Cambodian-American immigrant students were not in the picture of relevance at school because of "invisibility", imposed on them by acts of "alienation". Consequently, they performed poorly in their academic endeavours. The inference that may be drawn from this is that it would be inconsistent not to look at underlying factors before attempting to put forth an argument on the academic achievement of immigrant students in their host country. Meanwhile, Skinner and Belmont (1993) argue that, inclination of immigrants to their schoolwork is noticeable once students in a particular setting are obedient and compliant with tenets that aid adjustment at school. Furrer and Skinner (2003) argue that academic commitment is an indicator of the tenure of students' persistent academic success. As Langhout and Mitchell (2008) conclude, "it is therefore important to understand the ways in which schools contribute to academic commitment and on the other hand, academic detachment of students".

This is an exposure of system forces that were neglected by Ogbu in his scholarly work as a result of his concentration on 'community forces' (Ogbu & Simons, 1998) as dominant predictors of academic performance. Community forces are, "dual status frame of reference",

“instrumental beliefs about interpretations of schooling” (e.g., the role of credentials in moving ahead), “interpretation of schooling” and “symbolic beliefs about interpretations of schooling”. In addition, status frame of reference has been shown to be a dominant player in the extent of adherence of immigrant students to academic pursuits in the host society. It is the comparison between back home opportunities available for immigrant students and what is available in their host country (Ogbu & Simons, 1998).

Certain investigations accomplished in Israel on Former Soviet Union (FSU) immigrants reveal that they displayed characteristics that predisposed them to exclusion from their non-Soviet Union peers in order to safeguard their ethnic values, while concentrating on details leading to their academic success in their host country (Resnik et al., 2001). This assertion informs us that the behaviour of immigrants may differ from place to place. In this context, the FSU immigrants valued their ethnic beliefs to the extent that they isolated themselves from influences of their schoolmates who were non FSU students. Such action leads learners to concentrating on their studies until they achieve high academic performance in their host country. This experience is different from what is common among certain immigrant students when they are challenged by discrimination in the host society (Ofsted, 1996, 1999, 2003). The general consensus on issues of this kind always points to situations that imply that immigrant students have a tendency to be dismayed about issues that are inclined in the direction of discrimination, prejudice and stereotypes (Derrington & Kendall, 2007). Again, immigrant students’ academic experiences are context-driven and non-static in nature (Foster, 2004; Gillborn, 1997; Hamann, 2004; Vandeyar, 2008). Analyzing the academic experiences of the FSU immigrants further suggests that cultural identity (Eyou et al., 2000) is of immense importance when discussing immigrant students’ academic issues. The report revealed that they held tenaciously to their ethnic and cultural values until it worked well for them in terms of having high academic achievement. This supports the work of researchers on identity issues who argue that cultural identity is “historic”, “context-driven”, generationally fabricated, and “non-static” (Aboud, 2003; Cross, 1991; French et al., 2006; Kohn, 2002; Phinney et al., 2001; Vandeyar, 2008). Research was also conducted by Asanova (2005) on FSU immigrant students, and it was found that they became integrated into the school community with optimistic mind-set “towards their ethnic culture”. A high academic performance of immigrant students from the FSU, especially in mathematics, indicated their tenacity and doggedness to succeed in their host country, in spite of challenges in terms of prejudice, discrimination and harassment (Asanova, 2005).



Osterman (2000) affirms that immigrant students are prone to feeling relaxed by warming up to adults when they have the clue they would be well-received, referred to as an “ethos of reception”. The implication is that when such immigrants are within a school environment dominated by responsible adult educators who are approachable, they may seek help from them in areas of their academic work that require clarification. When this practice is promoted consistently, the outcome may involve high academic performance. Furthermore, Epstein and Kheimets (2000) also argue that immigrants from the FSU have high academic achievements and optimal eagerness to learn. This may be in connection with their ethos.

Positive ecological factors (Ogbu & Simons, 1998) at school enhance the emotional well-being among school children (Cowen, 1996), but happenings at schools are not always encouraging to facilitate confidence among many school children (Sarason, 1997, 2004). Nevertheless, this circumstance tends to have different effects on every child who goes to school, and it seems to have a different effect on immigrant students who come from disadvantaged, low income, ethnic and racial backgrounds when compared with their counterparts who are indigenes of that country, and who have high academic achievements (Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Delpit, 1995; Fine et al., 2002; Hochschild, 2003; Ladson-Billings, 1994). At this instance, there emerges another point of interest to investigate regarding the effects of family support on the academic performance of DRC immigrant students in their host society.

It has been advocated by many researchers that out of many family units, and unpredictable factors that can be implicated for the good performance of children in their school work, the impact played by the positive anticipation of parents for their children to succeed cannot be underestimated (Hoge, Smit, & Crist, 1997; Patrikakou, 1997; Peng & Wright, 1994; Seiginer, 1983). This supports the assertion made by Chow (2006:2) that “educational success is an important goal that immigrant students strive to attain”. In support of the invaluable stance administered by immigrant parents toward their children in terms of having achievement in their school work, Ladky and Peterson (2008) argue that immigrant parents, particularly those who are not proficient in English, use the opportunity of involving themselves in their children’s educational welfare by interacting with the schools attended by their children to learn English, so that they would not be kept out of the state of affairs of their children in scholarly matters. They testify that their previous mode of relating to

teachers at the schools entailed a formalistic approach, because of the language barrier between them and their children's teachers.

Their involvement has translated into the educational advancement of their children because they become involved with the work of their children at school. The implication is that when parents are interested in breaking barriers, in an attempt to get in contact with the schooling of their children, there is tendency for their children to have educational achievements. This is because they may become capable of communicating to them the importance of succeeding at school. These findings pave the way for investigating the influence of DRC immigrant parents in the academic affairs of their children at school. Do teachers of DRC immigrant students have any history of the influence of parents on the academic pursuit of their children? This will be investigated in the course of this study.

Asanova (2005) argues that the recruitment of immigrant teachers can have implications for enhancing the academic performance of immigrant students, suggesting that immigrant teachers may be skilful at handling immigrants because of their own experience as immigrants. Basica (1996) revealed that immigrant educators are predominantly responsive to the requests of immigrant students and are brisk at identifying what immigrant students expect when compared to indigenous teachers. This will be investigated during the course of this study.

Ogbu identifies common attributes and features which serve as a uniting force among immigrants, suggesting reasons for their school achievement by arguing that they more often than not act in response or build up communal ways, out of the ongoing prejudice (for instance, they build up a "folk theory" bordering on how to thrive in spite of the prevailing fiscal prejudice), interactional unfairness (e.g., immigrants tend to opt for joint effort, turn out to be distrustful of indigenous peers as well as their host institution of learning), and emblematic unfairness (for example, they may build up dissension in terms of their way of life as well as communicative "frame of reference" (Ogbu, 1995a, 1995b), or carefully take on the way of life of their indigenous peers to mask their original cultural identities (Ogbu, 1995a, 1995b). The limiting factor about this argument is that it is premised mainly on voluntary immigrants (Ogbu & Simons, 1998). Analysis of the academic performance of immigrant students indicates the relationship and interrelatedness it offers in relation to schooling forces which impinge on them (Ogbu & Simons, 1998).

A review of the national and international factors affecting the academic performance of immigrants has been considered. Immigrant students have been identified as groups who exhibit different behaviours in different ecological perspectives, because of their diverse cultural predispositions (Ogbu & Simons, 1998). Generalized claims may therefore be detrimental to the proper understanding of immigrants in their different contexts. For example, there are disparate reports concerning the academic performance of immigrant students in their host societies due to the different contexts of experiences within those countries. In general, one may assert that voluntary immigrant students (Ogbu & Simons, 1998) always excel in their host society; however it may be more accurate to report what has been observed in one's context, and not to follow the general trend as prescribed by Ogbu in his scholarly work (Ogbu, 1990, 1991). This was one of the major criticisms that Ogbu faced in his seminal work for more than thirty years (Hamann, 2004; Trueba, 1991).

Some researchers claim that Ogbu was biased because he was also an immigrant himself, to the USA, and that because he excelled in his own studies he built up an impression that all voluntary immigrants in a host country have high academic achievement (Hamann, 2004). Therefore, since the aim of this study is to explore the peculiarities and disparities in the responses of DRC immigrant students to the ecological factors within the South African environment; the underlying factors behind the academic performance of DRC voluntary and involuntary immigrants will be investigated. Section 2.3.2 attempts to give a broad view of the schooling experiences of immigrant students in mainstream culture. It should be borne in mind that schooling experiences form part of the educational experiences of immigrant students (Chow, 2006).

### **2.3.2 Schooling experiences of immigrant students**

This study has enabled one to look at the dominant research on immigrant students' schooling experiences on a global scale, and the scholarly work of John Ogbu has been very useful. In his scholarly work of over thirty years, it has been reported that the predisposition of immigrants to schooling forces influences their academic performance (Foster, 2004, 2005), thus implying that there is a link between schooling experiences and academic performance. It thus becomes foundational to examine the connection between schooling experiences and academic performance of immigrants in mainstream culture. However, Ogbu did not work on these two important perspectives in isolation. It was at this point that the link between the

academic performance and schooling experiences of immigrants in the host society was discovered (Chow, 2006).

Much needs researched before there is a fundamental and comprehensive understanding of immigrant students' schooling experiences in South African schools, though there is a wealth of literature on the topic globally; indicating the importance of the school environment of immigrants on their academic achievement (Asanova, 2005); theories that offer insight to their schooling experiences (Awokoya & Clark, 2008), the significance of culture (Epstein & Kheimets, 2000), and challenges confronting them at the school (Qin et al., 2008). A particular focus emanates from the call of Dika and Singh (2002) demanding for more research pertaining to psychosocial effects such as engagement and commitment of immigrants, as well as the extent of belonging to the school. However, from evidence in literature (Asanova, 2005; Kalekin-Fishman, 2004; Osterman, 2002; Qin et al., 2008; Rodriguez, 2009; Yeh et al., 2008), much has been done on an international basis to improve understanding of the schooling experiences of immigrant students. Again, however, little or no research in this area has been conducted in South Africa (Sookrajh et al., 2005).

Psychosocial concerns may relate to the interrelationship among social factors, individual notion and conduct (Dika & Singh, 2002). Social factors border on group activities, decisions and responses to environmental stimuli (Osterman, 2000). The degree of “belonging” (Oikonomidou, 2007) to the school centres on how and who the immigrants associate and identify with, in a bid to shape their identities (Vandeyar, 2008), which is the road to acculturating (Berry et al., 2006) to their new environment. Dika and Singh (2002) argue that in order to gain understanding of the schooling experience of immigrant students, such pertinent issues as their level of affiliation, commitment and identity (Osterman, 2000; Roediger, 2003; Vandeyar, 2008) should be considered.

A common occurrence among immigrants is the persistent feeling of not being recognised, a notion of not being important, and caginess (Gibson, Gándara, & Koyama, 2004; Noguera & Wing, 2006; Zhou et al., 2005). There is also a link between schooling forces, language and academic performance (Chow, 2006; Grobler et al., 2006; Yeh et al., 2008). Similarly, adaptation to the school environment is presented as a dilemma for investigation among DRC immigrant students, because it has been seen to constitute one of the challenges affecting

immigrant students in the host society (Asanova, 2005). Section 2.3.3 gives an account of the prevailing forces within the schooling environment of immigrant students.

### **2.3.3 Dominant forces impacting immigrant students' schooling experiences**

In this section, the experiences of Arab Speaking Background (ASB) students become important. This is because they are also in the same situation as DRC immigrant students, with difference in language from the mainstream. It has been reported that ASB immigrant students declare that they perceive their school location boring, and they reiterate that this has slowed them in their schoolwork by distracting their attention and reducing commitment (Mansouri & Kamp, 2007), hence impacting on their academic performance at school. This assertion again supports the link between schooling experiences and academic performance, therefore it is vital to appreciate that “students’ everyday schooling experiences shape their dispositions towards school” achievement (Brown & Rodriguez, 2009:222). This may be implicated for their outcome or their achievement or non-achievement. Consequently, the ecological climate of the school attended by DRC immigrant students is presented as a predicament in this study.

Meanwhile, Sudanese immigrants have been reported to “constitute an extremely high risk group, which faces great challenges in terms of adaptation to the school system, acculturation, social adaptation, English language learning, and eventual academic success” (Brown et al, 2006:150). It has been argued that keeping them in tune with mainstream education had not yielded commendable positive academic outcomes (Brown et al., 2006). This is another indication that English language learning in the host society is pivotal to the wellbeing of immigrant students from a country with different national language from that of the host society. It shows that language extends its frontiers to their assimilation into the school system, social integration and academic achievement.

Kunz (2000) argues that the majority of new immigrants experience isolation, harassment, and discrimination at school. Some of the immigrants claim that certain members of staff at school (e.g., teachers) practice prejudice, discrimination and unfriendliness towards them. Birman and Trickett (2001) also confirm that Soviet Jewish immigrants in the USA experience prejudice and pessimistic opinion from their American peers, who act as dominant students. They confirm that teachers also have discriminatory tendencies towards them at the school. Birman and Trickett (2001) assert that Soviet Jewish students in the USA reported

experiencing discrimination and negative perceptions by American students and teachers in schools and that this perceived discrimination had a considerable effect on Russian identification of Soviet Jewish adolescents in the USA. At this instance, prejudice, discrimination, bullying and isolation are problematized for investigation in this study; because they constitute part of the challenging schooling experiences among immigrant students in the host society.

Gibson and Carrasco (2009:254), in research recently concluded between the USA and Spain, aimed at investigating the differences in schooling experiences of immigrant students, their educational as well as socio-cultural diversities existing between them, concluded that “although official school discourses appear to embrace cultural and linguistic diversity, foreign-born and native-born children of immigrants often end up feeling silenced and alienated”. This was shown to affect them when they attended school due to discriminatory acts of indigenous students. They affirm that in both countries their codes of conduct had the undertone of equity and justice, and children of immigrants often felt isolated and kept back in their classes. They reiterated that in spite of the attempt to promote intercultural intermingling among the immigrants and indigenes in their different schools, by arranging sporting activities which are supposed to lead the immigrants to ‘belonging’ (Oikonomidou, 2007), such activities are presented in ways that promote seclusion, discrimination and prejudice among immigrants.

Their argument concurs with the discourse proposed by Asanova (2005) that the perception of immigrants to the ongoing forces within the school environment are vital issues to be considered when investigating immigrant students’ schooling experiences. This is because concerns relating to prejudice, discrimination, harassment and exclusion are crucial issues that need remedial confrontation, if a lasting solution is desired against intimidating forces challenging the adjustment of immigrant youths to the schooling system of their host countries (Asanova, 2005; Qin et al., 2008).

On the other hand, immigrant students from Morocco and Portugal attending Spanish schools are examples of students who gain the support of their school, especially in terms of a quick sense of belonging (Asanova, 2005) they experience at their schools. This initiative is as a result of collaborative efforts between the Spanish government, Morocco and Portugal, achieved with the support and recognition of cultural diversity (Eyou et al., 2000), which

entails the introduction of the immigrant students to special classes where their cultural needs are met. During normal school hours, there are class lessons that concentrate on cultural issues from the immigrants' countries of origin, and they are allowed to take lessons in their home language so that their cultural heritage would not be lost while they are in their host country (Permisan & Garcia-Fernandez, 2007). Based on this finding, another question arises: Are DRC immigrant students given the privilege of taking French at the school?

Qin et al. (2008) found that immigrant students experienced harassment, prejudice, and discrimination at the school. These schooling experiences were precipitated by issues that dealt with language and social standing (Dika & Singh, 2002); impressive academic excellence of Chinese-American students when compared to their non-Chinese schoolmates; the conscious awareness of preference of Chinese-American immigrants by educators due to their academic excellence; the evident distinction in body size between Chinese-American students and non-Asian students (their physique); and the absence of communal team spirit among the Chinese-American students.

The implication of these findings is that schooling experiences are diverse and change across nations, depending on issues picked up by dominant students. Consequently, it has been argued that the school environment can be implicated to be the battle ground that ultimately determines the future of immigrant students, in terms of acculturation (Berry et al., 2006;) and identity formation (Vandeyar, 2008).

Gibson (1998) found that the repulsive attitude of teachers towards the use of Spanish language during school hours had a detrimental effect on immigrant students' perception of school. The implicit indication is that school attendance becomes detestable to immigrant students when this sensitive aspect of their indigenous language is discouraged (Wang & Phillion, 2007). It thus becomes clear that academic performance and schooling experiences (Chow, 2006) are interlinked. The finding of Osterman (2000) illuminates this argument by affirming that students with positive identification toward the school system are usually immersed in learning.

The implication according to Osterman is that when there is dedication and identification of immigrant students in the direction of their compliance with the school system, their academic performance may be enhanced. There are various markers indicating the notion of students' belonging (Osterman, 2000), examples of which are attachment, sense of

membership belongingness, acceptance, and sense of community (Osterman, 2000). All of these refer to the psychological experiences of immigrant students in relation to how they view their school, and the kind of support they derive from their school environment.

When immigrants experience a sense of belonging at the school, it is almost certain that they may:

demonstrate intrinsic motivation, to accept the authority of others while at the same time establishing a stronger sense of identity, they experience their own sense of autonomy, and accept responsibility to regulate their own behaviour in the classroom, consistent with classroom norms (Osterman, 2000: 331).

Gibson and Carrasco (2009) highlight the importance of cultural responsiveness (Au & Mason, 1981) as one of the ways of getting the attention of immigrants at school. The incorporation of cultural discourses into the school curriculum is discussed in chapter three.

To communicate the uncertain effect of schooling experiences on immigrant students, Langhout and Mitchell (2008: 594) report that “community psychologists have been involved in school reform to facilitate more academically engaging experiences”. It has been found that attempts aimed at fostering transformation in terms of schooling experiences are weighed down with defiance (Kozol, 1991; McMillan, 1975; Ouellett, 1996; Rappaport et al., 2003; Sarason, 1971, 1995, 1997), and although complex, it is important to facilitate school restructuring especially because it has been documented that a number of schools are disappointing many school children, especially immigrant children (Wilson & Davis, 1994).

In summary, it has been highlighted that a number of challenging experiences negotiated by immigrants in the host society include prejudice, harassment, bullying, discrimination and language assimilation challenges. Language appears to be a very versatile tool of communication in the host society. If language issues are improperly handled, the schooling experiences of immigrants may become haphazard. It has also been demonstrated that academic performance and schooling experiences of immigrants cannot be treated in isolation. Hence, schooling experiences influence academic performance, identity formation and acculturation of immigrants in the host society.

Section 2.4 highlights the socio-cultural experiences (Chow, 2006) of immigrant students in the host society. The socio-cultural experiences involve language use, acculturation and how



immigrants identify themselves in the host society. None of these dimensions proposed by Chow (2006) can be discussed in isolation because of the link existing between them.

## **2.4 Socio-cultural experiences of immigrants**

The socio-cultural experiences of immigrant students are contemplated by looking at a definition proposed by Chow (2006). These issues will be dealt with subsequently so as to provide vivid understanding of the concepts involved. In view of an attempt having been made to deal with issues on language adjustment among immigrants in section 2.2.1.1, language use among immigrants, which is one of the socio-cultural experiences negotiated by immigrants in mainstream culture, shall be omitted. Section 2.4.1 begins by considering the second socio-cultural experience among immigrants.

### **2.4.1 Acculturation of immigrant students to the host country**

It is relevant to mention that acculturation (Berry et al., 2006) is one of the dimensions that can be used to determine the extent of belonging (Osterman, 2000) among immigrant groups of children to their mainstream culture. It has been referred to as the measure of their assimilation (Piedra & Engstrom, 2009) to the host society. The extent of acquisition of the language of the host society among immigrants can be used to measure their levels of acculturation (Mouw & Xie, 1999) to the host society. As mentioned above, since an acculturation measuring instrument like the one designed by Jinyang and Gordon (2007) would not be used in this study, one way of attempting to measure the level of acculturation (Berry & Sam, 1997) among DRC immigrant students is to consider their acquisition of the indigenous South African languages, and how this influences their behaviour at the school and in their homes (Wang & Phillion, 2007). Secondly, how do they identify themselves in the host society?

A definition of acculturation was proposed by Redfield et al. (1936:149), as a process that “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”. Acculturation connotes the way people bargain in the midst of cultural diversities (Eyou et al., 2000) with the feeling that there are hierarchies in terms of the affiliation to one or more cultures than the others (Oetting & Beauvais, 1990-1991). Berry et al. (2006:305) reiterate that in societies where immigrants and dominant groups co-exist, “individuals and groups need to work out how to live together, adopting

various strategies that will allow them to achieve a reasonably successful adaptation to living inter-culturally”. Acculturation is the course of cultural and emotional modification that emerges from the intermingling of ethnic cultures (Berry, 2003), and it is usually recognized when such individuals describe their identities (Vandeyar, 2008) to show their degree of affiliation to cultural preferences (Berry, 1995; LaFromboise, Coleman & Gerton, 1993).

Aronowitz (1984) demonstrates that little is known about the acculturation experience of immigrant youths in mainstream culture, causing the arousal of interests in this area from researchers (Fuligni, 2001; Ghuman, 2003; Rumbaut & Portes, 2001) and making this study relevant in terms of attempting to explore the topic in a South African schooling context. Consequently, the acculturation of DRC immigrant students is problematized for exploration in this study, with the process (Sam, 2006) involving knowing and taking on the way of life and customs of the “adopted society” (Berry & Sam, 1997; Berry et al., 2006). All immigrants from the same culture and ethnic origins experience acculturation in different ways and at different times (Jinyang & Gordon, 2007). Berry and Sam (1997:305) argue that in most cases “many immigrants actually desire to maintain a substantial part of their cultural heritage and identity in the society of settlement”. This suggests that there is a possibility of retaining part of the original cultural identity (Eyou et al., 2000) in host society while attempting to adopt the mainstream culture. Apparently, immigrants are typified by careful adaptation or purposeful adaptation, which "does not necessarily require individuals to disclaim their cultural values or disown their ethnic identities" (Duan & Vu, 2000:226).

Husbands and Idahosa (1995) support the findings of Duan and Vu (2000:226) by stating that it is extremely uncommon for an immigrant group to be entirely assimilated (Piedra & Engstrom, 2009) into the conventional social order, even though there is a general consensus that adoption into the host society may be visible in the second generation of immigrant groups, or for more than one generation (Rumbaut 1994) to be conservative. Ethnic retention capabilities vary from one culture to the other in terms of the degree of affiliation to cultural values from the host country.

Immigrants born in their home countries are more prone to identifying with their cultural values than those born in the host countries (Cuellar, Arnold, & Maldonado, 1995; Gim Chung, Kim, & Abreu, 2004; Sanchez & Fernandez, 1993). Furthermore, when immigrants get into the host country at a young age, the longer they reside there the higher the degree of

acculturation to host country (Lee, Sobal, & Frongillo, 2003; Richman, Gaviria, Flaherty, Birz, & Wintrob, 1987; Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000).

Berry (1980, 2003) describes acculturation as a route of transformation emerging due to new connections with different cultural backgrounds. It is a phenomenological process among immigrant groups which have the tendency to influence change in their identity (Vandeyar, 2008), way of life and ideas. According to Berry (1980, 2003), it may also influence material, opinionated and fiscal adaptation, and these experiences may attempt to influence them positively or negatively, depending on their fortitude in the host society. Immigrants go through some experiences that are challenging, referred to as “acculturative stress” (Madhavappallil & Choi, 2006). Madhavappallil and Choi (2006:137) found that, in the USA, “both Korean and Indian adolescents experienced low to moderate levels of acculturative stress”, which often results in disagreement between parents and their adolescent children. This is because their children see the mainstream culture as targets to be met by copying the cultural practices of the host society at the expense of back-home ethnic values being taught by their immigrant parents. Korean and Indian parents experience difficulty in communicating ethnic values from home to their children, who are imbibing the American culture at the expense of communicating with their immigrant children, and teaching them to have respect for elders, one another, and to succeed at school. The hope is that they will fulfil the dreams of their parents on leaving their home countries, by gaining access to an American system perceived by immigrant parents to be better than the one they had left in their home country.

The “settlement” and “integration” of immigrants into the host country are linked to acculturation (Berry, 1980), but are different from it. The process of settlement is connected to getting used to the systems in the host country. The period of time elapsed in the host country is not a measure of how well immigrants have integrated into the host country, but is measured in terms of functionality and how immigrants are adept at taking full control, experiencing comfort and thriving in their new environment (Gray & Elliot, 2001), to the extent of having their own ventures in the host culture (UNHCR, 2002). Hence, in this study, it is intended to carefully investigate whether the length of stay of DRC immigrant students is a function of their ease of getting acculturated into the South African society.

There has been a contention that involuntary immigrants experience greater difficulty in terms of becoming incorporated into mainstream culture, because they are compelled to

embark on sudden missions to escape the devastating situation in their home country and find designated places of shelter (UNHCR, 2002). Although other immigrants concentrate on the process of settling down in mainstream culture, it appears as if involuntary immigrants are compelled to reflect on their previous experiences in their home country as well as how they have been treated and received in mainstream culture before consideration of acculturation can begin (Bemak et al., 2003). The reality about their prior experience is that they have concrete experiences in terms of unpalatable extended environmental distresses that have battered their mores in terms of affiliation to ethnic, social, and political issues (UNHCR, 2002). It has been reported by Mansouri et al. (2006: 400) that “one of the key acculturation challenges experienced” by immigrants in Australia is “their adjustment to unfamiliar norms of social life”. Shamaï and Ilatov (2005:641) argue that immigrants from the former Soviet Union (FSU) have divided views about acculturation, as “a large portion of the immigrant students accept the dominant culture, but some resist it”, and even adult immigrants have the same attitude by either deciding to identify with the Israeli culture or the FSU culture. When immigrants begin to acculturate, they mimic mainstream conduct (in terms of language use, mode of dressing) and mind-set (morals, ideals and way of life). For example, when Latinas get to the peak of acculturation in the USA, they take on some aspects of the American culture in terms of their sexual behaviour which tends to be indiscrete and unwholesome. This has been identified by researchers to be one of the indiscriminate social aberrations of acculturation in mainstream culture, causing more harm than good among immigrants in the USA (Aneshensel et al., 1990; Darabi & Ortiz, 1987; Ford & Norris, 1993; Sabogal et al., 1993, 1995).

The perception and societal patterns of doing things among immigrants comes under severe pressure when they enter a new cultural domain. All they have learned has to be ‘unlearned’, because their previous cultural expertise no longer works in the new environment. Undoubtedly, the novel societal stipulations and anticipations are lessened by issues pertaining to race, gender, socio-economic status, religion, and immigrant status in the host country, all of which have an effect on the degree of acculturation of the immigrants (Alitolppa-Niitamo, 2004; Bennett, 2004; Castles & Davidson, 2000; Espin, 1999; Gay, 2000).

Yeh et al. (2008:784) contend that:

acculturation is not only a time to learn new norms and values, and to adopt salient reference groups of the host society, but is a process that includes the ability to grow beyond the original culture and encompass a new culture. Hence, communication is crucial to the adjustment process, and language is the fundamental means of effective communication—an important tool for social interaction and for retrieving information in daily life.

Choice of language by respondents could be a predictor of the extent to which immigrants have acculturated to the host country. This can be vividly seen in a research questionnaire presented in two languages. The choice of language used by immigrants to answer questions on the questionnaire could clearly indicate the preponderance in ethnic preference between home and host cultures (Ramirez-Esparza et al., 2006). This was one of the measurements used by Jinyang and Gordon (2007) in their acculturation measuring instrument. In summary, acculturation among immigrant groups is evident when they declare their identity. Acculturation has been presented as the route embarked upon by immigrants in taking on the way of life and traditions of the adopted society. It has also been enumerated that age at entry to the host country may determine the acculturation tendency of immigrants. It is also dependent on the challenges confronting them as well as their “future goal setting” (Andriessen et al., 2006) capabilities in the host society. Acculturation among immigrants has been presented as a non-trivial phenomenon because of acculturative stress. Finally, on this note, it was highlighted that language is a vital tool that aids acculturation of immigrants to their host society. Section 2.4.2 projects issues on identity formation among immigrants in host society.

#### **2.4.2 Identity formation among immigrant students**

Identity is a construct that changes from time to time among immigrant children (Hamann, 2004; Vandeyar, 2008). Hall (1996a, 1996b) speculates that identity should be viewed as being fabricated, while Roediger (2003) asserts that whenever there is need to undertake an investigation regarding the issues pertaining to identity, it should be presented as a predicament needing suggestions as to how to solve it in a communal context, as in the past, and for it to be philosophically grounded, instead of accommodating it as natural or bodily ‘fact’. Roediger (2003) further affirms that people build their identities diversely over time and among individuals who have similar communal category, whereas, in a different way among individuals who “belong” (Oikonomidou, 2007) to different categories. Kohn

(2002:155) argues that “identity is all about choice, action and a multiplicity of experience and allegiance”.

Vandeyar (2008) argues that the formation of identity deals with the components of individualized previous events, which are endlessly engaged in the path of change. This is important in the light of all that has been discussed so far that immigrants experience diverse challenges that are capable of predisposing them to making certain decisions that shape their identities. Such experiences have been highlighted as discrimination, prejudice, harassment and “acculturative stress” (Madhavappallil & Choi, 2006), to mention a few. Vandeyar (2008) appears to be relevant in the light of what has been encountered in literature (Yeh et al., 2008; Qin et al., 2008), that these forces navigate the experiences and decisions made by immigrants in mainstream culture. Furthermore, Vandeyar (2008:115) argues that “identity focuses on becoming rather than being and is formed in accordance with how one is positioned by, and positions oneself with respect to the past. Identity is always influenced by culture, history, and power”. The remarkable affirmation made by Vandeyar (2008) about the nature of identity lies in its ability to be mobile, changeable and variable, and her assertion agrees with other researchers into the changing dynamics of cultural identity (Kohn, 2002; Roediger, 2003; Eyou et al., 2000). This becomes important again, if the effects of the challenges experienced by immigrants in mainstream culture (Yeh et al., 2008; Qin et al., 2008) change from an adverse situation to a welcoming one. In such positive circumstances, the nature of the immigrants’ identities becomes changed in the midst of the prevailing situation (Vandeyar, 2008).

Asanova (2005:191) suggests that among immigrants in the host country, two issues add to the sense of belonging (Asanova, 2005) of students: the quality of teacher relationships and the respect by the school staff for students’ ethnic culture. These factors can be implicated for how immigrants construct their identities within mainstream culture. It has been observed that “immigrant identity is one aspect of the encounter between a host majority and a group of newcomers” (Mana et al., 2009:450). It can also be perceived “as the repertoire of immigrants’ cultural and social positions viz-a-viz those of the host majority group” (Mana et al., 2009:450). Asanova (2005) is supported by the views of Vandeyar (2008) on the changeability, variability, and the potency of the immigrant culture, cross-breeding with the dominant culture to form a hybrid of cultures.

When these hybrids are formed, it may be ascertained that acculturation has taken place in a measure. In such instances, immigrants tend to assume, for example the hyphenated identity (Sears et al., 2003) stratum, where there is evidence of “cultural negotiation” between the home ethnic culture of immigrants and that of the host society. At such an instance, immigrants tend to relinquish part of their home culture to adopt the culture of the host society (e.g., Dominican-American). In essence, the influential factors in identity formation are the nature of experiences negotiated by immigrants in the host society (Asanova, 2005; Vandeyar, 2008). It has also been observed that immigrant children in mainstream culture “often grow up with strong ties to two countries, two cultures, and two ways of being, which can produce multiple realities, multiple ways of being and communicating with the world” (Rodriguez, 2009:17). The situation of Dominican-American immigrants seems to be different in that they have a preconceived notion of returning to their home country after staying in America for a while, which is transferred to their children as they grow up in the American society (Rodriguez, 2009). Apart from these immigrants being in the host country, they still have access to the different lifestyles operating in their home country, including food items, practices of their language, and industrial activities. In essence, they are acquainted with their ‘transnational social space’ (Snel et al., 2006), making them current in terms of every detail pertaining to their home country. This is a special case of identity construct because of the affiliation of the immigrants to their home cultural details as Rodriguez (2009:17) reiterates that “Dominican-American youth straddle multiple worlds, negotiating experiences related to family, schooling, and identity in transnational social spaces”. This practice is achieved over their period of stay in the host country by ensuring that their “families travel back and forth regularly, maintaining close ties to communities with the Dominican Republic”, so as to have close contact with their roots in terms of their culture. This suggests that they object to losing their cultural identities (Eyou et al., 2000). They keep close ties to maintain their language and societal injunctions which are bequeathed to their children. This culture goes from one generation to the other. By inference, this kind of inter-ethnic identity formation is such that is prevalent to the home ethnic culture of the Dominican-American immigrants (Rodriguez, 2009:17).

In a study conducted by Marks et al. (2007:511) on emerging ethnic identity and interethnic group social preferences in middle childhood among Cambodian, Dominican and Portuguese children who were immigrants in the USA, it was discovered that “overall, older children demonstrated a greater amount of ethnic identification and exploration indicated by a greater

amount of label selection, as well as higher levels of ethnic pride”, and that “in spite of a sound foundation of research documenting the importance of a strong ethnic identity for adolescent and adult well-being, strikingly little is known of the development of ethnic identity prior to adolescence”. The implication is that there is an opportunity to investigate among DRC immigrants, the onset of identity formation before the cycle of adolescence begins among them in mainstream culture. French et al. (2006) hypothesize that the search for uniqueness becomes vital in the mid-teens. However, in the South African context, the broader project which began in 2008 on immigrant student identities among Black immigrants in schools has attempted to address this issue.

Cross (1971, 1991) reiterates that people are not conscious of their ethnic identities unless they are confronted by acts of segregation. This is responsible for the spontaneous search for uniqueness by individuals concerned. By extrapolation, when immigrants are subjected to harassment, prejudice, xenophobia and discrimination, there is spontaneous demand for their “sense of belonging” (Osterman, 2000) to an ethnic group. It is understandable that Marks et al. (2007:502) categorically state that “racial identity is, therefore, typically not considered salient during childhood”. This may be because acts of prejudice and discrimination may not be impacted so severely on children as much as adults and adolescents in the host country. Aboud (2003) believes that children discover while still young how to recognize quickly as well as build up communal factions in the host country. These communal factions may also be premised on where they come from as well as their racial composition. Furthermore, the degree to which immigrant parents imbibe the credence of culture (Fischer, 2004) in their homes greatly influences the rate at which their children build up their cultural identities (Eyou et al., 2000; Phinney et al., 2001; Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2001). Another exposure of the influence of parental cultural capital (Weine et al., 2008) is presented for investigation in this study among DRC immigrant students.

In summary, an attempt has been made to argue that identity formation is linked to the acculturation experience of immigrants in their host society. In the formation of identity, cultural hybrids emerge, depending on the experiences of the immigrants in their host society. An attempt has also been made to demonstrate that identity formation is dependent on the degree of affiliation of immigrants to home cultures and transnational social space enterprise existing between the two cultures. Age at entry to mainstream culture has also been problematized as determinant of identity formation, made relevant by the argument that the



search for identity is noticeable at the onset of adolescence. Section 2.4.3 presents a simple measure of acculturation and identity among immigrant students in the host society.

### **2.4.3 A simple measure of acculturation and identity**

It appears as if acculturation and identity go hand-in-hand in the host society, depending on the experiences negotiated by immigrants in it (Asanova, 2005; Berry & Sam, 1997; Berry et al., 2006; Epstein & Kheimets, 2000; Eyou et al., 2000; Qin et al., 2008; Sam, 2006; Yeh et al., 2008). The situation of Dominican-American immigrants in their host society seems to illuminate our understanding in terms of deducing whether they are inclined towards acculturation and identity negotiation in the host society, and one can deduce whether they are attempting to acculturate to the host society by inquiring if they are willing to return to their home country (Rodriguez, 2009). Their situation is different in that they have a preconception of returning to their home country after staying in the USA for a while, and this notion is transferred to their children as they grow up in that society. This is indeed an indication that they are not ready to relinquish their home ethnic culture (Rodriguez, 2009), achieved over a period of stay in the host country by ensuring that their “families travel back and forth regularly, maintaining close ties to communities in the Dominican Republic”, so as to have close contact with their roots in terms of their culture. This also suggests that they mind losing their cultural identities (Eyou et al., 2000). They keep close ties to maintain their language and societal injunctions which are bequeathed to their children. This culture goes from one generation to the other (Rodriguez, 2009:17). In this case, it can be inferred that they are not totally acculturating to the American society per se, because of the close connection they have to their cultural roots (Rodriguez, 2009). Consequently, they assume the hyphenated identity status (Sears et al., 2003). Hence, in this study it will be investigated whether DRC immigrant students are also attached to their cultural roots, or whether they are acculturating to their host society. Are they also getting some benefits in South Africa to warrant negotiating their ethnic culture with the South African culture? Eventually, this additional question may be vital: Do DRC immigrant students form hyphenated identities in South Africa? To be more precise, do they identify with the South African society? Having attempted to discuss measures of acculturation and identity in this section, section 2.5 provides a summary of findings in this chapter.

## 2.5 Summary of findings in the chapter

It is evident that the majority of events pertaining to immigrant students' educational and socio-cultural experiences have been obtained on international perspectives. A few studies report on the experiences of immigrant students in South Africa, and the reports are not particularly focused on exploring their educational and socio-cultural experiences. This study therefore attempts to fill the identified gaps in literature, in South Africa. Furthermore, as Lucas (1997) asserts, it is necessary to broaden the understanding of immigrant experiences in order to comprehensively understand how they thrive in mainstream culture. It is however anticipated that this study will attempt to delve into critical perspectives of DRC immigrant students' educational and socio-cultural experiences. All these experiences are presented as predicaments for exploration in this study.

To summarize this chapter, it has been argued that all the five dimensions which have been identified through the lenses of educational and socio-cultural experiences of immigrant students are interrelated in concepts. It is vital to take note that the review of literature provides insight into the paucity of research in terms of the educational and socio-cultural experiences of immigrant students in South Africa.

Findings that emanated from the literature review are as follows:

Firstly, on both the national and international scenes, language comprehension in the host society appears to be prominent and pivotal to all the dimensions of exploring this study. Language acquisition in the host society has been implicated to be a cultural connector linking immigrants to becoming acculturated, having conducive schooling experiences and forming their individual identities in the host society. Linguistic adjustment has also been reported to be vital in achieving at the school, and useful for communicating among the indigenous groups at the school.

Consequently, English language proficiency has been problematized in this study because the DRC immigrant students being investigated at this particular school are from a Francophone (French speaking) country; to South Africa with the recognition of eleven official languages and the adoption of English languages at most schools as the language of instruction. Nationally, it has been reported that immigrant groups are proficient and dogged at learning

English language at school, despite acculturative stress and English language not being their first language. Their resilient nature has been found to contribute to this observation.

On the international scene, it has been argued that when another language, other than the national language in the host society is used at home, the educational achievement of immigrants in the host society may be undermined. Similarly, it has been shown in this chapter that there is a possibility of revolt among immigrant students if their traditional language needs are not addressed. This has given rise to inquiring whether remedial actions in terms of the English language predicament of DRC immigrant students are being addressed at the school prior to allowing them access into tuition as suggested in literature.

Secondly, discrimination, bullying, prejudice and isolation have been reported on the international scene as being used as steppingstones by certain immigrants to assist them in having high academic achievement at school. This has been possible because of their astute adherence to home cultural tenets, and because it has helped them to concentrate on their studies with the hope that they would eventually succeed, if they concentrate on their studies. This assertion has predisposed one to attempting to investigate whether such occurrences operate among DRC immigrant students at the research site. Hence, prejudice, bullying, discrimination and isolation have been identified as challenging schooling experiences confronting immigrant students in the host society, and have also been problematized in this study.

Thirdly, it has been shown that voluntary immigrants are prone to having high academic performance. However, reports from literature on national and international perspectives on issues pertaining to their academic performance are inconsistent. One of the reasons reported is language and communication challenges among them in the host country. It has also been indicated that this is as a result of the different contexts pertaining to their experiences in the different host societies which they have to confront in terms of cultural negotiation.

Some studies report that immigrants are proficient at speaking and learning the LOLT; others reiterate that they are unaffected by language problems while others report that they find it difficult to grasp the LOLT. This is because proficiency in the LOLT is pivotal to their academic achievement at the school. Other studies affirm that their academic performance is impaired because they are always in and out of school. However, from what has been found so far in literature (Hamann, 2004), it appears that Ogbu's generalized classification of

voluntary immigrants as academic achievers is preponderant and contextual. Language issues appear to form part of the schooling challenges confronting immigrant children in the host society, despite their exhibited traits of tenacity and commitment to succeed at school, therefore, it appears to be important to investigate whether it is justifiable to ascertain that, before the academic performance of DRC immigrant children in the host society can be adequately assessed, they have to be set aside for a period of time so that they would be able to learn the LOLT in their host country before they are allowed access into normal tuition. It thus becomes important to state that the LOLT is pivotal to the educational and socio-cultural experiences of immigrant students in the host society.

Fourthly, it has been argued by certain authors that culturally responsive curriculum alone cannot guarantee academic performance among immigrant students, because the LOLT in the host society is crucial. Others affirm that it is better to build trust between immigrants and the school system. This gives opportunity to verify the stance of DRC immigrants in this study on these assertions.

Fifthly, acculturation of immigrants to the host society has been identified as a struggle. It is aimed at attempting to enhance the adjustment of immigrants to mainstream culture. Such attempts are usually challenged by acts of racism, prejudice, and discrimination experienced by immigrants in the host culture. Language proficiency and acculturation have been shown to be interrelated (Yeh et al., 2008), because they influence each other.

Language acquisition is pivotal to the acculturation of immigrant students in the host society. Generally, immigrants are confronted by issues relating to the learning of the LOLT in the host society (Chow, 2000, 2001). Although some studies have argued that immigrant students transcend challenges pertaining to the learning of the LOLT at school and acculturative stress. This is achieved by concentrating on their original goals of moving to their desired host country to survive against all odds. At such times, their “status frame of reference” (Ogbu & Simons, 1998) has been shown to navigate their decisions to hold on in the host society. It becomes more pronounced when they examine the detrimental and unpleasant experiences they had in their home country. Their tenacity in mainstream culture has also been traced to their ardent adherence to their home culture which stipulates resilience (Sookrajh et al., 2005). Consequently, the acculturation experiences of DRC immigrants in this study are presented as a dilemma.

Sixthly, identity formation of immigrants in the host society is a non-static phenomenon, and it is affected by challenges confronting the immigrants in mainstream culture, their historical backgrounds and life histories (Vandeyar, 2008). Identity issues have been argued to constitute encounters and collision of cultural and social issues to form a new “hybrid” of interconnected cultures (Vandeyar, 2008). It has also been demonstrated that identity formation is dependent on the degree of affiliation of immigrants to home cultures and transnational social space existing between the two cultures (Rodriguez, 2009). Age at entry to mainstream culture has also been problematized as determinant of identity formation. It has been unfolded that the search for identity among immigrants is prevalent at the attainment of teenage years. This is because at this stage of their development, they experience the reality of prejudice, discrimination and isolation at school in the host society (French et al., 2006; Marks et al., 2007). Furthermore, the work of Cross (1971, 1991) is supported by the findings of French et al. (2006) by arguing that the consciousness for identity is aroused by acts of prejudice, harassment, and discrimination experienced by immigrants in mainstream culture.

Finally, culture plays vital roles in the experiences of immigrants in the host society, especially when parental influence is present (Qin et al., 2008). Hence in this study, it will be investigated whether DRC immigrant students are also attached to their ethnic cultures. Are they also getting some benefits in South Africa to warrant negotiating their ethnic culture with the South African culture? Furthermore, this question appears to be relevant: Do DRC immigrant students have hyphenated identities in South Africa? All these findings will be discussed in chapter six by linking them to the findings of this study.

Chapter three presents the theoretical frameworks for the study, referred to as the “scaffolds” of this study.

## CHAPTER THREE

### THE SCAFFOLDS OF THE STUDY

#### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter begins by defining ‘theoretical framework’ and establishing the reasons for having a scaffold in research. The importance of theory in qualitative research is enumerated. The three theoretical scaffolds (CET, CCT and CRT) that will be used to explain the findings of the study in chapter six are presented. The chapter concludes by giving a summary of the findings in literature on the scaffolds used for the study.

A theoretical framework is a practical theory of “social” or “psychological process” which exists at diverse levels and relates to the intellectual capacity of events (Anfara & Mertz, 2006:27). Tavallaei and Abutalib (2010:573) argue that in research a theoretical framework gives the researcher a chance to examine and distinguish relevant portions of the events being investigated, despite certain aspects of the events being hidden. Consequently, “new researchers are facing ambiguities on the real “entity of theory” and “their rate of reliability on theory” as the main reference during their investigation (Tavallaei & Abutalib, 2007:571). Furthermore, they contend that “the importance of theory” in qualitative research “has become a point of concern” among many qualitative researchers due to its role. Novel investigators are confronting uncertainties on the exact “entity of theory”, as well as “their rate of reliability on theory” as a key reference when conducting their research (Tavallaei & Abutalib, 2010:570-571). Similarly, Merriam (1998:45) highlights the importance of theoretical framework in research by arguing that we would be oblivious of the tracks to follow without theoretical frameworks: “many believe mistakenly that theory has no place in a qualitative study. Actually, it would be difficult to imagine a study without a theoretical framework”.

Based on these findings on the versatility of theoretical frameworks, the relevant theoretical frameworks that would be used to explain the findings in this research are presented:

Three theoretical frameworks would assist in explaining the educational and socio-cultural experiences of the DRC immigrant students in a South African schooling context. They are:

Cultural Ecological Theory (CET); Culture Centred Theory (CCT); and Critical Race Theory (CRT).

### **3.2 Cultural Ecological Theory (CET)**

Cultural Ecological Theory (CET) (Ogbu, 1990, 1991) investigates the impact of ethnicity, individuality, and communal forces on academic achievement and schooling experiences among immigrant children in mainstream culture. CET provides explanation of the academic performance of immigrant students in mainstream culture and proposes that immigrant students respond to schooling forces differently, based on their reasons for migrating to the host society. Consequently, CET classifies immigrant students into voluntary and involuntary immigrants (Ogbu & Simons, 1998), and forms the concept upon which discussion will be made in attempting to understand the academic performance of immigrant students in chapter six.

#### **3.2.1 Basic tenets of CET**

CET puts into consideration, the wide-ranging ‘societal factors’, ‘school factors’ and the inter-play of forces within the immigrant ‘communities’ (Ogbu & Simons, 1998:158). In this present study, societal factors pertain to the influence of the immediate community of the immigrants (for example, how people living in their immediate environment perceive them). School factors border on the influence of their peers, teachers and the school environment. The inter-play of forces involves the dynamics behind societal factors and school factors affecting the overall predisposition of immigrant students in their academic endeavours. “Ecology” is regarded as the “setting”, “environment”, or “world of people” (immigrants) and “cultural” generally deals with how these people (immigrants) view their communal space and behave in it (Ogbu & Simons, 1998:158). It therefore implies that all these forces are interconnected, and influence the reaction of immigrant students to academic concerns.

CET “places great weight on formidable non-school community forces that affect school success” (Ogbu & Simons, 1998:83). It comprises two major facets, firstly, how immigrant students are perceived, handled or mal-handled by policies pertaining to education, teaching and learning, and how they are compensated for their commitment to educational issues in terms of their certification. These are referred to as system forces (Ogbu & Simons, 1998:158). The other part deals with how the migrant students view and act in response to schooling because of the way they are treated, welcomed or not welcomed in their host

environment. These factors are known as community forces (Ogbu & Simons, 1998). Furthermore, the way immigrants respond to treatment from their host environment is also dependent on reasons why and how they left their home country. Ogbu's CET is not readily construed by other researchers in the field (Erickson, 1987; Foster, 2004; Gilbert, 2009; Hamann, 2004; Hermans, 2004; Trueba, 1991), especially in the area of interpreting school achievements to be mainly dependent on community forces without considering system forces.

Ogbu argues that school achievement is not based on reasons of heredity. Secondly, he contends that there is no culture emanating from involuntary immigrant students, predisposing them to performing well at school, and thirdly, there is no immigrant language suited for immigrant students' excellence in learning (Simon et al., n.d.b). Furthermore, CET advocates that only voluntary immigrants have "positive dual frame of reference" (Ogbu & Simons, 1998:170), while involuntary immigrants have a "negative dual frame of reference" (Ogbu & Simons, 1998:170), where a "frame of reference is the way a person (or a group) looks at a situation" (Ogbu & Simons, 1998:170). The importance of the "dual frame of reference" in this study is that, it would assist in making interpretation regarding the belief system of the immigrants with respect to how they value the benefits accruing to them in terms of their immigration experience, matched with what they left in their ethnic origin. Consequently, from the understanding gained from the CET, if the immigrants perceive their stay in South Africa to be of better benefit than in their home country; it should give them the drive to want to excel in the host society. This discussion becomes important in chapter six.

According to the CET, voluntary immigrants have a positive dual frame of reference because when they compare the opportunities at stake in the host society they conclude that their situation is better than what they had in their home country. On the other hand, involuntary immigrants have been reported to have a "negative dual frame of reference" because they see the class of the people in the middle class in the host society as being beyond reach (Ogbu & Simons, 1998:170). The strength of CET is in its capacity to differentiate between voluntary and involuntary immigrants in the host society (Ogbu & Simons, 1998). Its shortcomings arise from the debates on its inconsistency to explain the academic performance of voluntary and involuntary immigrant students on a universal basis (Erickson, 1987; Foster, 2004, 2005, 2005a, 2005b, 2005c, 2005d; Hamann, 2004).



### 3.2.2 Criticisms of CET

A number of researchers have engaged the CET (Ogbu, 1990, 1991) by arguing that it has been one-sided in its entirety (Erickson, 1987; Foster, 2005; Gilbert, 2009; Hamann, 2004). The implication of their criticisms in this study is that caution will be exercised when applying CET to the current study. Consequently, from the analysis that has been made in the course of reading (Erickson, 1987; Foster, 2004, 2005, 2005a, 2005b, 2005c, 2005c, 2005d; Hermans, 2004), it appears from the critique of these researchers that Ogbu's explanation on voluntary and involuntary immigrant students' academic performance is one-sided.

It shall be demonstrated in this report that Ogbu's concentration was on formidable non-school community forces (Ogbu & Simons: 158) affecting the performance of immigrant students. This concentration has received criticisms from a number of researchers (Awokoya & Clark, 2008; Foster, 2004, 2005; Hamann, 2004). They assert that Ogbu is oblivious of the notion that system forces (Ogbu & Simons, 1998:158) also play vital roles in the academic performance of immigrant students at school due to the non-static nature of cultural identity (Hamann, 2004; LaDousa, 2006; Vandeyar, 2008).

Gilbert (2009:71) argues that "discrimination and structural barriers in schools are important determinants of low school achievement" among immigrant students in mainstream culture, and that acts of prejudice and structural impediments at schools, are not the main reasons for diminished academic achievement, because, not all immigrant students underachieve at schools. Hamann (2004) gives a more constructive critical stance by not seeing Ogbu's work as the remedy for all desired explanations of immigrant students' academic performance, but does not come to terms with the criticisms of other academic scholars (e.g., Awokoya & Clark, 2008; Foster, 2004, 2005; Hermans, 2004; Trueba, 1991) who have been somehow skewed in their critique. Hamann (2004) expresses concern that there are misunderstandings in terms of the scholarly work of Ogbu. Looking critically at Hamann's (2004) analysis, there is a suggestion to advance the research output with caution, especially by not generalizing and transferring his research output on the academic performance of voluntary and involuntary immigrants blindly to other situations. This according to Hamann is because immigrant students' academic performance is driven by cultural diversity and predisposition to their environment. Hamann (2004:403) maintains that Ogbu is sometimes inaccurate because his theory does not explain the unexpected success of many immigrant groups

(Harklau, 1994; Romo & Falbo, 1996), who in this perspective have been categorized as involuntary immigrants by Ogbu.

Hamann (2004) cited the work of Erickson (1987) to buttress his argument that Erickson is an example of an objective reviewer, to some extent he agreeing with the work of Ogbu that it has a reasonable potential to explain and predict the academic performance of immigrants. Looking at the discourse more critically, Ogbu catches only a glimpse of the ‘micro-ethnography’ of classroom behaviour in his studies and despite the broad applicability of Ogbu’s theory, the “hows of it remain uncomfortably obscured” (Hamann 2004:403). From a critical perspective of the entire analysis, if a “macro-ethnographic” view of the classroom had been taken into consideration in Ogbu’s research, a more balanced perception may have emerged from his argument in terms of the academic performance of involuntary immigrant students. Explanations in such direction pay no attention to issues pertaining to hegemony. This often provides support and upholds breaches in communication and the disparity that is exercised by dominant groups in such a dimension that their domination prevails over immigrants (Hamann, 2004).

From what has been read so far on the work of a number of researchers on immigrant students, it has been found that competence in the language of learning and teaching is vital for social interaction and academic performance in mainstream culture. Language competence appears to aid interaction between immigrant students, teachers and their indigenous peers in the host country. This implies that immigrants would have been able to interact proficiently with their dominant peers and teachers in academic matters, had they possessed the vocabulary and social capital (Dika & Singh, 2002; Wang & Phillion, 2007) that guarantees them the wherewithal to learn together in cooperative ways.

Furthermore, this discourse suggests that language can become a unifying force or a kind of “cultural bridge” (Yeh et al., 2008) between immigrants and dominant children. Consequently, it may be safer to affirm that the poor academic performance of immigrants may arise as a result of the differences that exist in their ability to communicate and express themselves among dominant groups in their host country. This discourse becomes important when there is disparity between the language of communication in the home country of immigrants and the language of instruction in the host society (Wang & Phillion, 2007; Yeh et al., 2008).

It may become more complicated in an environment such as South Africa, with the recognition of eleven official languages; where English language has been chosen as the dominant language of instruction at most schools (Louw, 2004). At this juncture, language of communication in the host country has been identified as a dominant player in immigrant students' academic achievement in the host country (Yeh et al., 2008). This depends to a large extent on the cultural diversity among immigrant groups in their host country (Eyou et al., 2000). Existing power relations among immigrants and dominant students could account for the poor academic performance of immigrant students (Hamann, 2004:402), however, there is a constant "need to search for other theoretical explanations that may provide alternative perspectives in attempts to better understand the academic performance" of immigrant students in the host society (Gilbert, 2009:78).

### **3.3 Culture Centred Theory (CCT)**

Culture-Centered Theory (CCT) explores the involvement of learners' ethnic settings as reference points for preparing them academically, and in a social context (Awokoya & Clark, 2008). The basic concept of CCT involves the incorporation of culturally responsive teaching (Asanova, 2005) and learning into the curriculum of schools to accommodate the diverse cultural perspectives of immigrant students, so that they would not be in perpetual exclusion at school; with the eventual premonition that their academic performance may be enhanced. CCT also predisposes immigrants to understanding the diverse cultural perspectives in their host society, with the aim of alleviating arduous schooling experiences, acculturation and identity negotiation in the host society (Ladson-Billings, 1992, 1992b, 1994; Nieto & Bode, 2007).

Culturally responsive teaching and learning is instruction that recognizes and contains the way of life (culture), verbal communication, and styles of learning of students in the programme of study and hall of instruction. It is a deliberate integration of programmes designed to address cultural differences among students to seal the gap between the 'cultural' model of students and the educational institution's necessities to avert the kind of misunderstanding propelled by the disagreement between educators' and students' culturally unwavering relational approach (Ladson-Billings, 1992, 1992b, 1994). In essence, CCT becomes an invaluable tool in this study for evaluating the outcome of cultural teaching, if any, at the school attended by immigrant students on their academic work.

### 3.3.1 Basic tenets of CCT

CCT hinges on incorporating cultural discourses into the school curriculum to enhance the academic performance, schooling experiences, acculturation, and identity formation among immigrants in mainstream culture (Asanova, 2005; Epstein & Kheimets, 2000). Culturally responsive teaching demonstrates to the students that the educator identifies and respects their ‘cultural’ and individual concrete ‘experiences’, in addition to helping to create a school environment that is more amiable for co-existence among immigrant and dominant students (Ogbu & Simons, 1998). For example, it has been discovered through immigrant studies conducted in the USA and Israel that Former Soviet Union (FSU) immigrants are fond of their culture (Al-Haj, 2004; Epstein & Kheimets, 2000). It implies that among such immigrant groups, non-adherence and non-identification with their cultural beliefs could have an adverse effect on their academic achievement, schooling experiences, language usage, acculturation and identity in mainstream culture.

Culturally responsive teaching entails the understanding of educators with respect to the culture and mode of verbal communication of their students. When the tradition of students and their community issues are brought under discourse into the classroom environment, cultural gaps are linked together (Ogbu & Simons, 1998). Educators are afforded the opportunity of knowing about the culture and the experiences that their students have had, and consequently, the students feel at home because they become aware that their educators have the knowledge of the happenings in their lives. In essence, this may tend to support their uniqueness.

When a wholesome educational environment is created, where exposure to diverse backgrounds of culture is encouraged, the development of all students may be guaranteed in which there will be freedom from acts of prejudice, discrimination, segregation, and harassment. Consequently, CCT becomes a strategy for understanding the different cultures among immigrants and indigenous students in the host society, with the purpose of fostering a favourable environment for the enhancement of educational goals, acculturation and identity formation among immigrant students in mainstream culture.

To indicate the importance of cultural responsiveness in pedagogical issues, Wang and Phillion (2007:98) report that Chinese-American immigrant parents “talk to their children about school work, help organize Chinese cultural events at school, [and] work as volunteers

in class” so as to persistently register their cultural intention and orientation in their children’s schooling experiences. Apart from the effort that can be made at school, it has been found that among certain immigrant students in mainstream culture, immigrant families gather on a yearly basis to commemorate their traditional festivals in the host society. At such periods, immigrant children are directly involved and allowed to come into contact with their traditional cultures in the host country. This gives them a sense of belonging (Osterman, 2000) and affiliation to their cultural backgrounds (Asanova, 2005).

The implication of this act is academic focus among immigrant students, which eventually leads to achievement because they become associated with culturally responsive teaching in their schools. Many culture-centred theorists have successfully used culturally responsive modes of teaching to enhance the academic achievement and commitment of marginalized immigrant children in mainstream culture (Darling-Hammond, 1997; Ladson-Billings, 1992; Nieto, 2002; Nieto & Bode, 2007).

Gay (2000: 29) contends that culturally responsive teaching is profound at:

using the cultural knowledge, prior experiences, frames of reference, and performance styles of ethnically diverse students to make learning encounters more relevant to, and effective for them. It teaches to and through the strengths of these students. It is culturally validating and affirming.

The main goals of exposing immigrant students to culturally responsive curricula are: to enable them to experience academic excellence; to inculcate and create grounds for the development of cultural proficiency; and to encourage the development of significant awareness that gives them the fortitude to confront their stratified communal space (Ladson-Billings, 1994; Rodriguez, 2009). This may be because immigrants “often grow up with strong ties to two countries, two cultures, and two ways of being, which can produce multiple realities, multiple ways of being and communicating with the world” (Rodriguez, 2009:17).

In essence, it becomes clear that CCT is a relevant tool that assists in locating the situation of immigrant groups in their host country. CCT is vital because it has been found that the challenges faced by teachers in ethnically diverse schools are also diverse. They “are rarely prepared to understand the complex lives and connections their students have to multiple places, cultures, and languages” (Rodriguez, 2009:18). Hence, teachers sometimes overreact and become inadvertently segregationist, discriminatory, and sometimes unduly exclude immigrant students during normal classroom teaching. For example, they may use language

other than the LOLT to explain class work to the detriment of immigrant children. With the exposure of race and racism in multi-culturally diverse institutions, it has been argued that teachers may be better informed as to how to deal with multicultural issues in their schools (Rodriguez, 2009:18).

Invariably, the academic performance of immigrant children and their schooling experiences become necessary to be investigated through the CCT lens so as to be able to have an understanding of the consequences of culture and race on the academic achievement of immigrant children in mainstream culture. Their socio-cultural experiences also become vital for the same reason. The question remains, has CCT been generally accepted as a tool for fostering the co-existence of immigrants, and enhancing the academic potentials of immigrant students in the host society? Section 3.3.2 is devoted to tackling this discourse.

### **3.3.2 Criticisms of CCT**

Culturally responsive teaching and learning has received intense criticism on the basis that there are exceptions to the rule, and suggestion that culturally receptive mode of instruction helps bridge the gap between educators, the school environment and immigrant children has generated arguments among different researchers. For example, Black Islamic institutions of learning and the unsophisticated Roman Catholic schools (Erickson 1987).

It has been argued that, bridging the cultural gap (Yeh et al., 2008) apparently becomes irrelevant for enhancing immigrant students' school success. It appears the salient issue involving the accomplishment of immigrants is the development of trust rather than developing culturally responsive curricula. Whichever style of teaching that develops confidence, though it may not incorporate the culturally responsive approach between the educator and the students will enhance the likelihood of immigrant students' academic accomplishment (Ogbu & Simons, 1998).

These ideas expose the interrelationship between ethnic culture and academic performance, suggesting that these two concepts are connected, and should be discussed together (Yeh et al., 2008). While immigrant groups are in the host country, it is claimed by many researchers that foreign education was designed for the dominant culture because Blacks were not factored into their curricula, which are aimed at assisting dominant groups to ascend to the middle class structure of the host country to the detriment of immigrant groups (Hilliard, 1984). Kozol (1991) advocates that other researchers state in their account that schools

designated for immigrant groups lack qualified teachers and are barely funded. This is an attempt to discriminate against Blacks and prevent them from achieving in academia (Villenas & Deyhle, 1999).

These schools are intentionally ostracized so as not to be able to compete with mainstream educational quality. As a result of these segregationist factors, it has been suggested by researchers that Black immigrant youth should be introduced to culture-related curricula in order to enhance their poor academic performance. In essence, they advocated an “Afro-centric cultural lens” be used to realign the academic deficit that was intentionally created among Black immigrant groups by mainstream educational structure (Ladson-Billings, 1994; Latour & Kahn, 1999; Ruiz-de-Velasco et al., 2000).

CCT attempts to confront established acts of racism and do away with pre-eminent features of European cultural domination that has detrimentally impacted the achievement of immigrant groups of children in their academic endeavours for many years in mainstream culture (Gay, 1994). CCT is used by researchers to herald the manner in which the detachment between the mainstream school practices as well as the diversity in cultural beliefs of ethnic immigrant students detrimentally affects the psychosocial events, attitudinal prototypes, as well as the development of immigrant children in academic matters (Ladson-Billings, 1994).

In summary, it has been highlighted that the incorporation of culturally responsive teaching and learning into the school curriculum may attempt to enhance the academic commitment of immigrant students in the host society. When this is achieved, immigrants may tend to have a “sense of belonging” at school because they gain a feeling that they are better understood when cultural discourses are injected into their school work (Ladson-Billings, 1992, 1992b, 1994). Section 3.4 focuses on Critical Race Theory (CRT).

### **3.4 Critical Race Theory (CRT)**

CRT is a theoretical framework which originates from the law profession, and has now gained ground in the field of education (Bell, 1980, 1989; Delgado, 1989, 1993, 1996; Delgado Bernal & Villalpando, 2002; Delgado-Gaitan, 1994, 1996; Dixson & Rousseau, 2005; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Solórzano, 1998; Tate, 1997). CRT examines societal and opinionated outcomes involving race in didactic settings from a progressivist and lawful outlook (Awokoya & Clark, 2008). CRT is a tool that is used to expose acts of racism in the

society (Dixson & Rousseau, 2006). It attempts to identify acts of prejudice, neglect, discrimination and intimidation among immigrants in the host society as vices of domination (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Ladson-Billings, 1998, 1999; Solórzano, 1998; Tate, 1997).

The use of CRT was initiated by Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995), in a paper presented at the yearly meeting of the American Educational Research Association (AERA), where it was extensively argued that race persisted as an important factor in the American society, especially in the field of education. At that time, they identified this as a gap which they had to fill, and suggested that CRT could become an avenue to explore the role played by race and issues pertaining to racism in educational studies. Since then, it has become a popular theory that other educational researchers have been using to expose inequities as by-products of race and racism in education (Dixson & Rousseau, 2005).

CRT can be used as a “tool for exposing, analyzing and challenging the majoritarian stories of racial privilege” (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002:32). Therefore, the right to be heard is important in CRT because “those who have experienced discrimination speak with a special voice to which we should listen” (Matsuda, 1995:63). To support this argument, Teranishi (2002:152) argues that CRT can become “instrumental in providing a voice for students who are otherwise not heard, thus allowing students to provide their own perspectives on educational experiences” in mainstream society. Therefore, in view of the notion that CRT identifies racism as endemic in society, by insisting on “historical and contextual analyses” in order to place value on the “voices of people” (Dixson & Rousseau, 2006:48), this study will use the narratives from the research respondents as raw materials for exposing and analyzing the presence and prevalence of racism at the research site.

### **3.4.1 Basic tenets of CRT**

There are six tenets of CRT as highlighted by Matsuda et al. (1993:6). It should also be noted that these are the basic concepts of the CRT. They are thus presented, because they will be useful in analyzing this study in chapter six, although they were used to directly analyse and expose acts of racism in the United States of America. These tenets are:

(1) CRT recognizes that racism is endemic; (2) CRT expresses scepticism toward dominant legal claims of neutrality, objectivity, colour-blindness, and meritocracy; (3) CRT challenges a-historicism and insists on a contextual and historical analysis of the law... Critical race theorists... adopt a stance that presumes that racism has contributed to all contemporary



manifestations of group advantage and disadvantage; (4) CRT insists on recognition of the experiential knowledge of people and our communities of origin in analyzing law and society; (5) CRT is interdisciplinary; and (6) CRT works toward eliminating racial oppression as part of the broader goal of ending all forms of oppression (Matsuda et al., 1993:6). Consequently, CRT will be used in this study to expose acts of racial discrimination, and claims of maintaining neutrality and acceptance of other races at the study site; because it is interdisciplinary in nature.

### **3.4.2 Criticisms of CRT**

CRT provides a vital perspective of comprehending how subjugation, stereotypes, and prejudice of immigrants are fabricated and sustained in society (Villenas & Deyhle, 1999). Ladson-Billings (1998:18) indicates that “if we look at the way that public education is currently configured, it is possible to see the ways that CRT can be a powerful explanatory tool for the sustained inequity” that is experienced by immigrant groups in their host countries. To emphasize the detrimental effect of racism, Villenas and Deyhle (1999:418) contend that in the midst of “today’s Latino/indigenous people who find themselves in the United States, sixty percent of whom are of Mexican origin, continue to suffer disproportionately from poverty and from low educational attainment”. The question is begged, why would others have abundance while a portion of the society remains ostracized from affluence? This is a basis for exploring the detrimental effects of race and racism in society (Villenas & Deyhle, 1999). Reports from these researchers suggest that there is a measure of congruence in the scholarship of CRT.

However, a number of scholars have criticized CRT (Farber & Sherry, 1993; Posner, 1995; Powell, 1992; Tushnet, 1992). In their arguments, two out of the six basic principles of CRT (Matsuda et al., 1993:6) have been criticized. These tenets involve the use of storytelling and societal pragmatism. These scholars have extensively argued that, despite conventional legal intellectuals accepting legitimate storytelling as a tool that can be used to explain and expose acts of racism in the society, the stories they tell can become a tool of “third party” storytelling, which takes liberation with legitimacy. Furthermore, they argue that the use of “third party” storytelling in legal practices is usually devoid of academic thoroughness, which renders their analysis problematic (Farber & Sherry, 1993; Posner, 1995; Powell, 1992; Tushnet, 1992). The striking issue in this discourse is that these arguments involve legitimate acts of telling stories, they are however vital to acknowledge when considering CRT as a tool

for exposing and challenging acts of racism in educational studies (Dixson & Rousseau, 2006:47). The implication of these arguments is that, in CRT, “we should not use storytelling just for the sake of telling a story” (Dixson & Rousseau, 2006:47), but as a tool to expose and mitigate racism in the society (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995).

The second source of criticism in CRT involves the theory of racial realism by Bell. Bell (1992) argues that racial discrimination is an unending phenomenon, and that it is an unattainable aim to challenge inequality in the society. This theory prompted Powell (1992:550) to contest the assertion that equality becomes an implausible goal for the oppressed in the society to attain, and that the assertion of Bell (1992) that equality in society is unattainable is a communication of anguish on the part of the oppressed. Dixson and Rousseau (2006) however point to a contradiction in Bell’s (1992) theory, as it attempts to address the ubiquitous nature of racism in contemporary society. They contend that Bell’s (1992) theory of racial realism is unrealistic, since “racial equality on the surface appears to be something that we should hope will come to fruition, the reality is that it has not” (Dixson & Rousseau, 2006:48).

### **3.5 Conclusions**

In summary, this chapter has contemplated the importance of theory in qualitative research. It has also highlighted the three basic theoretical scaffolds that would be used to attempt to understand the experiences of DRC immigrants in the South African terrain. The theoretical frameworks, referred to as “scaffolds” to sensitize the reader, are CET, CCT, and CRT. There is a connection between CCT and CRT because they seem to work together to expose race and racism as illicit acts, demonstrated against immigrants in the host society.

This study has succumbed to using the CET with caution. It was argued that it is relevant to engage cultural responsiveness into pedagogical issues through the adoption of the CCT in order to enhance the focus of immigrant students on their academic endeavours, schooling experiences, acculturation and identity in mainstream culture. CCT and CRT can be used for attempting to understand the behaviour of immigrant students in the host society; especially because of the difference in culture between immigrant and indigenous children (Asanova, 2005; Fischer, 2004; Nieto & Bode, 2007). CET attempts to furnish reasons for disparity in academic performance among immigrant students (Ogbu & Simons, 1998); while CCT affirms that there is more to offering explanation with respect to the disparities in

performance by asserting that the recognition of their cultural perspectives is important (Ladson-Billings, 1992, 1992b, 1994). This is important because, when cultural issues are not taken into consideration, there may evolve a situation that the challenging experiences in the host society may mask the capabilities of immigrant students to achieve (Greene et al., 2006). It becomes vital to take the cultural perspectives of immigrants into consideration when exploring their educational and socio-cultural experiences in the host society (Asanova, 2005; Qin et al., 2008; Yeh et al., 2008). Consequently, a link has been established between CCT and CET in this chapter.

It is also important to state that a link already exists between CET, CCT and CRT because CCT attempts to cushion and make acts of racism inconsequential (Ladson-Billings, 1998). Meanwhile, the goal of CET is to foster reasons for the academic performance of immigrants in the host society, based on their experiences (e.g., prejudice, discrimination, isolation, bullying and lack of sense of belonging) in mainstream culture; because these challenging experiences are semblances of racism (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Ladson-Billings, 1998, 1999) in the host society.

Finally, as McDermott (1987) reiterates, we neglect the contribution made by schools and adjacent community forces on the failure of so called immigrant groups, and we tend to shift blame on the students themselves and their families. McDermott ponders on the stance that there is no basis for trying to explain the concept behind their failure, but to deal with it; hence the need to use these scaffolds to tackle the educational and socio-cultural experiences of DRC immigrant students in South African schools.

Chapter four presents the methodology of the study.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE NAVIGATION

#### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter gives details of the chosen research design, research site, and the participants sampled. It also gives an account of the data collection procedure, approaches and analysis of data and presents an explanation of how important issues relating to trustworthiness in qualitative research were addressed through the use of narrative inquiry and case studies. It presents the epistemological stance of the research (the meta-theoretical paradigm), methodological paradigm, as well as issues involving reflexivity in qualitative research. In addition, the research design, the research site, sampling, methods used to collect data, and the route taken to analyze the study's data are discussed. Quality assurance procedures (ethical considerations and limitations of the research) are discussed. The chapter concludes by considering the credibility of the researcher. In Table 4.1 (below) an outline of the research methodology and the route the study is intended to be taken are depicted:

**Table 4.1:** An outline of the research strategy process

<b>PARADIGMATIC SUPPOSITIONS</b>	
<b>Epistemological models</b>	Constructivism and Interpretivism
<b>Methodological models</b>	Qualitative study approach
<b>RESEARCH DESIGN</b>	
Narrative inquiry and Case study	
<b>SELECTION OF PARTICIPANTS</b>	
Purposeful sampling	Selection of 6 DRC immigrant students out of 26 Black students that were interviewed during the broader project in 2008, 4 teachers, 3 native students and the school principal Secondary interviews with selected 6 DRC immigrant students and two sets of DRC parents in 2010
<b>DATA COLLECTION</b>	
<b>Data collection methods</b>	Semi-structured interviews, focus group interviews, observations, observational journal writing and field notes
<b>DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION</b>	
Content analysis: coding, formation of meaning units, condensed meaning units, categories and themes (Krippendorff, 1980; Mayring, 2000)	
<b>QUALITY CRITERIA OF THE RESEARCH</b>	
Credibility, Transferability, Dependability and Confirmability	
<b>ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS OF THE RESEARCH</b>	
Informed consent, anonymity, safety considerations, confidentiality and reliance	
<b>CONCLUSIONS</b>	

## **4.2 Paradigmatic suppositions**

Gottlieb (2007:5) gives a comprehensible definition to epistemology as “an area of philosophy concerned with questions of what knowledge is and how it is justified” because, “anyone attempting to acquire, produce, or evaluate knowledge relies, at least implicitly, on some set of epistemological beliefs” which are of pertinence to narrative researchers in their field of investigation. In essence, epistemology entails the definition, and application of knowledge in a manner that makes it applicable to certain observable phenomena in research. As an illustration, in a case where an assumption has been made that there is a particular phenomenon to be interpreted, the researcher’s stance about reality most likely becomes an objective stance of disconnection.

This is in relation to the view of obtaining unbiased and reflexive understanding of the absolute condition of events in the world. On the contrary, when it is envisioned that the world is multifaceted, there is procedural implication in terms of the format through which one embarks upon in terms of trying to understand the world (Moore, 2005). As such, the inquiries raised about methodology in research involve the manner in which the investigator intends to go “about finding out whatever he or she believes can be known” in connection with the event or phenomenon of interest (Guba & Lincoln, 1998:201).

### **4.2.1 Meta-theoretical Paradigms: Constructivism and Interpretivism**

The paradigms within which this study is located are constructivism (Bellefeuille et al., 2005; Schwandt, 1994; Sexton, 1997) and interpretivism (Cohen et al., 2000). In order to advance an intelligible understanding of events, it is imperative to have “new paradigmatic ways of thinking and writing”, which have the capability of fostering the ability to “speak eloquently for more complex ways of understanding” (Burden, 1997:242) the events that go on in one’s vicinity, which eventually lead to storied situations (Moore, 2005). Greckhamer and Koro-Ljungberg (2005) affirm that a theoretical viewpoint is steered by a distinctive theory of knowledge, making the two interconnected in research methodological considerations. The constructivist epistemological stance in qualitative methodology is premised on the supposition that takes truth as an attribute that is not outwardly located, but rather it is taken to be a complex that is fabricated from the researcher’s intellectual, cognitive astuteness, as well as prior foundation of knowledge. Researchers who use the constructivist approach maintain that human beings amass personalized description of realism so as to ascribe

meaning and understanding to their communal world of operation (Duffy & Jonassen, 1992; Ricks, 2002; Woolfolk, 1993).

Bellefeuille et al. (2005:373) argue that the “constructivist’s reality is based in one’s own interpretation of what exists, obtained through reasoning about one’s personal experiences, beliefs, and perspectives” of life. They affirm that comprehension of events and the truth about situations are devoid of objective or absolute value, in other words, they advocate that there is no avenue through which one can know the truth. They speculate that experiences on a daily basis configure a knowledge base through cycles of transformation that people go through in their existence as humans. Furthermore, it has been discovered that “experience itself is therefore also subject to any way of construction, or is even non-existent, is logically flawed” (Zhao, 2005:9).

Greckhamer and Karo-Ljungberg (2005:733) argue “the processes of data collection and analysis are interrelated, serving ultimately the epistemological goal of particular knowledge production”. Furthermore, they assert that “researchers can neither collect data without keeping in mind their epistemological purpose nor can they use particular analysis methods without considering their appropriateness to produce the type of knowledge desired”. They contend that investigators have to take cognizance of the “theoretical”, “epistemological”, and “conceptual” interrelatedness, as well as the chronological stance of the mode of conducting research. The constructivist epistemology does not fabricate “objective truth” (Crotty, 1998), but rather all knowledge is fabricated from the effort that was used to obtain it during the research process (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995).

Since this study engages the narrative line of action, the work of Lit and Shek (2007) was invaluable, arguing that in narrative research designs both the narrator and researcher are jointly involved in the construction of meaning, and of the phenomenon under investigation. They speculate that there is no monopoly of the process of negotiation of meaning. Respondents are carried along in the meaning-making venture of the research so as to give value in a reflexive (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2007) and unbiased manner to the research. In this research, it is therefore possible to presume that participants (DRC immigrant students, their indigenous peers, the school principal, their parents and their teachers) will be able to fabricate their individual subjective meanings with respect to educational and socio-cultural experiences; in terms of the exclusive features of their lives (Neuman, 2006).

Furthermore, from the understanding that has been acquired from Cohen, Manion, and Morrison (2000:35), interpretivism, the second paradigm of this study, entails a departure from the particular individual under study, endeavouring to carry out a mini-scale study and recognizing individual actions of people as restructuring communal life. It makes use of “subjectivity”, ensuring researcher participation, making precise inferences, and comprehending peoples’ actions and meaning instead of the reasons for such actions. Hence, humans possess an inwardly negotiated good judgment about the meaning of reality on their own stance regarding the meaning making experiences of their lives. Therefore, there is a possibility of making manifold interpretation of peoples’ experiences, or realities involving their lives. According to the basic tenets of interpretivism, there is no worldwide objective truth, but manifold realities that are experienced in subjective ways by different people. People keenly choose, relate with one another, and give meaning to the happenings in their environment, so life is perceived as non-static, and communal life exists among people as they go through life and attach meaning to it (Neuman, 2006).

The implication of the interpretivist paradigm is that different people fabricate and go through reality in diverse ways, with life being seen as distinct and treasured. Locating this study within the interpretivist paradigm has been assisted in capturing a comprehensive investigation of the educational and socio-cultural experiences of DRC immigrant students in a South African school, with a high intake of immigrant students. This has elicited the course of “stepping into someone else’s shoes” (Wilén, 1990) to gain an in-depth understanding of how the participants of this study perceive their world (Cohen et al., 2007; Neuman, 2006).

### **4.3 Methodological models**

Research methodology is defined as “the strategy, plan of action, process, or design lying behind the choice and use of particular methods and linking the choice and use of methods to the desired outcomes” of a study (Crotty, 1998:3). The rational standpoint that enlightens the methodological process as well as methods uniting interlinked suppositions, conceptions, and suggestions that form a definite perception of humanity is known as ‘theoretical perspective’ (Bernard, 2002; Crotty, 1998; LeCompte & Preissle, 1993).

#### **4.3.1 Research method**

This study embarked on the qualitative line of action. Consequently, DRC immigrant students were interviewed<sup>21</sup> and observed. Teachers who taught them<sup>22</sup>, the school principal<sup>23</sup>, their parents and their indigenous peers were also interviewed.

#### **4.3.2 Qualitative research**

Whenever research is inclined in qualitative perspectives, it investigates experiences as they materialize in their usual situations and inquires about how to obtain responses to issues that emphasize the route to fabricating and ascribing meaning to communal experiences. Qualitative research highlights the communally fabricated nature of reality, as well as the close association existing between the researcher and the researched (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003). Qualitative methodology has the advantage of producing adequate and comprehensive accounts of phenomena, in order to obtain a close perspective of the meaning ascribed to people's experiences. This research was conducted in a particular school known to have a high intake of Black immigrant students. Qualitative researchers immerse themselves in the research field so as to elicit data through interviews, observation, and field notes (Cohen et al., 2007; Kvale, 1996). It involves the gathering and breakdown of far-reaching descriptive information, in this case to obtain comprehensive insight into the concrete experiences of DRC immigrant students in a South African secondary school, after which analytic deductions were embarked upon from the obtained data collected from the respondents (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Ngobeli, 2001; Clandinin, 1989).

Xu et al. (2007) argue that it is the life account of the immigrant that is vital, in order to have an appreciation of the experience that the immigrant possesses. There should not arise a situation whereby an assumption would be made about the experiences of an immigrant in general terms, with respect to the ethnic group to which the immigrant belongs. The specific context with respect to the immigrant is of utmost importance (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). In qualitative research, experiences are better understood when reduced to variables (Xu et al., 2007). Xu et al (2007: 412) stipulate that:

---

<sup>21</sup> See appendix I (IPDRC) for interview protocol used for immigrant students in 2008, inserted with permission from the project leader, Prof. S. Vandeyar.

<sup>22</sup> Interview protocol used for teachers at the school during the first round of data capture is inserted with permission from project leader.

<sup>23</sup> The interview protocol used for teachers at the school during the first round of data capture was used to interview the principal because she also taught at the school.



in general, the reduction of experience to variables can yield insights, but it also needs to be understood that it is the whole from which the variables are extracted and reduced, that is the context for making meaning of children's educational experience.

Consequently, the strength of this study is located in the generation of texts through the transcribed data from the respondents. Another limitation of qualitative research is subjectivity (Merriam & Associates, 2002). However, in this study, subjectivity was minimized by obtaining data from different sources to ensure triangulation of research instruments (Drew et al., 1996; Lietz et al., 2006; McMillan & Schumacher, 2001). The aftermath of qualitative research is the production of texts (Stoicheff, 1995). Similarly, Stoicheff (1991:95) argues that "the world is a text that is read, and our interpretation of our world is a function of our reading of texts".

This qualitative study focuses on the investigation of communal existence in usual situations. The wealth and involvedness of qualitative investigation suggest that there are diverse approaches of examining and exploring communal existence, and consequently various applications in the breakdown of communal information obtained, hence, the justification to use the qualitative line of action for this study. Qualitative research approaches allow the data obtained from the research to navigate the study process, giving the chance for personal meaning assigned by respondents of the study to emerge (Allen, 2006; Bleakley, 2005; Overcash, 2004).

### **4.3.3 Reflexivity in qualitative investigation**

Lit and Shek (2007:362) affirm that "the consequence of reflexivity is enormous", because when it is attained in research, "people begin to question their habitual ways of thinking and doing and open new alternatives" of reasoning. Furthermore, respondents' and interviewees' critical views of transcribed data are welcome, especially in instances where inappropriate description of subjects or scenario is made by the researcher. In this instance, respondents or interviewees have the prerogative of intervening when there is mistaken understanding on the part of the researcher (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2007). In view of the possibility of researcher bias, triangulation of research instruments was ensured (Lietz et al., 2006; McMillan & Schumacher, 2001).

## **4.4 Research design**

The research design of this study was qualitative in nature, and utilized narrative inquiry and the case study approach. This was to ensure a comprehensive understanding of DRC immigrant students' educational and socio-cultural experiences in a particular schooling context, by using narrated stories as sources of data from the research participants (Bleakley, 2005).

#### **4.4.1 Narrative inquiry**

Narrative inquiry (Avdi & Georgaca, 2007; Welikala, 2007; White & Epston, 1990) is a type of qualitative research whereby the investigator attempts to explore the concrete experiences of people by imploring them to answer questions, based on the research topic of interest, in the form of storytelling. The obtained stories are consequently re-told in a descriptive format by the investigator (Cresswell, 2005).

In this study, the narrative inquiry approach was embarked upon to enable the stories narrated by all the research respondents form data which was analyzed<sup>24</sup> to explore the educational and socio-cultural experiences of DRC immigrant students in a South African schooling context (Bleakley, 2005). Data can be defined as evidence of verbal accounts obtained from the research respondents, which is aimed at obtaining answers to research questions (Mishler, 1986). Data was obtained in this study by interviewing DRC immigrant students, teachers who taught them, their indigenous peers, the school principal and their parents (Kvale, 1996). Semi-structured, open ended interviews were used to elicit information from the research respondents<sup>25</sup> (Overcash, 2004). Focus group interviews<sup>26</sup> (Krueger & Cassey, 2000) were used to elicit information from parents of DRC immigrant students.

As data was being gathered in this study, care was taken to ensure that more of the voices of the interviewees were heard (Allen, 2006:5). This was ascertained so that the trustworthiness (Golafshani, 2003; Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2007) of the collected data would not be compromised.

---

<sup>24</sup> See Appendix L (ITA) on the CD for an example of how the study was analysed using the definition proposed by Chow (2006) of educational and socio-cultural experiences of immigrants in mainstream culture.

<sup>25</sup> Interview protocols used for teachers and indigenous students during the broader project are inserted with permission from the project leader, Prof. S. Vandeyar.

<sup>26</sup> See Appendix K (FGIPWP).

#### 4.4.2 Case study design

Cresswell's (2002) description of a case study as a comprehensive investigation of a bordered structure which is premised on the gathering of extensive data to bring forth the understanding and the making of meaning of a situation of choice paved way for this case study. In this study, the bordered structure consisted of identified DRC immigrant students within their different life contexts and same schooling context, and also within a particular period of time from the year 2008 to 2010. This is because the experiences negotiated by immigrants change from time to time (Xu et al., 2007).

The quest for embarking on case study design emanated from the craving to capture an understanding of the complex communal situations, as well as to preserve the entirety and important features of actual life phenomena. This is in agreement with the constructivist and interpretive paradigms, which are geared towards capturing the individual and subjective experiences, negotiated by individuals. These experiences are negotiated within the coffers of the individuals' world of operation (Burr, 1995; Burr et al., 1997; Stake, 2000; Yin, 2003). The definition of case study is independent of the particular procedures negotiated; rather it is dependent on the individual case that the researcher takes interest in exploring. In essence, it can be affirmed that case study is not a procedural option but one of what the researcher intends to explore for better understanding (Stake, 2000, 2005).

This assertion elucidates the standpoint in this study. A "bordered structure" that interested the investigator was explored (the DRC immigrant students in a South African public school with a high intake of immigrants). The procedural approach originated from the original purpose of investigating the experiences of a specified number (six DRC immigrant students) of immigrant students with respect to their educational and socio-cultural experiences (Chow, 2006). This research design can be further described as a natural case study, and it has been embarked on because of the quest to generate understanding with respect to immigrant students' educational and socio-cultural experiences, which typifies a particular case (Stake, 2005:445). Furthermore, Stake (2005:450) argues that the "intrinsic" design or natural design is aimed at building up the issues pertaining to the case under investigation itself, its background and the elucidation it offers, thus the presentation of a "thick description" (Stake, 2005) in this study. The next question to ask is: Is there any strong reason for choosing a case study design?

#### **4.4.3 Justification for the use of the case study design**

In this study, the case study design is important because the features of a group of people are being explored with their characteristics in terms of their real life situations, as well as their individual subjective experiences (Cohen et al., 2000). This case study design has fostered a comprehensive investigation that considers the “wholeness” of each of the DRC immigrant students under investigation as well as their contexts, allowing the presentation of a comprehensive depiction of their stories. The three pertinent ideologies of qualitative research are being hinged and sustained by case study design: telling, perceiving, and elucidating (Cohen et al., 2000). These benefits agree with the interpretivist paradigm, forming the foundation upon which this study has been engaged. This has led to the generation of laudable comprehension, vivid description and knowledge that was vital for providing answers to the research questions (Cohen et al., 2000).

In this design, case study allowed the tone of voice of DRC immigrant students in a South African schooling context to be heard (Cohen et al., 2000). Cognizance has been taken of the notion that case study design has the tendency to establish cause and effect, by distinguishing the position of situations within their specified terrain. In the same vein, case study designs give a sequential description of recounting effects, with the tendency to contain events that were not envisaged as well as variables that lack control in research. Consequently, the broken bridge between theory and practice is linked (Cohen et al., 2000). This case study has obliged the fortitude to comprehend how the theories underpinning the study communicate to the educational and socio-cultural experiences of DRC immigrant students in a South African school with a high intake of immigrant students. In addition, a case study has the strength of giving illumination to other peculiar circumstances by exploring the possibility of generalisability of findings to other situations. It is a welcome idea for an individual researcher to embark on a case study research, which explains why this line of action has been pursued (Cohen et al., 2000; Ngobeli, 2001).

#### **4.4.4 Limitations of the case study approach**

From what has been observed in the course of conducting this study, and in the course of reading, it is important to state that in any research design, no matter how efficient, there are liabilities in terms of shortcomings, and such shortcomings have to be taken into consideration (Cohen et al., 2000). Since this study focuses on a group of identified DRC

immigrant students within a particular schooling context, it is not plausible to generalize findings from this research to other situations.

Nevertheless, the objective of the interpretivist paradigm is not aimed at drawing this kind of conclusion, because of the perception of actuality as well as the comprehension that people fabricate their own distinctive and “subjective” explanation of their experiences. Some of the known limitations of the case study design include issues that it is subjective, choosy, and subject to the prejudice of the onlooker (Yin, 1994, 2003).

#### **4.5 Selection of participants**

It was indicated in section 1.3 that the research site had been selected during the data capture of the broader project on how Black immigrant students negotiate, mediate and construct their identities within South African schools.

##### **4.5.1 Selection and description of the research site**

The school was chosen because it had a high intake of Black immigrant students. Students living in the city centre could easily reach the school. At the time of data capture, between 2008 and 2010, all the students at the school were Black. The research site as at 2008 was located in central Pretoria. The classrooms were made of wooden blocks; some dilapidated, with no facility for sporting activities, except an area that was used for playing football<sup>27</sup>. However, when the school was visited in 2010, the main campus had already been completed. It is also currently located within a conspicuous location within the centre of Pretoria. The new school block gives allowance for recreation, although the location is not big enough to accommodate sporting facilities. However, the new school is capable of establishing some degree of belonging among the students.

##### **4.5.2 Sampling**

Since this research was carved out of a broader study on how Black immigrant students negotiate, construct and mediate their identities within South African schools, purposive sampling was used.

##### **4.5.3 Purposeful sampling**

---

<sup>27</sup> Photographs taken in 2008 during the broader project, showing the dilapidated structures are stored in the Department of Humanities Education with project leader.

A purposive selection of six DRC immigrant students was made in this study from the captured data<sup>28</sup>. Purposive sampling technique is usually employed in qualitative research because it permits the choice of participants who are able to assist in comprehending the situation that is to be studied (Creswell, 2002). Participants from Grades 8 to 10 were chosen, although this classification of choice extended to participants from grade 11 because the project spanned from 2008 to 2010, having to return to the research respondents to conduct a second round of interviews to augment the interviews conducted during the broader project and to ensure “member checking” and “peer debriefing” (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2007). Care was also taken to ensure that the DRC immigrant students could express themselves in English language to a reasonable extent.

#### **4.6 Data collection**

Data was collected by conducting interviews with DRC immigrant students, teachers who taught them, their indigenous peers at the school and the school principal. Focus group interviews were also conducted with parents of DRC immigrant students to obtain supplementary data in March/April 2010. DRC immigrant students were also observed during class lessons, while changing classes, during break time and when they were on their way home, after school hours.

##### **4.6.1 Semi-structured Interviews**

The interview sessions conducted elicited a large amount of data for analysis, in the form of semi-structured interview sessions, with open-ended questions designed to obtain responses<sup>29</sup>. These ultimately answered the research questions of the broader study and elicited additional data beyond merely identity. The interview sessions were audio taped, and observation sessions were videotaped<sup>30</sup>. The interviews were transcribed for use in critical analysis of obtained data and to assist in familiarizing with the data of the study to ease challenges in the form of ascertaining themes and categories. In order to understand human behaviour, interview sessions play a vital role, of value to case study designs. Semi-structured

---

<sup>28</sup> The captured data here refers to the data obtained during the broader project, stored with the project leader, Prof. S Vandeyar, out of which convenience sampling of 6 DRC immigrants identified was made for the current study (Used in this thesis with permission from the project leader, Prof. S. Vandeyar).

<sup>29</sup> Interview protocols inserted with permission from the leader of the broader study, Prof. S. Vandeyar.

<sup>30</sup> The video recordings belong exclusively to the broader project, and securely kept.

open-ended interview formats provide more comprehensive data than other types of interview formats (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003).

The essence of the semi-structured interview formats is to assist in the creation of rapport between interviewer and interviewee so as to comprehend events and situations in interviewees' lives rather than obtaining explanation for certain features or forms of behaviour occurring in their lives. This advantage suits this research because the aim was to have a comprehensive understanding of DRC immigrant students experiences from different perspectives (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003). Usually, in this type of data gathering technique, the elicited response from interviewees leaves a "residue of ambiguity", in spite of the initiative employed to construct questions posed during the interview sessions or used to describe responses (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003:61). Each interview lasted between 45 minutes to an hour.

In the course of conducting this study, it was discovered that it is imperative to take cognizance of the control that a researcher can exercise during the conduction of interview sessions with interviewees, particularly during the process of elucidation of responses obtained from interviewees. Researchers have been urged to consider reflexivity, and to be assertive, removing subjectivity (one-sidedness) from the interpretations ascribed to interviewees' responses during the interviewing process (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003; Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2007). This potential pitfall was avoided by making sure that the transcribed interviews from all research participants formed the basis of this research.

The process of transcription was undertaken in their naturalized formats. Transcripts with naturalized emblems are those with word-for-word representation of dialogue between interviewer and interviewee in a manner that indicates silence, speech impediments, unuttered vocals, pronunciations, and unconscious recitals. All of these were recorded in elaborate formats, since the notion is that, language use is a connotation of actuality (Oliver et al., 2005).

Kvale (1996) argues that research conducted using qualitative approaches via interviews endeavours the investigator to gain entrance into the "experiential world" of the research respondents so as to obtain comprehensive insight into how they attach "meaning" to their life incidents. Kvale (1996) offers laudable insight into qualitative research interviews by arguing that it assists the researcher to gather "subjective" (Kvale, 1996) account pertaining

to the world of the research respondents, based on the respondents' understanding of meaning adduced to their concrete experiences.

Consequently, qualitative, exhaustive, semi-structured interviews were used to capture a holistic perception of the study. Qualitative interviews were conducted during the course of this research because they permit the interviewees the prerogative of freely expressing themselves in the distinctive way that appears convenient for sharing their concrete experiences. This is different from the format of structured interview format, where questions that were originally set tend to limit and streamline the interviewee's freedom of expression; because of answers that have already been recommended for them to pick from, thus limiting the meaning-making process.

The additional advantage of using semi-structured interview format is the elicitation it offers the interviewees to participate in the meaning-making process of the research. The bulk of questions materialized in the course of the interviews when interviewees began to assign meaning to their individual experiences. Vital themes were intentionally introduced into the interview sessions, where necessary, to draw out detailed information from the interviewees by probing them extensively (Kvale, 1996). Some of the areas where probing was emphasized among the immigrant students included: their home country experiences in order to have basis for their "status frame of reference" (Ogbu & Simons, 1998); why they immigrated to South Africa; religious background; occupation of their parents in the DRC and in South Africa; languages spoken in home country and in the host country; acculturation (assimilation into the host society); schooling experiences (whether they experience bullying, isolation, prejudice and discrimination) in South Africa and in the DRC; issues bordering on xenophobia; issues relating to whether they had plans to go back home; and their cultural identities (Chow, 2006; Eyou et al., 2000; Grobler et al., 2006; Qin et al., 2008; Yeh et al., 2008).

#### **4.6.2 Observation**

Observation is a research technique that has its origin in ethnography (Handwerker, 2001). It is a data-gathering tool that is used in two different ways, structured and unstructured (Pretzlik, 1994). In this study, the unstructured observation<sup>31</sup> method was used because it

---

<sup>31</sup> During the broader project, observation was done using a video recorder (Observation data of 2008 has been securely kept with Prof. S. Vandeyar). In 2010, observations were conducted, to capture the natural scenarios



assists us “to understand and interpret cultural behaviour” (Mulhall, 2003:306). Secondly, “It is based within the interpretivist/constructivist paradigm that acknowledges the importance of context and the co-construction of knowledge between researcher and researched” (Mulhall, 2003:306). Mulhall (2003) argues that the word “unstructured” could be confusing at times, as “observation within the naturalistic paradigm is not unstructured in the sense that it is unsystematic or sloppy” (Mulhall, 2003:307). The basic feature of “unstructured” observation technique is that “it does not, however, follow the approach of strictly checking a list of predetermined behaviours such as would occur in structured observation” (Mulhall, 2003:307).

The goal of observation in qualitative research is to assist researchers in learning the different viewpoints held by target populations. Observation of the research participants of this study took place within the school environment, enabling the exploration of the experiences of DRC immigrant students in their natural estates (Mulhall, 2003). A major drawback of participant observation is that it consumes time. It is challenging to write down all that has been observed in the research field and there is a possibility of bias on the part of the observer (Handwerker, 2001; Johnson, 1990; Jorgensen, 1989), although, in this study, such was guarded against by using an audio-visual tape recorder.

Consequently, DRC immigrant students were observed during normal class lessons, while changing classes, during break time and while they were going home. This was done once off in 2008, and in 2010 to elicit understanding of their experiences at the research site. The natural setting of the school environment was also observed with a videotape recorder, to see how all the students were interacting. Each observation session was videotaped to enable step by step analysis of the recorded data. A videotape recorder was used during the observation<sup>32</sup> sessions with the DRC immigrant students at the research site because, “focusing on both actions and dialogue in a social situation is practically quite difficult” (Mulhall, 2003:312).

#### **4.6.3 Focus group interviews**

---

being explored. For an example of field notes taken, during the second round of data capture, see Appendix FLDNT1 in the Appendix section of thesis.

<sup>32</sup> Recorded observation data for the broader project has been kept in the Department of Humanities Education, University of Pretoria.

Focus group interviews involve the act of convening a meeting that involves participants who have freely indicated their intention to participate in a study (Krueger & Cassey, 2000). The discussion between the respondents in focus group interviews is moderated by the researcher. The objective is to facilitate focus to the research questions (Drew et al., 1996; Kruger & Casey, 2000; Kvale, 1996). While the focus group interview has been set in motion, the views of the respondents, their mind-set as well as their conduct will form the basis of inference for the researcher. Their choice of words, postures and commitment to the discourse form the basis of analyzing the obtained data during the interview. The researcher took cognizance of these valuable postures by recording them in the field notes (Herbert & Beardsley, 2002).

#### **4.6.4 Field notes**

The transcribed interviews<sup>33</sup> were the main field notes used for the analysis of the data of this study, although notes taken from the observation sessions also contributed to the analysis of the data (Emerson et al., 2001; Sanjek, 1990). Gay and Airasian (2003:213) agree with this notion by arguing that the transcripts obtained in a study are the field notes for interview data. Field notes<sup>34</sup> were used for personal reflections during the period of the study, accumulated after engaging with DRC immigrant students at the end of the interview sessions with them (Emerson et al., 2001; Mulhall, 2003). Field notes written when the research was being conducted gave opportunity for reflection on the entire research process (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000:104). Similarly, those captured in the research field included the reflective stance of the researcher on the perceived shortcomings of the study, researcher's composure and behaviour which could affect the trustworthiness of the data being collected.

#### **4.7 Data analysis and interpretation**

Content analysis was used to analyse this study. Selecting the units of analysis is a crucial aspect when using content analysis to analyze research data (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004). Mertens (1998) describes a unit of analysis as a vast selection of substances or items to be studied. A unit of analysis could also involve interviews and field notes (Downe-Wamboldt,

---

<sup>33</sup> See Appendix J (FGITWP) (Conducted during the second round of data capture), Appendix L (ITA), Appendix M (ITAN), Appendix N (ITJ), Appendix O (ITM), Appendix P (ITG), and Appendix Q (ITJS) for examples of transcribed interviews on CD (Used with permission from the broader project leader).

<sup>34</sup> See Appendix FLDNT1 for an example of field note taken during second round of data capture in March 2010.

1992). Other notable units of analysis include sections of the text that have been summarized and coded for analysis<sup>35</sup> (Weber, 1990), and may also entail every statement or turn of phrase in the transcription (Burnard, 1991, 1996; Feeley & Gottlieb, 1998). Consequently, the field notes taken during observation sessions in this study and the transcribed interviews were used as units of analysis.

A meaning unit is the grouping of words or narratives that transmit the same fundamental meanings in a series of interview transcripts, field notes and observational protocols (Baxter, 1991). It has been identified as the “content unit” or “coding unit” by Baxter (1991). Kovach (1991) refers to it as an “idea unit”. Krippendorff (1980) identifies it as a “textual unit”. Lichstein and Young (1996) describe it as “keyword and a phrase”. Downe-Wamboldt (1992) refers to it as a “unit of analysis”, while Polit and Hungler (1991) describe it as a “theme”. In this study, “a meaning unit” is regarded as words, sentences or paragraphs containing aspects related to each other through their content and context” (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004:106). On the other hand, when a meaning unit has been identified, it needs to be summarized; hence, a condensed meaning unit is “a process of shortening while still preserving the core” meaning of the text under analysis (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004:106).

When meaning units are identified in a transcript, the next stage is to “label” them for identification purposes. In essence, a code is a labelled “meaning unit” (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004). Codes are also defined as instruments “to think with” as well as “heuristic devises” (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996:32). Codes are assigned to specific areas of interest in the transcribed data that appear to give answers to part or all the research questions in a study (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004). In each of the interviews with the research respondents, meaning units and condensed meaning units, were created<sup>36</sup>. Codes were also assigned to each of them (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004). Themes and sub-themes were formed, based on the definition of educational and socio-cultural experiences of immigrant students in the host society (Chow, 2006). These themes were eventually merged and condensed into five major themes: “educational experiences” (academic performance and schooling experiences), and “socio-cultural experiences” (language use, acculturation and identity formation of DRC immigrant in the host society). Consequently, prominent narratives that were identified as

---

<sup>35</sup> See Appendix L (ITA) for an example of text coded for analysis on CD (Inserted with permission from the broader project).

<sup>36</sup> See Appendix M (ITAN) for another example on the CD.

having answered the research questions of the study were singled out and presented as findings in chapter five and as narratives to support the arguments in chapter six.

#### **4.8 Quality criteria of the research**

This involves ensuring the trustworthiness of the study, in terms of ensuring that the research measured what it was intended to explore (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2007).

##### **4.8.1 Trustworthiness**

The model of trustworthiness proposed by Guba is generally used by qualitative researchers (Botes, 2000:188-197), engaged in this study by using four proposed criteria as they suit the interpretive paradigm (Guba & Lincoln, 1989; Poggenpoel, 1998).

##### **4.8.2 Credibility**

The relevant question to ask when ascertaining the credibility of a qualitative research is: Has the research been able to investigate what it was designed to study? According to De Vos et al. (2005:346), credibility is an innate strongpoint of qualitative research, with the disposition of investigating a scenario based on the claim that “an in-depth description showing the complexities of variables and interactions will be so embedded with data derived from the setting that it cannot help but be valid”.

Within the parameters of that setting, population and theoretical framework, the research will be “valid”. In this study, credibility has been ensured by taking the diverse realities and subjective experiences of the research participants into consideration. It was also ascertained through the content analysis (Mayring, 2000) technique used in this study, where diverse perspectives of experiences of the research respondents were taken into consideration.

The study also engaged in “peer debriefing” (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2007). The rigorous effort of the project supervisor also assisted in establishing the trustworthiness of this research, because she painstakingly followed up with every stage of data collection and analysis of the collected data. Consequently, because this study was adequately bounded with “thick description” (Rosenbaum & Silber, 2001) of the limitations of the study, the credibility of the study has been considered.

##### **4.8.3 Transferability**

The word “transferability” was proposed by Lincoln and Guba (1985) as a substitute which can be used to predict and establish the external validity or the extent to which research findings in a specific research situation can be generalized to other situations and people. On the other hand, it has been proposed by De Vos et al. (2005) that in qualitative studies, transferability can be challenging because of its characteristic nature of exploring a phenomenon.

These characteristics usually come to light in terms of its ability to give detailed reports about different phenomena from diverse viewpoints (De Vos et al., 2005). When each of the stories of the six DRC immigrant students is narrated, it produces a comprehensive understanding which resounds to the hermeneutic model of the study; nevertheless, it is restricted to each individual and particular situation.

Conversely, the use of case study designs is potent enough to give illumination to other comparable contexts. It has been affirmed that when reference is made to the theoretical grounding in order to indicate how perceptions and paradigms navigate the fabrication of data and its analysis it becomes feasible for those reading the research to observe how the research is connected to a body of theory. This gives the opportunity for other interested investigators whose area of work hinge around such studies to verify the extent to which transferability is feasible (De Vos et al., 2005).

#### **4.8.4 Dependability**

In order to ensure dependability, it is important to engage in member checking, peer debriefing, triangulation, prolonged engagement and observation in the research field (Golafshani, 2003; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2007). This research engaged a number of these methods to enhance dependability. As a result of the fact that a small sample (six DRC immigrant students) was used in this study, which can only provide insights into a phenomenon (educational and socio-cultural experiences of DRC immigrant students in a schooling context); dependability may not be guaranteed. Nevertheless, based on the epistemological stance in this research (Bellefeuille et al., 2005; Cohen et al., 2000), the strong point of this research embraces the reflective and broad perception of distinctive situations, meaning that it cannot be ascertained as completely dependable when larger samples are engaged.

#### **4.8.5 Confirmability**

Confirmability points to the extent to which the findings are the end-products of the aims of conducting this research and not of the subjectivity of the researcher (Mouton, 2001). In this study, the supervisor ensured that the findings of the study were not subjective because she co-ordinated the analysis of the data.

#### **4.9 Ethical considerations of the research**

This study did not commence until consent was given by the ethics committee of the Faculty of Education, University of Pretoria<sup>37</sup>. Furthermore, the DoE was contacted to seek ethical clearance before going to the research site to conduct the study<sup>38</sup>. Consent was taken from the school principal<sup>39</sup>, school governing body<sup>40</sup>, teachers who taught them<sup>41</sup>, parents<sup>42</sup>, DRC immigrant students, and their indigenous peers who participated in the study<sup>43</sup>. At the onset of each interview conducted with the participants of this study, sufficient enlightenment involving the purpose of this research, the process the research would negotiate, the merits and demerits of participating in the research, and strict confidentiality to protect the anonymity of participants were expounded to them.

All the interviewees had enough time to consider participating in the study. The participating students were assured that non-participation in the study had nothing detrimental to do with their academic pursuits. This was ensured to avoid the bias of the implication of not participating in the study on the part of the students; which could tamper with the credibility of the study. All the respondents were told they could withdraw from the study at any time, should they feel insecure to continue with the research (Cohen et al., 2000).

Protection for the participants of this research from physical and emotional displacement was ethically considered appropriate during this study (APA, 1992; Smythe & Murray, 2000).

---

<sup>37</sup> Ethics clearance certificate number: HS10/01/01 included in the appendix section.

<sup>38</sup> See appendix E for the letter written to seek permission from the DoE.

<sup>39</sup> See appendix A for consent letter written to the school principal.

<sup>40</sup> See appendix C for letter of informed consent written to the SGB.

<sup>41</sup> See appendix F for letter of informed consent written to teachers.

<sup>42</sup> See appendix B for letter of informed consent written to parents/guardians

<sup>43</sup> See appendix D for letter of informed consent written to indigenous students and DRC immigrant students who participated in the study.

Care was taken to ensure that all the research participants were allowed to stabilize themselves before starting the interview sessions. The avenue through which the DRC immigrant students would be called for the interview sessions was considered, so as not to expose them to being ridiculed and labelled as “foreigners” (Masuku, 2006) by their indigenous peers at the school. There were scenarios when some of the DRC immigrant students became emotional about the treatments they received from indigenous students and a hostile environment where they lived. Attempts were made to stabilize their emotions so that they would not be caught off balance.

Safety consideration in research is also directly linked with the assurance of reliance to research subjects. In order to obtain credible data and maintain good relationships with the research subjects in an amiable format, devoid of intimidation and schism, quality time was spent to relate extensively in a cordial manner with all the research subjects (Jones, 2004). The confidentiality of all the research respondents in this study was adequately protected. The correct identities of all the research participants were excluded in the study by being pseudonymous. The identity of their school has also been hidden in a way that it would be impossible to know the correct name of the school. The research site, i.e., the school, has been referred to as “Pacesetter Secondary School”. All the participants gave their consent that all findings could be published, especially because of their unanimous belief that others could learn from their individual contexts.

#### **4.10 Credibility of the researcher**

The attempt to conduct this research emanated from the experiences gathered during my Postgraduate Certificate in Higher Education (PGCHE) programme in 2008. It was during this year that I joined the SANPAD funded project. The project leader offered training sessions on how to conduct and analyze research. During the early part of 2009, a special workshop was conducted on AtlasTi, a technique for analyzing and coding data. Furthermore, another level of competence was acquired based on exposure to literature on current issues pertaining to the study. The research support sessions organized by the Faculty of Education, University of Pretoria for master’s and PhD students were also enriching, equipping me with profound fortitude on how to conduct and analyze research. As an M.Ed student, I had to complete a compulsory module on research methodology. The above capacity-building opportunities put me en route to becoming a credible researcher.

#### **4.11 Conclusions**

Research methodology can be viewed as the mainstay of any investigation, “navigating” every detail of steps negotiated by the researcher, and ultimately ensuring its overall trustworthiness. This chapter has been entitled “Navigation” because it steers the entire research to safe destination. The chapter discussed the research methodology that was used. The meta-theoretical and methodological paradigms of the study were outlined. The case study design was employed to write six stories on the educational and socio-cultural experiences of DRC immigrant students within a specific schooling context. The techniques employed to gather data in the study were enumerated. The methods featured were semi-structured interviews, observations and field notes. The different stages negotiated in the analysis of data as well as the interpretations of the study were enumerated. Quality assurance features of the study were discussed. On a final note, this chapter considered the importance of ethical issues concerning research subjects.

Chapter five highlights the findings of this research, within the principles of the applied theoretical groundings and literature control of the study.



## CHAPTER FIVE

### DISCOVERIES OF THE STUDY

#### 5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of this study and the framework proposed, namely: “academic performance and schooling experiences” (educational experiences); “language use, acculturation and identity” (socio-cultural experiences) (Chow, 2006). Stories of the six DRC immigrant students are written using pseudonyms Anita, James, Josephine, Manuel, Anthony and Gregory, for the voluntary immigrant students who migrated to South Africa willingly without being compelled by war, or circumstances beyond their control. Anthony is the only involuntary immigrant student among them, as a result of the war situation in the DRC which necessitated his escape to South Africa [See chapter two, section 2.3.1]. They are now introduced.

#### 5.2 Anita: I know everything happens by God’s will

##### 5.2.1 Anita’s life history

Anita was sixteen years old as at the time of this research, an immigrant from the DRC who spoke French as her home language. This posed a challenge because French is not one of the official languages in South Africa (De Klerk & Barkhuizen, 1998). She is the third child in a family of eight, four females and two males. She had a very resilient character as depicted in her narrative, when she expressed her enthusiasm for wanting to become educated despite challenging circumstances at home: “the situation that we’re living now, I’m not happy with it, then I know everything happens by God’s will”.

Anita is a voluntary immigrant because she came to South Africa willingly with her parents without duress from her home country. Anita’s parents were gainfully employed in their

home country. Her father was a motorcar mechanic, while her mother was a school teacher. Both parents were unemployed at the time of capturing this data in 2008, and during the second round of interviews in 2010. Asked after their source of survival, Anita said “we’ve got uncles in the U.S., and we manage”. Despite the challenges confronting her family, she was composed during the interview session, and did not indicate any symptom of depression. This could indicate that she had a resilient nature.

### **5.2.2 Academic performance and schooling experiences**

Anita’s academic performance at the school was obtained through reported grades, because access to her academic record was restricted. Her academic performance was poor, with different experiences at the school. First, she indicated the challenges confronting her by saying “teachers are just trying to get stable”. Similarly, the school principal (Mrs. Kgomotso), spoke about the rapid turnover of teachers at the school, having moved to “greener pastures”. In terms of Anita’s motivation for aspiring to come consistently to school in spite of challenges said, “I want to be somebody. I want to achieve things that people have never achieved”. This also supports the notion that she is thinking of her future, and that she has a goal to excel in life. She narrated her schooling experiences in terms of showing respect to teachers and the ability to teach her indigenous peers moral values at the school, “respect is the number one thing that a teacher needs to earn from a learner”. The influence of what she learned at home was evident, “there’re things that I’ve learned at home that they don’t learn”. She had a strong passion to impart what she learned at home, “that is why I try to teach them, because I’ve got friends in class who are very rude to teachers”.

The implication of her experience with indigenous learners indicates that she is from a culture that respects teachers at the school. Another challenging experience confronting Anita at the school was xenophobia: “Since I’ve been in South Africa, I’ve never experienced anything like that, it was really wrong”. She was able to explore reasons for xenophobia among indigenes of South Africa: “They say we came to steal their job, money and women ... it is wrong, no one is stealing no one’s money or job or women”.

This may suggest that xenophobia constitutes an issue that may have destabilized Anita at the school. Her experience may be an indication of her degree of “belonging” (Osterman, 2000) at the school. The composition of her friends at the school was revealed by her comment, “my friends are from South Africa”. Her resolute character was further depicted in terms of having control over her personality. In the relationship existing between herself and her South

African friends, she argued that no one had the capability to influence her into doing what was wrong. She saw herself as a positive influence over her friends at the school, “I can influence my friend to do right, but she cannot influence me to do wrong”. She explained that she was not bound by the loyalty of any friend who wanted her to misbehave, “among my friends, I am focused, when they’re noisy in class, I focus on my studies”.

Anita was disturbed about the irresponsible behaviour of the Representative Council of Learners (RCL), exclaiming that student leaders were already becoming corrupt in their conduct, “they’ve been smoking with the learners and using phones in classes”. In an attempt to explore whether certain moral values had been bequeathed to her from home, her father was asked to indicate his expectations, in terms of moral values, she was expected to portray: “She must not go out with a boyfriend and come under the same roof of her parents, that is part of our culture”. This may be an indication that the influence of her parents at home had an impact on her attitudes and conduct at the school.

### **5.2.3 Socio-cultural experiences**

On the issue of languages spoken, Anita recounted, “I got used to speaking English, then I lost most of my French”. She indicated her mother’s intervention, “my mum just focused on me speaking proper French, the way I’m supposed to speak it”. Anita specified that she would have loved to have taken French at the school, but it was not offered. She however managed to keep abreast of her home language in the following manner, “with the help of my friends from Congo, we communicate in French and we’re able to correct each other when we’re wrong”. This may indicate that when immigrant students get to the host society, there is a tendency for them to lose their home language. Anita’s communicative ability in terms of the indigenous languages spoken at the school also indicated that she may have begun to lose her home language: “yes, when I first came to South Africa, it was actually easy to understand their language when they’re talking”. She gave insight to her extent of comprehension of indigenous languages spoken at the school, “even though I cannot speak it, I can understand it”.

An important finding that may suggest the possibility that incompetence in the language of instruction may contribute to her low academic achievement is presented in the narrative of Anita’s father, “you know, when we speak about language issues, it was not so easy”. Her father explained the extent of linguistic challenges they faced as a family, when they got to

South Africa, “we came from French, and we found English, so, there was no one to assist us”. He relayed his experience when his children got to school, “when they go to school, they teach them in English; father, mother, children, they don’t know English”.

In order to explore whether Anita was incorporating to her host society, a number of questions were raised. This was done to elicit responses, aimed at measuring her acculturation experiences, “because I was growing up when we were travelling, I never grew to know my culture”. Her age was part of the reasons for her lack of knowledge in the DRC culture, “I got here around two or three, so at that stage, I didn’t really know my culture”. She expressed her parents’ focus when they got to South Africa, “my parents were more focused on making us get used to the people in South Africa”. A notable difference between South Africa and the DRC was divulged by Anita, “the culture in South Africa is different from back home”.

The intervention of Anita’s mother, aimed at focusing her attention on the DRC culture, is evident, “my mum has got a DVD at home, it shows the traditional dances, and that, I cannot do”. In an attempt to further explore Anita’s acculturation experiences, she was asked whether it was the same way she acted at home that she acted at the school. She responded by saying, “no, the way I act at home is the way I act at school”.

In order to determine how Anita constructs her identities within the school, she was asked how she would like to be identified in South Africa. She said, “I am a Congolese”. When her parents<sup>44</sup> were interviewed during the second round of interviews that were conducted in March/April 2010, in an attempt to explore parental influence on the construction of identities among DRC immigrant students, they were resolute about their identity with the DRC, “we are Congolese, you know some people are making a mistake to be a South Africans”. Anita’s father indicated he could work and live in South Africa, but not at the expense of his identity with the DRC, “I can work in South Africa, I can help this nation the way I can”. His uncompromising refusal to identify with South Africans became evident, “I cannot change who I am, to be another person. I am going to fail in what I am doing”.

As suggested by Grobler et al. (2006) and Xu et al. (2007) that family ties may become useful in exploring the experiences of immigrant students in mainstream culture, Anita’s parents

---

<sup>44</sup> See Appendix J (FGITWP)

further revealed reasons for not identifying themselves with South Africans, “I don’t see that as important to me, to put something on top of what I am”. His concern against South Africans was divulged, “there is nothing you can do in this country, no one can appreciate it”. He complained about the time it took him to obtain his identity document in South Africa as a prominent issue that discouraged his family, “we are in South Africa for 12 years; we got our ID’s last year, for 12 years”.

This may suggest that they have a strong influence on the construction of Anita’s identities in South Africa, since their yardstick for measuring acceptance by South Africans as immigrants was tied to the ease of obtaining their identity documents. Anita’s story portrays that she has been brought up in a manner that makes her depend on faith in divine intervention, despite challenges confronting her in South Africa. This may suggest reasons for her determination and resilience as evident from her goal to be “somebody in life”. Her dependence and trust in a divine being, as well as her belief in destiny, uniquely stand, “I know everything happens by God’s will”.

### **5.3 James: The only thing that I know is to study**

#### **5.3.1 James’ life history**

James was in grade ten at the time of data capture in 2008, and was 16 years old. He is the eldest of the children born to his parents. He has two brothers and two sisters, who attended the same school with him in 2008. James came directly to South Africa without any transit through other African countries. His parents left the DRC to South Africa for reasons unknown to him. He categorically said he was in South Africa to study. His story suggests that he is a voluntary immigrant student. James migrated with his parents to South Africa in 2007. His father is a church pastor, and his mother is unemployed in South Africa. James’ traditional languages are Inghala and Swahili. His motive for coming to South Africa was disclosed as “the only thing that I know is to study”. His claim to study in South Africa was a distinguishing factor about his narrative. His parents were unemployed in South Africa: “my parents did not find any job in South Africa. They have tried to secure any available job, but it was not possible”.

#### **5.3.2 Academic performance and schooling experiences**

The academic performance of James was obtained by reported grades, to comply with strict confidentiality pledged to him during the data capture (APA, 1992). The academic performance of James was poor. Many experiences were negotiated by James at the school, a

school which he admitted to liking: “I like the school because of the way the teachers are teaching”. James narrated his first experience with his indigenous peers, when he came to the school, “they treated me the way they treat others, they wanted to know my name, where I’m from”. James also spoke in terms of the mode of teaching at the school, and the attention given to him by teachers, “they teach in the way that I can understand”. Xenophobia was one of the challenging experiences that made James speak out, and condemn, “I feel bad about that, you see people from different countries being killed, it was not good”.

James applauded indigenous South African students at his school because they did not join the ongoing violence in the city at that time, “they encouraged me; they said I must not be afraid”. However, he lamented the unruly behaviour of certain indigenous students at the school in this manner, “when I see how people are smoking around at the school, I don’t feel good about it”. He complained about the way he was treated by indigenous students at the school, by comparing what he negotiated at the school with what he had experienced in the DRC, “the Black people, the way they treat people, we don’t treat them the same way they treat us”.

### **5.3.3 Socio-cultural experiences**

James speaks “French, Swahili and Inghala. I speak French at home and English at school”. He did not understand the indigenous South African languages at the time of the data capture in 2008 and at the time of the second round of data capture in April 2010: “I don’t understand any South African language. Sometimes, they don’t want me in their group because I cannot speak the language. They ask me why I cannot speak, but I keep quiet.” It was a difficult task to explore whether James was in the process of acculturation, but an indication emerged when he was asked who he associated with at break time, during class lessons and on his way home:

I think it’s my friends; I have friends from Ghana and Angola, because I sit next to them. We understand ourselves because we are all immigrants at the school. They have their own languages, but this does not stop us from being friends.

Other evidence to show whether James was attempting to acculturate to the South African environment was discovered: “I would like to go back to my country. In my country, we don’t discriminate against people. Here, foreigners have no place among South Africans”. He described his identity at the school and in South Africa in the following manner, to give an indication of his adaptation to the host society:

I'm not that kind of person smoking ah ..., I like the way I am. I am a Congolese". I am not interested in becoming a South African because they are not friendly with foreigners.

He was not interested in identifying with South Africans because of his experiences at the school in terms of isolation, discrimination and intimidation. These challenging experiences came to the peak during the May 2008 xenophobic attacks:

I stay alone at the school; no one wants to associate with me. At the school, they discriminate against me and bully me. Some of them don't like foreigners. I don't know why this is so. During the xenophobic attacks, I was afraid because they were killing foreigners.

James spoke about the issue of disrespect and smoking among indigenous South Africans. He did not want to associate with disrespectful learners:

Some of them don't give due respect to educators. When they are being corrected, they answer the educator back, and I don't like it. In my country, you must not talk back to the educator. You will be disciplined if you do so.

The educational and socio-cultural experiences of James typified an immigrant student whose intention was to focus on his studies, without being distracted by acts of ill-discipline and lack of morals exhibited by certain indigenous South African students at the school. The unique stance portrayed by him was that he was here to study.

## **5.4 Josephine: My favourite subject is Arts and Life Orientation**

### **5.4.1 Josephine's life history**

Josephine was a sixteen year old female voluntary immigrant student from the DRC. She was in Grade 9 at the time of the first round of data capture in 2008. She has two sisters and an elder brother. All of them lived with their uncle in South Africa, while their parents were in the DRC. They lived with their mother's brother while attending school in South Africa. She began schooling in South Africa in Grade 4. Josephine recounted, "I came to South Africa in 2000". She explained why she had to start from Grade 4 when she came to South Africa, "I had to start from Grade four. I had to repeat again because of the language".

### **5.4.2 Academic performance and schooling experiences**

Josephine's academic performance at the school was evaluated through reported grades, and was poor. One of Josephine's teachers (Mrs. Bradford) gave an important reason for the failure of DRC immigrant students, "It's only the French people cannot express themselves in

English. With that, the others look at them as they don't belong here". When Josephine was asked how much she liked her school, she responded that "the school is a good school". She expressed delight over her much loved subject, which is Arts and Culture. It appeared as if this subject gave her the fortitude to enjoy her school, "the school is very nice. My favourite subject is Arts and Life Orientation".

Josephine responded to questions about discrimination, prejudice, bullying and isolation at the school, "other children don't treat us differently, some do, but they discriminate you in a different way". She gave another dimension, in terms of how indigenous students also behaved towards immigrants, "some don't care whether you're from another country or not". She gave an instance that predisposed her to acts of discrimination and prejudice by affirming that whenever she spelled a word incorrectly, or pronounced certain words in an unfamiliar manner, her peers mocked her, "... in speaking let's say the word in a wrong way or the way you spell it".

Josephine expressed the disrespectful attitudes of indigenous students concerning the way immigrant teachers were treated at the school. She registered her unhappiness because of the disrespect from indigenous students towards an immigrant teacher in terms of how she pronounced words during normal class lessons, "there's this Nigerian teacher, they discriminate her the way she speaks". Josephine elaborated on how the immigrant teacher was discriminated against at the school, "when she's trying to explain Arts and Culture, they say it in a funny way that, it's because of the way she pronounced words". In addition, Josephine noted that indigenous students believed in their own way of pronouncing words, "they believe that when you're from another country, you don't know how to speak English, so they make fun of you".

With regard to her schooling experiences, she expressed her fears that she thought she would never have friends who were willing to associate with her. She confirmed that she was able to find friends, who were willing to associate with her, "when I first came, I thought I would never have friends, but when the bell rang, some girls came to me so we became friends". She experienced tendencies of crime among her school peers, who came to school with weapons. She expressed her fright in terms of such incidences, "we've got some boys that come from Mamelodi, who bring knives to school". However, she said there were many things at the school that brought memories of wanting to be at the school to her, especially



during holidays. She has an intense desire to study, “school is my all in all, when I’m at home, or we are on holidays, I always miss school”.

### **5.4.3 Socio-cultural experiences**

Josephine was learning English, Afrikaans and Sepedi. She spoke French because it was her home language. Out of all these languages, she spoke French more fluently. She was learning Sepedi, Afrikaans, and English, “I am learning English, Sepedi and Afrikaans”. She expressed the fact that she was getting used to speaking English at the expense of French, her home language, “I’m used to English now because French, I am kind of forgetting it”. She was encouraged to learn and speak English by her uncle, “my uncle decided that we should speak English because at school, we are learning in English”.

An important aspect that indicated the significance of understanding home language, to explain words in the process of acquiring another language was found, “if you can’t find an English word to use, you rather go back to French, to be able to understand it” . Due to constant use of English at the school, she was already forgetting French, “I’m still learning French because now, I’m forgetting it”.

She saw the fact that she could understand Sepedi, an indigenous South African language, as an important advantage for her because she said she would be able to know what her indigenous peers were discussing at school, “Imagine you’re going somewhere and then someone greets you in Sepedi and you don’t know what the person is saying”. She was resolute that it was important for her to learn indigenous languages at the school, “it’s important for you to know one or two words, so you can reply back”.

In an attempt to explore the acculturation experiences of Josephine, the May 2008 xenophobic attacks on foreigners seemed to have affected her stance, in terms of adapting to South Africa, “I felt sad because some people were burned down in their houses; I thought something bad would happen to me”. Josephine’s friends did not lessen the effects of xenophobia, as some of her indigenous peers at school told her to go back to her country, “some boys said, why don’t you go to your country because now, I don’t think it’s going to be so easy for you”. One of the teachers who taught at the school said, “it’s better for immigrant students to go back to their country of origin and not come to school”. Her acculturation experience in South Africa was investigated by asking whether she preferred to

associate with indigenous peers at the school, to which she replied, “I associate with Congolese students because we don’t discriminate one another”. Another attempt was made to obtain insight into her acculturation experience in the host country by asking if she would want to return to her country of birth, “I want to return to my country. I don’t like this country because people are not friendly”. She did not want to acculturate with South Africa because of discrimination at the school, “I am proud to go back to my own country and people will stop discriminating against me”.

Josephine’s capacity, in terms of whether she was negotiating her identities within South Africa was explored by inquiring how she would want to be identified in South Africa, she said, “as a Congolese girl”. She preferred to be associated with her DRC peers at the school, “I would choose my friends from DRC”. The storyline of Josephine describes a character whose attention was focused on learning, through an area of learning that interested her. This was evident when she said “my favourite subject is Arts and Life Orientation”. These two subjects have succeeded in making her concentrate on her studies at the school.

## **5.5 Manuel: When they’re teaching us something, they don’t really explain**

### **5.5.1 Manuel’s life history**

Manuel was a sixteen year old immigrant from the DRC. He migrated to South Africa with his mother and two younger sisters in late 2006, making his stay as of 2008, when the first round of data capture took place, amounting to two years. Manuel’s entire family could not make it to South Africa, his father and two other siblings still being in the DRC in 2008. Manuel, his mother and two sisters had a short transit in Zambia before arriving in South Africa. When asked why he came into the country with his mother and two sisters he replied that they were in South Africa for many reasons, but as for him, his aim in the country was “to study”. He is a voluntary immigrant student. In the DRC, both parents were traders, but in South Africa his mother was unemployed. They lived in a flat in central Pretoria.

### **5.5.2 Academic performance and schooling experiences**

Manuel’s academic performance at the school was poor, a probable reason appearing to be a language barrier, “when they’re teaching us something, they don’t really explain in a language we understand because we have a problem”. He gave the reason for his lack of comprehension during class lessons, “we can’t really understand what they’re saying”.

Manuel's challenge was not limited to linguistic adjustment, he said, "sometimes the teachers don't come to class". He also lamented, "when they teach, it is boring".

His concern was on linguistic adjustment, and this has made his storyline unique. Mrs. Kgomotso gave insight into the challenging schooling experiences of DRC immigrant students at the school: "I feel that foreigners were those that felt left out". Mrs. Kgomotso gave the reason for excluding DRC immigrant students, "sometimes when I have to explain a certain concept; you find that you are forced to bring in an African language". Secondly, Mrs. Kgomotso expressed the challenges confronting the school with respect to the high intake of Black immigrant students at the school. Her narrative gave a clue that enabled the understanding of opportunities and challenges confronting DRC immigrant students at the school, "I think that the challenge that the school has with Black immigrants are the non-payment of school fees". She argued, "we've got to hire more educators that are paid by the School Governing Board".

The limiting factor in terms of being incapable of hiring additional educators was revealed by Mrs. Kgomotso, "if you've got quite a number of Black immigrants that are not paying fees, it has a negative effect on how to pay teachers at the school". Furthermore, her narrative gave an indication of the financial standpoints of DRC immigrant parents, "when it comes to payment of school fees, it is not that they don't want to pay, they don't have that money". One of the parents of DRC immigrant students gave another indication during the second round of interviews conducted in April 2010 that appears to show the employment status of immigrant parents in South Africa, "no, I'm not working, but it will be impossible for me to pay school fees".

Manuel compared the level of discipline in his home country with his experience at the school. He said, "there is more discipline back home. Sometimes the learners will talk back to the teacher". Other dimensions of schooling experiences negotiated by him were bullying and isolation, "there are some learners who bully, especially if you're from another country". Furthermore, teachers at the school were not left out in the aspect of discrimination against foreigners, "there are other ways the teachers talk to you". He seemed to have been silenced in class by indigenous students, "every time I'm in class, I always sit alone; I may not talk to one person". His experience in terms of isolation seemed to extend to the area of his indigenous peers not wanting to associate with him, "some of them don't want me in their

group, so that's why, most of the time I'm alone". He explained further that students at the school smoked and gambled, and these habits appeared to make him uncomfortable at the school, "there are people who smoke. I also do not like gambling at the school". He related his experience in the DRC, "back home we're not allowed to smoke". Manuel described his culture as one that takes cognizance of respect towards elders. He affirmed that in the DRC, students respect their teachers, "you have to respect the teacher by taking him as a parent". He reiterated that, among indigenous students at the school, respecting teachers was not common, "some of them don't respect teachers".

### **5.5.3 Socio-cultural experiences**

From what was observed during the interview session with Manuel, he was still trying to gather his vocabulary in English. However, when he was asked to disclose the languages he spoke, he said "my home language is French".

In an effort to determine his acculturation experiences, he was asked whether he acted the same way at home and at the school. He said, "I do act the way I act at school, at home and sometime I do act the way at home at school". When he was asked to comment on the May 2008 xenophobic incidence, in an attempt to explore the possible effects it could have had on his acculturation experience in South Africa, he said, "I felt very bad, but you know it's too bad for foreigners to go and stay in the townships". The severity of the situation led him to staying at home, "I didn't even come to the school during that time, I came after a week". Among indigenous South Africans, a notable statement made towards foreigners was that they had to return to their home country, "some of them said go back to your country".

The composure that was exhibited by Manuel gave an indication of his identity at the period of data capture. When he was asked how his peers classified him at the school, he said, "some of them do classify me as a foreigner and some of them just take me for who I am". Furthermore, he declared his standpoint, "most of the time, I don't hang out with South Africans, I am a Congolese". The captivating event in Manuel's story involved his concern that, "when they are teaching us something, they don't really explain in a language we understand". The implication of his statement may be that he was concerned about his educational experiences at the school. This could be an indication that he was linguistically challenged at the school, as a result of the indigenous South African languages that were used

to intermittently explain class lessons to dominant students at the detriment of DRC immigrant students present in the class.

## **5.6 Anthony: We paid money to soldiers to escape**

### **5.6.1 Anthony's life history**

Anthony was a 17 year old grade nine immigrant from the DRC, who lived with his brother in South Africa. He said he was brought to South Africa by his mother in 2000. Anthony's mother returned to the DRC to obtain her immigration papers and did not return to South Africa. Anthony has a sister who was in Grade 11 at another school. His father suddenly disappeared during the DRC war, and his whereabouts were unknown at the time of the first and second rounds of data capture in 2008 and 2010:

we did not know how he disappeared during the war, and until now, we don't know whether he is alive or dead. He must have been killed during one of the night attacks as we were running away to save our lives because many people were killed, including children.

He came to South Africa as a result of the war in the DRC and falls into the category of involuntary immigrants. In all, there were seven children in his family, but they were geographically scattered because of the war in the DRC. Anthony was grateful to the South African government for allowing him to study without paying fees, because he could not afford to pay. He explained the reason he was motivated to attend school as a privilege, "to study without being able to pay fees". Anthony narrated his journey to South Africa:

We paid money to soldiers to escape from place to place because we've got so many problems back at the country. Even at night, we have to abandon our house and then, we would go to a certain place. Then, we can see how things would work out. We went to Burundi. Then, in Burundi, we went to this other country, I forgot. But, we were not there to stay. We were just there for few days.

His narrative, "we paid money to soldiers to escape" characterized his experience in a distinctive way because it showed that he left the DRC under traumatic conditions.

### **5.6.2 Academic performance and schooling experiences**

The academic performance of Anthony at the school was poor. He expressed weaknesses, "I'm not really good in English. I've got some problems in writing and understanding essay". His satisfaction with teachers and the school was revealed, "I like the way they teach, because they ensure that we understand our work". One of the teachers who taught Anthony

at the school explained that it was difficult for DRC immigrant students to grasp what they were required to know at the school because they depended on their peers from the DRC who could reasonably understand English, to interpret and explain class lessons to them during free periods, “they normally tell them during their free periods, they should translate class lessons, so that they can understand”.

It implies there were no remedial actions taken to alleviate the linguistic concerns of DRC immigrant students at the school. Although, the concerns of indigenous learners in terms of English language were not addressed, they had the advantage of understanding class lessons in indigenous South African languages at the school, when teachers had to bring in an African language to explain class lessons to indigenous learners. However, Anthony disliked the location and environment of the school, “I don’t like the school environment, how it’s built and where it is located”. He also detested gambling, which, according to him was perpetrated by his indigenous peers at the school, “I don’t like gambling”. The narrative of Mrs. Annertoria, one of the teachers who taught English at the school, provided additional clues that immigrant students were discriminated against at the school, and that “there were incidents of xenophobia” before she began to teach at the school.

### **5.6.3 Socio-cultural experiences**

Anthony recounted the languages he spoke at home and at school, “at home, I speak Swahili. I only try to speak Sotho but they understand that this guy is not actually from South Africa”. He also had additional languages which he was learning, “even Xhosa, Zulu ... I understand a bit”. He expressed dislike for Afrikaans as second language, “I just try to understand it because I don’t like it”. In an attempt to explore his acculturation experiences (Berry et al., 2006), Anthony indicated that at home, he was more confident, whereas, at the school, there was a measure of intimidation, “you’re free to say anything or talk anyhow at home”. His argument became more comprehensible when he said, “you do not mind yourself at home, I do not talk that much at school, like I do at home”. On the issue of respect for teachers among indigenous learners, he responded, “no, they don’t, I don’t think it’s part of their culture to respect teachers”.

One of the indicators of acculturation of immigrants to the host society entails investigating whether they would want to return to their home country (Jinyang & Gordon, 2007). Anthony responded, “I want to go back to DRC. But I want to be successful before going back”. In

order to further explore Anthony's acculturation experiences, his choice of friends at the school gave an insight, "no, they're all Congolese and Zimbabweans". He indicated why he did not associate with indigenous students, "South Africans like conflict, I don't know why, because they like provoking people".

To explore whether Anthony was constructing his identities in South Africa, his choice of how he would want to be identified revealed his stance, "I only identify with DRC, I am a Congolese" The distinctive feature about Anthony's educational and socio-cultural experiences at the school entails his predicament in terms of having to escape from the war situation in the DRC. This feature made him to stand out as an involuntary immigrant student at the school.

## **5.7 Gregory: I'm not coping at school**

### **5.7.1 Gregory's life history**

Gregory was a 17 year old immigrant student from the DRC. He was in Grade 9 at the time of capturing this data in 2008. He had brothers and sisters living together with him in South Africa. He came directly into South Africa. He falls into the category of voluntary immigrants. His intention for coming to South Africa was revealed, "I came here only to study because my parents don't want me to study in the DRC". He did not come to South Africa with his parents, and they were still in the DRC. Gregory's parents remained in the DRC so that he could go to school in South Africa.

### **5.7.2 Academic performance and schooling experiences**

Gregory's academic performance at the school was poor. The striking feature about him during the data capture had to deal with his coping mechanism at the school because of linguistic adjustment challenges, which may be responsible for his poor academic performance, "I'm not coping at school because I have difficulty in understanding the English language". When he arrived at the school, he was confronted by challenging experiences, "when my schoolmates are smoking and when they are hitting other learners, I feel bad". His recognition as a foreigner became a source of ridicule, "sometimes they make fun of you because you are a foreigner".

One of the indigenous students interviewed during the data capture period also indicated that DRC immigrant students were discriminated against at the school, "In our class, there's one boy who tells immigrants to go back home". Gregory reacted to the May 2008 xenophobic

attack against foreigners, “they told us to go back to our country”. His experience of xenophobia became a source of intimidation to him during class lessons, “they told me those people are killing foreigners, when I was in class, I kept quiet and did not talk to anyone because we were afraid we may be killed”. Consequently, he was able to ascertain the goal of the xenophobic attacks, “they actually wanted us out of the school”.

### **5.7.3 Socio-cultural experiences**

Gregory spoke three languages. He spoke French and Swahili at home, and English at school. He had been speaking French and Swahili in the DRC before coming to South Africa. He began to learn English on arrival in South Africa because it is the adopted language of learning and teaching at the school. Learning English was a challenging experience for him. He was unable to interact with his native peers at the school, “I speak French and Swahili at home. I don’t understand South African languages like Zulu”. He expressed insecurity at the school, due to inability to understand his peers, “sometimes, I feel that my mates are talking about me in their native language, because I don’t understand what they are saying”.

He indicated that he would like to go back to his country of birth when he completes his study because of xenophobia, “when I finish my studies, I will go back to my country”. He expressed his feelings as a result of his experiences, in terms of discrimination at the school by comparing it with the experiences he had in his home country, “I like my country because there is no discrimination there, in South Africa, they’re killing foreigners”. There was also a display of insecurity at night, because most of the attacks were unleashed against foreigners at night, “at night time, if you’re walking on the road, they’ll kill you, so I am afraid to stay in South Africa”.

In an attempt to explore whether he was negotiating his identities among South African students, his narrative revealed his standpoint, “I’m a Congolose, my father is a Congolese, and we have cultures in our country that we follow”. Gregory’s educational and socio-cultural experiences within South Africa were unique. A characteristic distinguishing his experiences at the school hinged on his confrontation, in terms of his coping mechanism. This was evident when he said, “I’m not coping at school”, as a result of his poor academic performance and low proficiency in English.

## **5.8 Summary of findings and conclusions**



The educational and socio-cultural experiences of the six DRC immigrant students seemed to be similar and different in some aspects. They came to South Africa at different ages, with or without both parents accompanying them. Those who came to South Africa with their parents experienced financial deprivation. Some of their parents who came to South Africa with them eventually returned to their country as a result of the unemployment situation and xenophobia. Characteristic of all of them was poor academic performance (voluntary and involuntary immigrants), although they had definite goals to study in South Africa. Their schooling experiences were marked by incessant absenteeism and rapid turnover of teachers and a lack of qualified subject teachers.

Their schooling experiences were characterized by challenges ranging from acts of racism, discrimination, prejudice, isolation, exclusion and xenophobia. Other challenging experiences contrary to their cultural tenets in the DRC included acts of gambling, disrespect to teachers and the exhibition of dangerous weapons, aimed at intimidating them at the school. A prominent experience among them was academic focus, because of the introduction of arts and culture as well as life orientation. The observed academic focus did not translate into academic advantage among them, in terms of having high performance in Mathematics and Life Sciences. The environment of the school constituted a challenge to DRC immigrant students, in terms of where it was located, as well as the unwelcoming premises with dilapidated buildings. All six DRC immigrant students had a common goal of aspiring to achieve in their educational pursuits. There was a demonstration of a strong resilient character among some of them, to survive challenges that they were confronted with at the school.

Among the socio-cultural experiences confronting DRC immigrant students at the school were linguistic adjustment as well as lack of acculturation and identity construction. Virtually all the DRC immigrant students investigated in this study lost their home languages, necessitating them to begin learning their home languages in South Africa. There were strong indications in the study that DRC immigrant parents wanted their children to retain their home languages. This struggle in terms of language difference entailed DRC parents requesting their children not to converse in English at home, but in French. Their basic home language (French) was not offered at the school. DRC immigrant students were all challenged by low proficiency in the language of learning and teaching. There were no remedial actions taken to mitigate their low proficiency in the language of instruction (English). They

depended on their peers from the DRC, who were more proficient in the language of instruction, who taught them English during break time. It was a common practice to bring in an African language when teachers taught them during normal class lessons at the school. The dominant language spoken within the school was Sotho. DRC immigrant students mostly grouped with their peers from the DRC during class lessons, break time and when on their way home after school hours; and spoke French. DRC immigrant students in the study were exposed to uncommon teaching styles, which made class lessons boring and unattractive to them at the school.

There were cases where indigenous South African students were found in the groups of DRC immigrant students. The criterion for indigenous South African students to belong to groups involving DRC immigrant students was friendship. DRC immigrant students were not welcomed into groups dominated by indigenous South Africans, unless they had been accepted to such groups when they could understand the dominant South African language spoken at the school (Sotho). Acculturation among the six DRC immigrant students had not commenced at the time of this study between 2008 and 2010. There were appearances of acculturation among them, but such semblances were indicative of relevant group formation where there were no binding forces indicating adaptation to the host society. The DRC immigrant students could not negotiate their ethnic cultures within the culture of the host society. For example, they saw smoking, gambling, display of dangerous weapons and disrespect to teachers among indigenous South Africans as sources of cultural incongruence.

Construction of identities among the six DRC immigrant students at the school had not commenced at the time of the study. The DRC immigrant students still had firsthand previous and current challenging experiences with which they were grappling. Home ethnic cultures among them were also found to have attempted to truncate the construction of their identities within South Africa. DRC immigrant students could not engage in inter-ethnic transactions with South African students, which may have resulted in the formation of cultural amalgam at the school.

In chapter six, discussion on findings are presented by engaging the study's finding with findings from the extant literature review, and the theoretical frameworks of the study.

## CHAPTER SIX

### THE DIALOGUE

#### 6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents discussions on findings of the study. The framework of Chow (2006) has been used to present a platform of discussions on findings obtained from the six stories of DRC immigrant students in the study. These findings are compared with the literature in Chapter Two, and the theoretical frameworks of the study in Chapter Three, namely; CET, CCT and CRT. Comparisons and contradictions, in terms of their educational and socio-cultural experiences are discussed. The research site has been given the pseudonym “Pacesetter Secondary School” (PSS). The chapter ends with a summary of answers to the research questions and conclusions of the study.

#### 6.2 Educational experiences of DRC immigrant students at the school

The educational experiences of the six DRC immigrant students are discussed in sections 6.2.1 as academic performance of DRC immigrant students. Their schooling experiences are discussed in section 6.2.2.

##### 6.2.1 Academic performance of DRC immigrants

There is a tendency to generalize that the academic performance of immigrants from war torn countries such as the DRC is compromised, but before any claim can be made in this regard, it is imperative to explore the underlying factors involved. Five out of the six DRC immigrant students in this study migrated to South Africa before the war started in the DRC, while only one did so at its commencement (see 2.3.1).

The CET (Ogbu, 1990, 1991) argues that involuntary immigrant students perform poorly at school due to “community forces” prevailing against them in the host country (see 3.2.2). However, one of the findings of Sookrajh et al. (2005) on “learners of war and flight” indicates that involuntary immigrant students were focused, determined to succeed and clever

at learning the language of learning and teaching at school, within the South African schooling context, despite being from a war torn French speaking country. A characteristic common to the scholarly work of Sookrajh et al. (2005) and this study is that the DRC immigrant students in this study were also focused, diligent, respectful and willing to learn. The basic distinction between DRC immigrants in this study and the “learners of war and flight” investigated by Sookrajh et al. (2005) is that, DRC immigrant students in this study were not proficient at learning the language of instruction at the school. The implication of DRC immigrant students, coming from a Francophone country to South Africa with the recognition of eleven official languages (De Klerk & Barkhuizen, 1998), thus becomes a dilemma for discussion in this study, with respect to their academic achievement.

This section is also dedicated to attempting to understand the reasons behind the observed discrepancies in academic achievements, between immigrant students from DRC and elsewhere (Asanova, 2005; Gillborn, 1997; Qin et al., 2008; Rangvid, 2007; Sookrajh et al., 2005; Yeh et al., 2008). In an attempt to understand the academic performance of DRC immigrant students, the next paragraph commences discussion on the versatility of English language acquisition, and its implication on their academic achievement at Pacesetter Secondary School (PSS).

English language is an important educational tool at schools, because “it has been promoted by a highly aggressive cultural formation” (Louw, 2004:318). Teachers at PSS identified that indigenous South African students at the schools were challenged by the inadequate command of English. This challenge compelled teachers at the school to engage in code mixing and code switching (Louw, 2004). This was done in an attempt to assist indigenous South African students out of their linguistic challenge (see 5.5.2).

One of the DRC immigrant students also claimed that teachers brought in African languages to explain class lessons to indigenous South African students. This practice of code switching/mixing excluded DRC immigrant students from discussion in class (see 5.5.2). Therefore, from the observation of the academic performance<sup>45</sup> of DRC immigrant students

---

<sup>45</sup> Reported grades were given to the researcher at the school to explore the trend of academic performance.

at the school, it is argued that challenges in English language could<sup>46</sup> be responsible for the low academic performance of DRC immigrant students at the school.

The use of CET therefore demands that proper understanding be applied in attempting to offer reliable explanation regarding the academic performance of DRC immigrant students in this current study. If the argument of CET on voluntary and involuntary immigrant students' academic performance in the host society had been incontestably followed, the trustworthiness of the findings of this study may have been compromised.

CET (1990, 1991) has been criticized by a number of scholars who affirm that its concentration was on community forces affecting immigrant students' academic performance at the expense of system forces (3.2.2). In this study, the criticisms of scholars in literature appear to be relevant, despite the effectiveness of the CET at explaining it in mainstream culture. Hamann (2004) asserted that such discussions are controversial, needing appropriateness in comprehension and analysis. This is in relation to the notion that it is important to consider the "fluidity" (Vandeyar, 2008) of voluntary and involuntary immigrants, changing their individual identities with elapsed time. Based on this consideration, it may be unnecessary to assert and generalize that only involuntary immigrants underachieve in their academic endeavours; without giving consideration to the underlying forces at play (Foster, 2005). Ogbu's assertion that only voluntary immigrants have high academic achievement is contradicted by this study because, both voluntary and involuntary immigrant students at the school performed poorly in their academic endeavours, based on obtained data between 2008 and 2010.

The academic achievements of DRC immigrant students in this study appear to support the notion that "Ogbu is not always accurate" (Hamann, 2004:403). Secondly, findings in terms of the academic achievement of DRC immigrant students appear to support the notion that the "hows" of exploring the academic performance of immigrants in mainstream culture "remain uncomfortably obscured" (Hamann 2004:403). Therefore, findings on the low academic performance of voluntary and involuntary DRC immigrant students in this study support Hamann's view (2004:402) that the existing power relations among immigrant and indigenous students could account for their poor academic achievement at the school. This

---

<sup>46</sup> A look at the transcripts on the CD shows the low English language proficiency of DRC immigrant students; see Appendix Q (ITJS) for example (inserted with permission from the broader project leader).

may also confirm Foster's (2004) proposal for researcher reflexivity when conducting immigrant studies. This becomes relevant if the researcher himself/herself is an immigrant, as was in the case of the educational anthropologist, John Ogbu who institutionalized the CET.

As a consequence, proposals by Foster (2004) and Gilbert (2009) were pertinent to this study, with Gilbert (2009:78) arguing that "there are inconsistencies in the findings related to Black student academic achievement", and that "there may be other factors that account for these students' academic success or failure" at the school. This study therefore agrees with the findings of Gilbert (2009:78) that CET is controversial, and that other underlying influences may be responsible for the low academic achievement of DRC immigrant students at PSS.

At the research site, many of the DRC immigrant students interviewed did not have the "sense of belonging" (Osterman, 2000) vital for interacting with their peers. Osterman (2000) argues that one of the major deterrents of academic achievement among immigrant students is isolation, and this study has found isolation among the DRC immigrant students to be one of the prominent experiences they negotiated at the school (see 5.4.2). In line with Ogbu's argument about voluntary immigrant students, because they are committed and focused, they always have high academic achievement at school. Why then did DRC voluntary immigrant students not have high academic achievements at the school?

The discovery of the commitment of DRC voluntary immigrant students would have led one to assert and generalize that they were high academic achievers, if not for evidence that was obtained through the school authority by looking at their reported grades, and for caution that has been obtained from literature (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2007) on researcher reflexivity. Out of the six DRC immigrant students investigated, five were voluntary, and performed poorly in their academic work, refuting Ogbu and Simons' (1998) argument that involuntary immigrants have low academic achievement whereas voluntary immigrants have high academic achievement. This study contests the CET because both voluntary and involuntary immigrants had low academic achievement at the school.

Manuel's statement that the culture of ill-discipline among indigenous students at the school predisposed teachers to an attitude of not coming to class to teach normal lessons appears to be a contributory factor to their low academic achievement profiles, because disrespect from indigenous students seemed to discourage some of the teachers at the school, to the extent that they incessantly absconded from teaching at times. Similarly, Manuel's experience on

the way his teacher used abusive words appeared to be de-motivating. This also could cause low academic achievement, because when students are abused their academic potential may not be evident (Hyman & Perone, 1998; Graziano, 1990). Mrs. Bradford, one of the teachers, illuminated this in terms of the low academic performance of DRC immigrant students, saying one of the challenges confronting DRC immigrant students was their low level of English language proficiency (5.4.2), reiterating the standpoint that acquisition of the language of instruction in mainstream culture is a versatile tool that not only aids academic achievement but may also become instrumental in the process of negotiating the degree of belonging to the host country and eventual acculturation. At this juncture, the interrelatedness of language acquisition, academic performance and acculturation is relevant.

Consequently, it is argued that English language barrier and isolation were likely, and that these challenges may be responsible for the low academic achievement of DRC immigrant students at PSS. The challenges in terms of English language inaptitude and isolation support the findings of Baubock et al. (1996) that the phenomenon of immigration is the origin of challenges among immigrant students in host societies. Findings of this study agree with those of Keith et al. (1994), that linguistic problems are capable of limiting the academic potentials of immigrant students from non-English speaking countries.

The rapid turnover of teachers at PSS, as reported by Anita, may also be responsible for the low academic achievements of DRC immigrant students. Secondly, Mrs. Kgomotso (see 5.2.2) claimed that teachers moved to “greener pastures” to look for better pay. The reason for rapid turnover of teachers was revealed by Mrs. Kgomotso, who explained that as a result of the high intake of Black immigrant students at the school, the payment of school fees by the majority of Black immigrant students had been a serious challenge. She said there was a limit to the number of teachers that the DoE could remunerate. The onus lies on the School Governing Body (SGB) to make provision for additional teachers to teach at the school, but this effort was continually frustrated by the mass non-payment of school fees by the majority of Black immigrant students at the school. The end result was the insufficiency of funds that persisted at the school, in terms of incapability to pay additional teachers promptly, a financial deficit common among immigrant parents made worse by mass unemployment (see 5.5.2). The resultant effect of this was to incapacitate the school and when this occurrence becomes pronounced, the quality of service delivery by teachers may be compromised, and may eventually result in the poor academic achievement of DRC immigrant students at the school. The leniency granted to DRC immigrant students, whose parents were financially

challenged answers the first part of the first research sub-question of this study (see 1.6.2). DRC immigrant students were allowed to learn at the school, despite being unable to pay their fees. This educational opportunity had a ripple effect on the school, in terms of not having the financial capital to hire additional teachers to cater for the academic needs of the entire student population.

An answer has been given to the second part of the first research sub-question of this study (see 1.6.2). In spite of the inability of most of the Black immigrant students to pay fees being an educational opportunity, it posed another dimension of challenge in terms of not being able to have high academic achievement at the school. The quality of education at the school seemed to be compromised as there was scarcity of funds to hire additional teachers to assist them. It was observed and documented in the field notes (Mulhall, 2003) that there were times when teachers for certain subjects were not available, and students were left alone. Consequently, their academic achievement was being compromised. In line with the findings of this study, it is therefore argued that CET, as originally proposed by Ogbu, is not sufficient to explain what DRC immigrant students experienced in terms of their academic achievement at the school. This claim may be supported by the resolution of Trueba (1991) on the complexity of explaining the academic achievement of immigrant groups in the host society, who argued that issues involving the academic achievement of immigrants needs a combination of theories from other fields such as psychology and sociology, and “from branches of these disciplines that explore universal theories of learning and cognitive development across cultures” (Trueba, 1991:88).

From the literature, issues involving immigrant students’ academic achievement should be viewed from their backgrounds before being analyzed may be vital. This study agrees with the findings that the effects of system forces should be considered, in an attempt to understand the academic achievement of immigrant students in the host society. The call made by Foster (2004) in his paper entitled “forward looking criticisms, critiques and enhancement for the next generation” on finding the way forward in the Cultural Ecological Model (CEM) is significant. The effects of xenophobia, isolation, harassment, intimidation, linguistic adjustment, financial incapability of DRC parents and prejudice have therefore been considered as prominent factors that may attempt to unseat the academic potentials of DRC immigrant students in South African schools.



This study has attempted to balance concentration on both community and system forces (see 2.3.1), so as not to be one-sided, and acknowledges that CET is complex, and requires a combination of other theories to offer explanations on the academic performance of immigrants in the host society. From the discussions so far, none of the five prescribed dimensions proposed by Chow (2006) may be discussed in isolation. For example, the above arguments on the academic achievement of DRC immigrant students have been linked to schooling experiences, which have been linked to language proficiency. Change in identity has been argued to influence the academic performance of immigrants in mainstream culture and, as Chow (2006) claimed, language use and change in identity are socio-cultural experiences negotiated by immigrants in the host society. It may be inconsistent to assert that high academic achievement is limited to voluntary immigrants alone as it has been demonstrated by the CET. From the six stories that have been written on DRC immigrant students in this study, five of them were voluntary immigrant students. None of the five DRC voluntary immigrant students had high academic achievement at the school, a finding that challenges the CET. There was only one DRC involuntary immigrant student in this study and his academic achievement was the only one that complied with the CET. However, his compliance with the CET was argued to be inconsistent with the holistic tenets in terms of his focus and determination to achieve within the South African environment. That he had determination to succeed within the South African environment was a major point of departure from the tenets of the CET, which stipulates that involuntary immigrant students lack the fortitude to achieve upward mobility through academic means in mainstream culture. These arguments have been premised on other researchers' arguments in literature.

The educational experiences of DRC immigrant students is a complex one due to linguistic adjustment challenges, isolation, discrimination, intimidation, and the rapid turnover of teachers at the school. The first research sub-question of the study was answered concerning the opportunities and challenges confronting DRC immigrant students in South African schools. It has been highlighted that, apart from isolation and intimidation at the school, which posed challenges confronting DRC immigrant students, they enjoyed free tuition due to the leniency of the school regarding payment of school fees.

This identified opportunity of free tuition posed a challenge to them and other indigenous students at the school because the SGB was not able to hire additional teachers at the school, as a result of the mass non-payment of fees by the Black immigrant students. It has also been

demonstrated that the situation of DRC immigrant students, in terms of language incompetence seemed to have been worsened by acts of code switching/code mixing from English to “Sotho”, during normal class lessons by their teachers; in response to the challenge of English language inaptitude among the indigenous students as well (Lin, 1996). It may therefore imply that their inability to grasp the indigenous South African languages was a challenge to them at the school; and this may have predisposed DRC immigrants to isolation in class, when teachers engaged in code switching/code mixing (Lin, 1996) from English to “Sotho” (the dominant indigenous South African language used at the school).

### **6.2.2 Schooling experiences of DRC immigrant students**

A number of experiences were negotiated by DRC immigrant students at the research site, the most prominent challenging schooling experience being linguistic adjustment, which may have predisposed them to having low social capital and sense of belonging (Osterman, 2000). Anita’s narrative supports the importance of the findings of Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco (2002) that, when immigrants begin to live in their host country and attend school, they may lose their home language, cultural values and their identities. The experience of Josephine supports the findings in literature (Soto, 1997; Wang & Phillion, 2007) that, when immigrant students begin to live in the host country, they may learn the host language, and may lose their home language. Therefore in this study, one of the schooling experiences of DRC immigrant students was the loss of their home language.

According to Mansouri and Kamp (2007), immigrant students advocate that their school environment did not allow them to get fully engaged with academic matters because it was unchallenging to them. This gives the indication that schooling experiences may influence academic achievement. The school environment appears to play a vital role in the academic achievement of immigrant students in the host society (Asanova, 2005). In this study, the school environment<sup>47</sup> of DRC immigrant students appeared to be de-motivating to one of them (Anthony) (see 5.6.2), as he said that the school location/environment did not make him enjoy coming to school. Furthermore, he emphasized certain illicit practices at the school, perpetrated by some of the indigenous students. He said the school environment gave room for gambling activities, a situation which made him feel uncomfortable because it is against his home culture.

---

<sup>47</sup> Photographs taken to show the dilapidated structures of the school during the first round of data capture in 2008 have been kept in the Department of Humanities Education by the project leader, Prof. S Vandeyar.

The school was located within the busy city centre in Pretoria. The school buildings were made of mobile container-like structures. The toilet facilities were the mobile types which were situated at a certain section of the school. Anthony complained about the dusty environment contributing to ill health. His expression of disgust concerning the situation of the school environment supports the argument of Contreras (2004:322) that it is very “likely that the ecology of schools can affect a child's long-term social development”. This study therefore supports the findings of Brown and Rodriguez (2009) that a welcoming school environment is pivotal to a healthy schooling experience.

In a similar scenario, immigrants from war torn Sudan, who were taken to Australia were reported by Brown et al. (2006) as constituting an intensely vulnerable group facing tremendous oppositions with respect to adapting to the school organization, assimilation into the host society, communal adjustment, learning of English, and ultimately, attaining high academic achievement. This study appears to support Brown et al. (2006) because it seemed that the school environment of DRC immigrant students may have constituted a disadvantage to their general well-being.

Asanova’s (2005) work is also supported by this study, especially in terms of the notion that the school environment plays vital role in the achievement profile of immigrant students. It is therefore argued that the unwelcoming school environment may have constituted a challenge to the educational wellbeing of DRC immigrant students. This is another answer to the main research question of this study: What are the educational experiences of DRC immigrant students in South African schools?

The suggestions made by Cesar and Oliveira (2005) that the introduction and execution of inclusive schooling, whereby indigenous and immigrant students interact, learn about diverse cultural issues in a schooling environment that is responsive to the challenges of all students (indigenous and immigrants), has been found to assist in drawing the attention of one of the DRC immigrant students to having an optimistic stance towards her school. Josephine expressed delight, especially in the area of learning different cultures in Life Orientation (a school subject)<sup>48</sup>. This gave her the drive to aspire to go to school despite acculturative stress, discrimination, and prejudice. Josephine’s experience in terms of cultural teaching at the

---

<sup>48</sup> See section 5.4.2

school may also be seen as an optimistic occurrence, which Cowen (1996) suggests as an enhancer of learning at school. Josephine's experience in terms of her exposure to different cultures seemed to support the findings in the literature that when immigrants come in contact with diverse cultures, academic focus may be attained.

The experience negotiated by Josephine at the school may be an indication of the versatility of Culture-Centred Theory (CCT), which may be used to explain the socio-cultural experience of immigrants in mainstream culture. The understanding that has been obtained from Josephine's experience and her inclination to her school work is that culturally responsive teaching at the school assisted her in focusing on her academic work. The limitation was that, culturally responsive pedagogy did not produce high academic achievement for her at the school. At this point, another intellectual puzzle emerges. Why did culturally responsive teaching not translate into high academic achievement for Josephine?

It may thus be argued that, no matter the level of cultural responsiveness at the school, when linguistic challenges are not addressed among immigrants from non-English speaking countries, their academic performance may be compromised. Therefore, it is argued in this study that culturally responsive pedagogy alone may not address the educational requirements of immigrant students in mainstream culture, but a holistic identification of challenges confronting them in the host society. This study appears to support the findings of Ogbu (1990) that it may be more important to concentrate on factors that enhance commitment to schooling among immigrants.

As argued by a group of researchers that segregation, prejudice, harassment and discrimination are experienced by immigrant students at schools, because they have different cultural backgrounds from mainstream culture it is important to look at Josephine's concrete experience at the school as a result of her interest in Arts and Culture (see 5.4.2). This may give a better understanding of the versatility of the incorporation of culture into the school curriculum. The introduction of cultural discourses into Arts and Culture at the school appeared to have shielded her from the detriments of prejudice and discrimination by making them inconsequential to her.

Josephine's reaction to cultural issues at the school may be explained by the CCT. The research conducted by Sergiovanni (2000:1) in the UK gives an indication that cultural issues are important when exploring the experiences of immigrants within the school environment.

Sergiovanni argues that culture is "the normative glue that holds a particular school together". When a situation, whereby the ecological climate (Ogbu & Simons, 1998) of the school becomes favourable to the peaceful coexistence of immigrants and indigenous students, the indication could be that there has been an amalgamation of two or more cultures existing within the school environment (Fischer, 2004). At such an instance, the effects of prejudice, discrimination, isolation and xenophobia may become inconsequential to immigrant students at such an environment.

An important advantage of CCT is that it endeavours to tackle instituted acts of racism and discards evidences of cultural domination which have impacted on the academic achievement of immigrants for many years in mainstream culture (Gay, 1994; Ladson-Billings, 1994). Therefore, this study supports findings in literature that cultural discourses in schools are potent at minimizing the challenging experiences confronting immigrant students.

Secondly the findings support the perception that, cultural responsiveness is capable of tackling instituted acts of domination in the host society. The experiences of some of the DRC immigrant students in this study appear to also support the findings of Gibson and Carrasco (2009:254) that "although official school discourses appear to embrace cultural and linguistic diversity, foreign-born and native-born children of immigrants often end up feeling silenced and alienated". This argument becomes relevant because pockets of discriminatory acts still remained at the school, especially among those who were not elaborately exposed to cultural teaching among the six DRC immigrant students. This study supports the finding of Fischer on the importance of culture in understanding the behaviour of immigrant students at school and in the host country. Explicit knowledge about diverse cultures is "the coming into form, the work of maintenance, and the processes of decay, the dynamics of the weaving" (Fischer, 2004:8).

Applying the finding of Fischer (2004) to Josephine's experience (see 5.4.2), for example, it becomes obvious that the introduction of culture into the curriculum at the school was able to allow her to "come into form" in the host country, by not becoming distracted by prejudice, discrimination and intimidation. This is because she was being introduced to novel ways of behaving and behaviour which gave her the opportunity to adjust her home beliefs and way of life until she was able to come into shape with other cultures, through the dynamics of weaving them together.

At this juncture, it is pertinent to state that vivid understanding about culture is necessary for acculturating to mainstream society, but the acculturation takes a sequence of steps, depending on the intensity of exposure to cultural details at the school. Secondly, cultural discourses in the Arts and Culture class appeared to have enhanced Josephine's malleability so as to adapt to other cultures, signifying what Fischer calls the "the work of maintenance".

Thirdly, it elicited the process of "decay", which involved dissolving her rigid adherence to her home culture; so as to be able to blend with other new cultures until the "dynamics of weaving" (merging) into another culture was set into motion (Fischer, 2004). This argument appears to support what Goddard and Foster (2002:4) observe about culture that it "refers to more than the idiosyncratic climate of the school and includes the broader societal culture within which the school is located and functions".

It appeared as if Josephine already had a sense of belonging to her school, supporting the assertion of Asanova (2005) that the "sense of belonging" of immigrant students is dependent on two crucial issues. The first one is the level of relationship between teachers and immigrant students at the school. The second is the recognition given by the school system to immigrants' racial culture. It appeared as if Josephine had established a connection with her Arts and Culture teacher (Mrs. Bradford) (see 5.4.2), at the school, because of the opportunity to learn from other cultures (Fischer, 2004). This was noticed as she began to defend her teacher, when she was being discriminated against by indigenous students at the school.

Ogbu and Simons (1998) argue that the incorporation of culture into the school curriculum may not necessarily count. They argue that it is better for immigrant students to earn trust from their teachers at the school rather than introducing cultural discourses into the school curriculum. How can immigrant students earn the trust of their teachers without an avenue that appreciates their ethnic culture? Their argument has been counteracted by the argument of Asanova (2005) that, when immigrants develop trust in the school system through culturally responsive pedagogy, they may earn the trust of their teachers. Consequently, there may be an enhancement of their immersion in academic matters.

The findings of Gay (2000:29) are also supported by this study that, "using the cultural knowledge, prior experiences, frames of reference, and performance styles of ethnically diverse students" makes learning easy for immigrant students within the schooling context.

This may be because immigrant students “often grow up with strong ties to two countries, two cultures, and two ways of being, which can produce multiple realities, multiple ways of being and communicating with the world” (Rodriguez, 2009:17).

The encounter with Josephine in this study has enabled one to have an understanding of the “multiple realities” revealed by Rodriguez (2009) to include some of the challenging “schooling experiences” (Chow, 2006) negotiated by DRC immigrant students in the form of isolation, prejudice, bullying and harassment; and what Rodriguez (2009) says is that these “multiple realities” are neutralized by culturally responsive curricula at the school. Hence the need to melt down their home cultures, mix new cultural ideas with home cultural beliefs, and intertwine new ones into them leads to what is referred to, in this study as the stage of formation of “cultural amalgam”. Vandeyar (2008) refers to this stage of cultural integration as the formation of “hybrids”. Josephine’s experience in terms of incorporating cultural discourses into the school curriculum in this study are therefore supported by the findings in literature (Asanova, 2000; Ladson-Billings, 1992; Osterman, 2000) that culturally responsive pedagogy is capable of focusing the attention of immigrant students on learning.

Despite the resourcefulness of introducing culturally responsive teaching at the school, Gibson and Carrasco (2009) report that immigrant students experience some measure of caginess at school due to discrimination from indigenous students. Parker (2003:156) also argues that “members of the dominant group within any society have the power to oppress members of other groups in numerous ways, formally and informally” because they see immigrant students as not belonging to their new society. This is noticed if the immigrants cannot communicate with them because of language barriers (Yeh et al., 2008).

Therefore, it may be relevant to state that the introduction of culturally responsive teaching at school is not a guarantee of the fostering of remedial actions against prejudice, discrimination and bullying among immigrant students in the host society. It may be perceived that it makes the effects of these ills insignificant by attracting the attention of immigrants to their academic work because of the “future goals” (Andriessen et al., 2006) that are set by many of them in mainstream culture. Anita’s schooling experience gives one the opportunity to make this assertion. Furthermore, the innate drive displayed by Anita during the data capture when she registered her passionate quest to achieve in the future became a foundation for exploring the resilience of immigrant students in this study. Therefore, it implies that despite the

schooling challenges confronting Anita, she displayed resilience, tenacity and strong will to achieve. This finding supports the findings of Sookrajh et al. (2005) that immigrant students bring the tenacity to survive into the host society.

Anita's narrative brings one of the findings of Andriessen et al. (2006:843) to mind about the "future goal setting, task motivation and learning of immigrant students" at the school. It reveals that immigrant "students attach more importance to future goals in general, and to internally regulating self development goals in particular". Consequently, Anita's experience in terms of being futuristic agrees with Andriessen et al. (2006) on the stance of immigrant students wanting to achieve by setting "future goals" of achievement for themselves in mainstream culture. It implies that Anita's futuristic inclination was one of the driving forces motivating her to look away from the present challenges, while focusing on her development for the future. Similarly, Anita demonstrated strong leadership qualities at the school. This was a unique experience, which made her to take a stance of not agreeing to copy other students who were not focused (see 5.2.2).

How can we vividly interpret all these detrimental schooling effects? Is there a theory that attempts to tackle these challenging schooling experiences? CRT is a useful tool that may be used to expose and analyze the effects of racism, prejudice, discrimination and intimidation in the society. Xenophobic violence is not left out of the crafty ways that dominant members of the society use in alienating immigrants from participating in the activities of the host country. Ethnic bullying, prejudice, and discrimination provide evidence of racism in society. Among DRC immigrant students, discrimination, prejudice and ethnic bullying were reported as challenging schooling experiences by almost all the participants of this study. These challenging experiences were found to vary and depend on the time of arrival of the immigrants into South Africa and language proficiency (Chow, 2006; Klotz, 2000; Marks et al., 2007). For example, Anita's experience did not signify elaborate acts of discrimination against her when she first arrived at the school. Secondly, she could faintly understand the predominant indigenous South African language used to communicate at the school (Sotho).

The case was not the same with Manuel, who was about two years old in South Africa at the time of capturing this data. His experiences with indigenous students and teachers were unpleasant in terms of acts of racism at the school. He said indigenous students bullied foreign students, and at the same time he said some of the teachers abused him at the school. According to one of the tenets of CRT (Matsuda et al., 1993:6), a vivid understanding and



exposure of racism in the society was indicated at the school through the “voices” (Matsuda, 1995) of the DRC immigrant students at the school. Manuel’s experience (see 5.5.2) was an example at the school, which symbolized racial discrimination and prejudice. These experiences may have de-motivated him from focusing confidently on his learning at the school.

Josephine (see 5.4.2) described another challenging experience, in terms of indigenous students bringing weapons to the school. Her experience also showed that DRC immigrant students negotiated challenging experiences at the school in the forms of bullying, display of deadly weapons by indigenous students and intimidation. Her experience supports the findings in the literature that immigrant students experience discrimination, bullying and prejudice in mainstream culture. The unique experience at the school was the issue of indigenous students bringing deadly weapons to the school. Bartlett and Brayboy (2005:361-362) argue that, race has been vital in matters of schooling, and that:

popular, public discourses and academic discourses reflect continuously on the racial achievement gap in schooling, posing various explanations: intellectual deficits, cultural deficits, cultural difference, resistance, and institutional racism, among others.

The findings of Bartlett and Brayboy (2005:361-362) are supported by the narrative of Manuel in this study (see 5.5.2). A notable example is cited from the May 2008 xenophobic attacks. Foreigners were told to go back to their countries of origin because of acts of racism that were ingrained in the indigenous South African citizens. One would think that such acts were limited to White/Black situations that operated during the apartheid regime, but it surpassed issues of colour. Manuel argued that the moment his indigenous peers identified a student as a foreigner; the immigrant student became a victim of racism at the school. His experience seemed to support the work of Bartlett and Brayboy (2005), and racism (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995) seemed to have become part of the schooling experiences of DRC immigrant students.

Villenas and Deyhle (1999) argue that wherever immigrants are found, acts of racism will be present. This study therefore supports their finding on the prevalence of racism at PSS, although it was exhibited against fellow Black African students. Trueba (1993) asserts that racism can be deciphered through acts of intimidation, prejudice, discrimination and “castification” by dominant groups in the host countries of immigrants. This finding is

supported by the response of one of the teachers (Mrs. Annertoria)<sup>49</sup> that were interviewed, that immigrants were isolated through acts of intimidation, racism and xenophobia (see 5.6.2). One of the indigenous South African students also attested to the notion that DRC immigrant students at the school were discriminated against (see 5.7.2).

Carger (1996) argues that when language issues are not addressed at school to benefit immigrant students, it may lead to acts of racism. This was one of the prominent complaints at PSS by DRC immigrant students that teachers switched to Sotho, without considering their predicaments as immigrant students. Carger's (1996) argument is in line with the eventual prospects of failure proposed about the ills of language incompetence among immigrant students at the school by different researchers (Bankston & Zhou, 1995; Chow, 2006; Yeh et al., 2008), and this has been supported by this study to be relevant. The implication of the school's insensitivity to mitigating the effects of language barrier among DRC immigrant students was expounded by Romo and Falbo (1996). They contend that acts of racism include lack of remedial actions to mitigate failure among immigrants, especially when immigrants lack the command of the language of learning and teaching at the school. Although at PSS, the failure of the school to mitigate the academic failure of DRC immigrants may not be intentional, but it is taken as an act of racism by CRT. This is because equity and fairness should characterize school settings. From what has been observed at the research site, issues involving code switching/code mixing (Lin, 1996) ought to have been addressed so that it would not be mistaken to be a deliberate act of racial discrimination against DRC immigrant students and immigrants from other Black African countries that were present at the school.

When the situation at the school was critically evaluated, the opportunity given to DRC immigrant students and other Black immigrant students, who were incapable of paying fees, may constitute another issue that tends to negate the event of asserting that they were being racist at the school. But CRT equates the insensitivity to the immigrant students' needs, in terms of their challenge in language as a deliberate act of racism. This is a pertinent characteristic of CRT, because it exposes acts of racism in the society especially in terms of marginalization of immigrant groups in mainstream culture, whether intentionally or

---

<sup>49</sup> See Appendix R (ITMRSA) on the CD (Inserted with permission from the broader project leader, Prof. S. Vandeyar).

unintentionally. The narratives obtained from DRC immigrant students<sup>50</sup> on the silent acts of racism at PSS constituted a basis for evaluating racism in this study (Dixson & Rousseau, 2006).

CRT is a useful tool that exposes racism by discouraging practices that impede the educational and socio-cultural development of immigrant students in mainstream culture. For example, the fact that the linguistic challenges of DRC immigrant students at this study site was not addressed, could imply a deliberate attempt to continually marginalize them, so that they would be incapable of gaining upward “social mobility” (Cole & Omari, 2003; LaDousa, 2006). Furthermore, xenophobia in South Africa is seen by the CRT lens as a deliberate attempt to discourage immigrant students from gaining upward “social mobility”. In effect, it is argued that there was prevalence of racism at PSS, despite the fact that apartheid has been abolished since 1994 in South Africa. With the exposure of racism at the school, it becomes an issue for parents, guardians and families in general to rise up to the challenge of fighting for their rights against the ills of racism, which are capable of endlessly limiting the educational and socio-cultural well-being of their immigrant children in South Africa. The question to ask at this juncture is: How would DRC immigrant parents be capable of arising to fight against this act of racism, when they were financially estranged due to the mass unemployment they deal with in South Africa?

It is worthy of note that at PSS, many of these acts of racism were not publicly recognized by the school authority, they appeared as pockets of experiences because they were not obviously ubiquitous at the school. The issue of code switching/code mixing, which was also implicated as an act of racism by inference from CRT, was an inadvertent issue among the teachers at the school. This was because, not only DRC immigrant students were challenged in terms of the language of learning and teaching<sup>51</sup>. The reason for the inaptitude in English language among indigenous students was that indigenous students also struggled with the fact that there are eleven official languages in South Africa, and as such, they saw English language as a challenge at the school. It is now obvious that without the use of the CRT lens, ordinarily, issues of racism might not be comprehended.

---

<sup>50</sup> For examples of such narratives, see Appendix O (ITM) on the CD (Inserted with permission from the broader project leader).

<sup>51</sup> See Appendix T (ITMRKGM) on the CD (Inserted with permission from the broader project leader, Prof. S. Vandeyar).

It is therefore argued in this study that there was prevalence of racism at PSS. This study therefore supports findings in literature that acts of racism are prevalent in most host societies where immigrant and indigenous children co-exist. However, it refutes findings that storytelling and societal pragmatism may not be used as tools for analyzing racism, because they may constitute sources of bias; which may be deficient of academic rigour. This is also because; the voices of those experiencing acts of racism (DRC immigrant students) vividly exposed acts of racial segregation at the school. Secondly, analysis of their narratives is subject to verification by critically exploring their tones of voices.

Another prominent issue on the schooling experience of DRC immigrant students was the issue of disrespect and indiscipline that was exhibited by indigenous students at the school towards educators. Manuel disclosed this recurring issue at the school (see 5.5.2) by affirming that indigenous students talked back to educators; an act that is not acceptable in his cultural background in the DRC. He affirmed that students are required to respect their teachers and listen to them. Based on Manuel's narrative, therefore, it is indicated in this study that DRC immigrant students experienced the attitude of disrespect towards teachers at the school. On the issue of lack of discipline among indigenous students, Manuel confirmed that during normal school hours, indigenous students gambled and distorted the tranquillity of the class.

DRC immigrant students saw gambling, disrespect towards teachers and smoking as acts that are corrupt and unreasonable at the school. From the articles that were read on immigrant students experiences the schooling experiences were unique due to reports of disrespect towards teachers, smoking and gambling within the school compound. These experiences overwhelmed the DRC immigrant students interviewed in this study; because they are deviant from their ethnic culture. It is therefore argued that this aspect of the schooling experience" involving the issue of disrespect to teachers, smoking activities and gambling at the school may constitute another level of distraction for them in terms of their academic achievement. Although, the acculturation experiences of DRC immigrant students will still be contemplated, the findings in this study are supported by Mansouri et al. (2006:400) that "one of the key acculturation challenges experienced" by both voluntary and involuntary immigrants is "their adjustment to unfamiliar norms of social life". Consequently, it is argued that schooling experiences also affect acculturation).

In conclusion, it was emphasized that DRC immigrant students encountered diverse challenging experiences at the school; some were common to what has been reported before, while others were diverse from what has been reported in literature. An attempt has been made to indicate that each of the DRC immigrant students had diverse centres of attraction, distractions and interests which were capable of affecting them differently in their educational experiences. It has also been shown that, in mainstream culture, discrimination, prejudice and insubordination were experienced differently by DRC immigrant students, based on their age at arrival in the host country, their personality traits and reasons for coming to the host country. The predicament of DRC parents has also been presented in terms of the mass unemployment they experienced in South Africa, as determinants of their children's educational wellbeing at the school.

All these are answers to the first part of the research question at the outset of this study on: What are the educational experiences of DRC immigrant students in South African schools? It is evident that it is almost impossible to explore the educational experiences of DRC immigrant students without touching their socio-cultural experiences; due to their interrelatedness and involvedness, especially as a result of linguistic influences.

### **6.3 Socio-cultural experiences of DRC immigrant students**

The discussion in this section will be made by considering the following: consequences of language proficiency among DRC immigrants; the acculturation experiences of DRC immigrant students and DRC immigrant students' identity construction in the host society. These three dimensions define the socio-cultural experiences of immigrant students in the host society.

#### **6.3.1 Consequences of language proficiency among DRC immigrant students**

In this section, an attempt is made to support the notion that "language is not just a cultural issue but a political one" (Wang & Phillion 2007:95); because it is the means of expression in any institution, for example, the school environment. Wherever it is used to the detriment of immigrants, its political intonation becomes critically linked to acts of racism according to CRT. The linguistic predispositions of the six DRC immigrant students in this study support the claim that language is a "cultural bridge" (Yeh et al. 2008:787), linking immigrant students en-route acculturation and positive attitudes, beliefs and values in the host country. In chapter five, excerpts that were obtained from teachers who taught DRC immigrant

students, and narratives from the DRC immigrant students revealed that the acquisition of the language of learning and teaching among DRC immigrant students was a challenge to them; thus offering an answer to one of the research questions in this study. Their challenge in English language acquisition has also been implicated in section 6.2 to be one of the probable reasons for their low academic achievement at the school. Having attempted to establish all these findings, it is considered important to probe more into language use among DRC immigrant students in this study by conducting further analysis on their experiences in terms of the language of learning and teaching as well as their predispositions to the indigenous South African languages.

The study conducted by Yeh et al. (2008) is supported by the findings in this study, in that language is the weapon of communication which guarantees that what students learn at the school is established. They affirm that language competency in the host culture advances social interaction between immigrant and indigenous students. Once again, Anita's experience becomes evidence that supports their argument (see 5.2.2). This is because her ability to slightly understand the predominant South African language spoken by her indigenous peers at the school served as an invitation to belonging to their group. This experience shielded her from intimidation, prejudice and isolation that may have prevented her survival instincts at the school. Yeh et al. (2008) also advocate that the ability to communicate and understand the dominant language facilitates acculturation to the host country, although, as it will be shown shortly, DRC immigrant students in this study did not commence their acculturation in South Africa, probably due to acculturative stress (Madhavappallil & Choi, 2006). All these discoveries from Yeh et al. (2008) have been supported by this study. With respect to the language of learning and teaching, Chow (2006:2) stipulates that "proficiency in English is a major consideration in the necessity, rapidity, and ease with which immigrants adapt to a milieu dominated by English." Chow (2006:2) agrees with Yeh et al. (2008) and the observations and findings of this study; that language competence is vital for academic purposes, and for interacting in mainstream culture as well as gathering vital information involving immigrant students' new environment.

The divergence between this study and Yeh et al. (2008) lies in the challenge of all the students in English language (indigenous and immigrants) at PSS. Probably if the indigenous students could use English more proficiently, the acculturation of DRC immigrant students

may have been set in motion. For example, if Anita could also relate with her indigenous peers proficiently in English, another common ground for holistic interaction may have been created (see 5.2.2). From the observation and field notes<sup>52</sup> taken in this study, there were times that Anita did not understand certain words in the indigenous South African languages when she was communicating with her indigenous peers at the school. In an attempt to want to belong, she waved such words that she could not understand aside, in order not to disrupt the flow of her conversation with her indigenous peers. This was observed at the research site during the first round of data capture and the additional data capture<sup>53</sup> at the school between 2008 and 2010. Chow (2006:2) becomes important to understand what operates at the study site, that it is expedient for all the students at the school to be proficient in English language.

Similarly, the generally low academic achievement of the six DRC immigrant students in this study supports the findings in literature that, for immigrant students to effectively complete an academic program in a school where English is the medium of instruction, there is a minimum requirement of English language adeptness that has to be attained. The six DRC immigrant students had very low assessment marks in English language. This trend indicates that their low proficiency in English language may be a major challenge to successfully completing their academic program. Therefore, the findings in this study in terms of English language competence agree with findings in literature (Chow, 2000, 2001, 2006) that there is a minimum requirement needed by immigrants in the host society for the successful completion of their studies.

Goddard and Foster (2002:10) buttress the importance of English language proficiency at the school by stating that one of the determinants “of academic achievement is English language proficiency” and this study agrees with their finding. This study makes the finding of Rodriguez (2009:18) comprehensible. Rodriguez (2009:18) argues that “learning English becomes the most important goal for the children of immigrants to attain” in order to have academic achievement and “acculturative” tendency in the host country where the LOLT is English language.

---

<sup>52</sup> See the field note taken on 25/03/2010 during the second round of data capture in Appendix FLDNT1.

<sup>53</sup> See Appendix FLDNT1 for information on field note taken. (Note: observation data of the first round of data capture in 2008 are securely kept with the leader of the broader project, Prof. S. Vandeyar).

This study supports the argument of Wang and Phillion (2007) that, when immigrant parents immigrate to their country of choice, they enforce that their children communicate with them in their home language, but after some years, parents find that their children no longer want to speak their traditional language. Anita's story supports the argument of Soto (1997), Waggoner (1993) as well as Wang and Phillion (2007), that immigrant children may lose their home language; and that their parents mind them losing their home language in mainstream culture. Anita was already forgetting French, which is her home language until her mother intervened by speaking French to her. She also agreed with her parents that she should not lose French language. She adhered to her parents' request by grouping with her friends from DRC at break time to communicate with them in French language. From this discourse, it may be reasonable to state that parents of immigrant children guard against their children losing their home language. It may also be that parental cultural resources influence decisions that are taken by immigrant students in the host society.

In summary, language appears to be a versatile tool that affects all the spheres of experiences encountered by immigrant students in the host country. It is therefore argued that DRC immigrant students at the research site were confronted by challenges in terms of English language inaptitude, and inaptitude in the indigenous South African languages; predisposing them to experiencing prejudice, isolation, xenophobia and low academic achievement. It is also argued that incompetence in English language and the indigenous South African languages were among the challenging socio-cultural experiences negotiated by DRC immigrant students at PSS. These are answers to the second research sub-question of this study on: What are the socio-cultural issues confronting DRC immigrant students in South African schools?

### **6.3.2 The acculturation experiences of DRC immigrant students at the school**

From the literature it was found that immigrants go to their host counties with competence in their home languages, religions, cultural backgrounds, as well as diverse perceptions of their previous environments which may have to be negotiated with the culture of their new environment. These have been found to make acculturation to the host society challenging for them. To understand the acculturation experiences of DRC immigrant students, the narratives



of their parents<sup>54</sup> may become important (see 5.2.3). One of the parents said it had been very challenging for him thriving in South Africa, because of the prevalence of mass unemployment. This parent was still glued to his ethnic culture and did not see anything important about identifying with South Africans. Consequently, it is argued that acculturative stress due to the challenging South African environment likely prevented the acculturation of DRC immigrant students to the South African society; probably because of the recitals of their parents on the challenging experiences confronting them in mainstream culture. A new knowledge is therefore generated in this study. The implication of these arduous challenges may mean that, acculturation is a function of what mainstream culture is capable of offering immigrants.

Furthermore, it is argued that, because of the low English language proficiency of DRC immigrant students at PSS, minimal parental financial capital, coupled with the effects of the lack of proficiency in the indigenous South African languages, they were not acculturating to the host society at the time of capturing data from 2008 to early 2010. The implication of language incompetence is that their level of interaction with their indigenous peers at the school became low; hence, there was limited opportunity to learn from one another's cultures for cultural negotiation to begin at the school. Similarly, they could not "grow beyond" (Yeh et al., 2008:784) their home culture, to include another culture for cultural amalgamation to take place between them and their indigenous peers at the school.

It is at the stage when allowance for cultural negotiation is feasible that acculturation may begin among immigrant students in the host society. The most important issue that appeared to prevent DRC immigrant students' acculturation may be the constant recital from their parents that they have been static due to unemployment that was being triggered by acts of racism and xenophobia. Hence, what was noticed at the school was a state of cultural conflict, instead of cultural negotiation. The argument in this study becomes important because of what has been found in literature (Chow, 2000, 2001, 2006; Goddard & Foster, 2002) (concerning the versatility of language among immigrant groups in the host society. Language use among immigrant students may be employed to measure the level of acculturation of immigrant students to the host society. The feasibility of this practice lies in examining their degree of acquisition of language in mainstream culture. This is because we

---

<sup>54</sup> Appendix K (FGIPWP) provides the interview protocol of the focus group interviews conducted with DRC parents in March 2010.

are afforded the right of entry to the prevailing culture as it promotes higher tendency for cultural adjustment to take place (Yeh & Inose, 2002; Yeh, 2003).

In essence, it becomes clear that when language acquisition is low, the experience of immigrant students to their new environment may become uneasy. Their lack of understanding with respect to the indigenous South African languages may have challenged their interactive capabilities; subjecting them to isolation, discrimination and prejudice because they were seen as not belonging to the South African culture by their indigenous peers. Consequently, their acculturation to the South African terrain appeared to have been challenged.

The observation that DRC immigrant students at the time of this study had not yet started to negotiate their acculturation with their host society was a confirmation of one of the options proposed by Oetting and Beauvais (1990) that immigrants may choose to affiliate with home cultures entirely. Secondly, they may decide to take on the culture of the host society more than their home cultures. Thirdly, they may totally assume the culture of the host society alone. Fourthly, they may maintain their home culture and finally, they may decide not to adopt any of the two cultures. In this study, there was an indication that DRC immigrant students still held tenaciously to the Congolese culture (their home culture) more than the South African culture. This study therefore agrees with the findings in literature (Asanova, 2005; Oetting & Beauvais, 1990; Yeh et al., 2008) that adjustment of immigrants to the host society is dependent on home culture, issues of prejudice, isolation, language, racism and discrimination.

In this study, it is argued that challenges in the forms of prejudice, isolation, discrimination and lack of communication due to language differences between indigenous students at the school and DRC immigrant students; did not allow DRC immigrant students to rise above their home culture into the process of cultural negotiation with the dominant South African culture. The findings of this study agree with Yeh et al. (2008:784) that:

acculturation is not only a time to learn new norms and values, and to adopt salient reference groups of the host society, but is a process that includes the ability to grow beyond the original culture and encompass a new culture. Hence, communication is crucial to the adjustment process, and language is the fundamental means of effective communication- an important tool for social interaction and for retrieving information in daily life.

The findings of this study appear to support the findings of Rodriguez (2009:17) that “Dominican-American youth straddle multiple worlds, negotiating experiences related to family, schooling, and identity in transnational social spaces”. The distinction between the findings of this study and the study conducted by Rodriguez (2009) lies in the aspect of DRC immigrants and their parents, not having the financial wherewithal to physically move from their host country to their home country; but their minds appeared to be perpetually inclined to their home country. It has also been reported in literature that when immigrants come to the host country at a tender age, the longer they reside there, the higher the degree of acculturation to the host country. Anita had stayed in South Africa since the age of two years (see 5.2.2). She did not acculturate to the South African society, thus, contradicting what has been reported in literature. This inconsistency has been identified to likely originate from the complexities, in relation to the influence of Anita’s parents, as a point of departure from the reported output on this discourse in literature (Rodriguez, 2009).

The situation with the other five DRC immigrant students was different from Anita’s because their stay in South Africa was more recent (although some of them had stayed in South Africa for periods ranging from less than one year to eight years). Those who have experienced pronounced discrimination among these other five DRC immigrant students may be affirmed to have experienced acculturative stress due to discrimination, prejudice, isolation and harassment. Their experiences in terms of racial prejudice appear to support the findings in literature (Berry & Sam, 1997; Yeh et al., 2008) that immigrant students who experience discrimination, prejudice or harassment do not acculturate to the host country easily. Consequently, in this study, it is argued that the acculturation experience of DRC immigrant students was compromised. For example, the xenophobic violence of May 2008 was one of the reasons for acculturative stress among the six DRC immigrant students. Other evidence that the acculturation experiences of DRC immigrant students at the school may have been prevented was discovered when all the six DRC immigrant students in this study indicated they wanted to go back to their country of birth (see chapter five). The logic in this kind of question lies in the realm of wanting to remain in the host country, if acculturation was actually taking place. The question to ask is: Why would an immigrant who has acculturated to mainstream culture want to return to the country of birth, if acculturation has actually taken place?

Their utterances, according to the tenets of CRT (Matsuda et al., 1993:6) indicated the prevalence of racism at the school. Therefore, their experiences of xenophobia indicated that racism was being exhibited against them at the school. Their experiences support the findings of Dixson and Rousseau (2006:48) that “the voices of people” are tools that may be used to identify and expose acts of racism in the society (see chapter five). This study therefore agrees with the findings in the literature (Asanova, 2005; Dixson & Rousseau, 2006; Yeh et al., 2008) that acculturation to the host society is dependent on home culture, issues of prejudice, isolation, language, racism and discrimination. In answering the research question on: What are the socio-cultural experiences of DRC immigrant students in South African schools, it is argued that acculturative stress was one of the socio-cultural issues confronting DRC immigrant students in the South African society. Section 6.3.3 presents discussion on identity construction among the six DRC immigrant students in South Africa.

### **6.3.3 DRC immigrant students’ identity construction**

In section 6.3.2, it was stated that DRC immigrant students were not yet engaged in acculturating to their host society. Consequently, they were not engaged in negotiating their identities for the same reasons given in section 6.3.2. There was nothing like a hyphenated identity (Sears et al., 2003) among them at the time of conducting this study; because they were not privileged to “grow beyond” (Yeh et al., 2008:784) their home culture to incorporate the host country’s culture. The finding in this study on identity construction among DRC immigrant students seemed to agree with the finding of Kohn (2002:155) that “identity is all about choice, action and a multiplicity of experience and allegiance” in terms of the immigrant students’ perception about cultural integration or annihilation. The narrative of Anita’s father, during the focus group interviews conducted in early 2010, may give us an important clue on whether Anita was negotiating her identities with the host society. This is because parental influence has been shown in this study, to influence decisions of DRC immigrant students (see 5.2.3).

Anita’s father said he has not gained anything from South Africa except racial discrimination and unemployment<sup>55</sup>; an indication of what Kohn (2002:155) calls “multiplicity of experiences”. The findings of this study agree with the findings of Kohn (2002:155) that

---

<sup>55</sup> See appendix K (FGIPWP) for details. Unemployment of DRC immigrant parents in SA disallowed them from operating in transnational social space as reported by Rodriguez (2009). (Note: This data was obtained during the limited data capture conducted in March 2010).

“identity is all about choice, action and a multiplicity of experience and allegiance” negotiated by immigrants in the host society. These “multiplicity of experiences”, according to Kohn (2002:155), did not give Anita’s father any reason to have “allegiance”, in terms of having the “choice” to be loyal, and identify with the South African society. Such challenging perceptions and influences may have led him to take “actions”, which may be transferred to his immigrant child, to the extent that she may not want to identify with mainstream culture. Similarly, Anita also responded to how she would identify herself in South Africa by saying, “as a Congolese”.

During the second round of interviews in early 2010, Anita was asked the same question; she still responded by saying “I am a Congolese”. All the other five DRC immigrant students in this study responded by identifying with the DRC (see chapter five), maybe because of the unease they experienced at the school from indigenous students. Therefore, it is argued in this study that none of the DRC immigrant students started to negotiate their identities with the host society, perhaps as a result of challenging experiences confronting them. Findings in this study seemed to support Mana et al. (2009:450) that “immigrant identity is one aspect of the encounter between a host majority and a group of newcomers”.

An important lesson that has been learned at this stage is that the identity construction profile of immigrant students is subjective and dependent on the ecological experiences in the host society as reported in literature (French et al., 2006; Mana et al., 2009; Marks et al., 2007; Roediger, 2003; Vandeyar, 2008).

#### **6.4 Summary of discussion on findings**

One of the challenging socio-cultural experiences confronting DRC immigrant students in this study was linguistic adjustment incapability. Language inaptitude among them spanned from their challenge in the language of learning and teaching, to the indigenous languages spoken at the school. Their inability to communicate in the language of instruction seemed to be the fulcrum of their academic challenges as well as their schooling experiences. Their language incompetence also challenged certain segments of their socio-cultural well-being in the host society (i.e., acculturation to the host society and identity construction). As a result of their linguistic challenges, they could not acculturate and negotiate their identities with the host society. The xenophobic violence which surfaced in May 2008 seemed to have made their identity formation and acculturation to the host society difficult. There were five DRC

voluntary immigrant students out of six DRC immigrant students who participated in this study. The experiences of the five DRC voluntary immigrant students contradicted the CET. The contradiction was as a result of one of the socio-cultural issues (linguistic adjustment incapability) confronting them in the host society and the many challenging schooling experiences they had to negotiate in the host society. This is an indication that it may be reasonable to advance CET with caution and contextually, in order to avoid bias.

Therefore in this study, in offering answers to the main research question on: What are the educational and socio-cultural experiences of DRC immigrant students in South African schools? It is hereby stated that the educational experiences of DRC immigrant students, comprising of their academic performance and schooling experiences involve the following:

First, DRC immigrant students (voluntary and involuntary) experienced low academic achievement at the school, perhaps as a result of incompetence in the language of instruction, the indigenous languages spoken at the school, as well as the rapid turnover of teachers at the school. Their academic performance also appeared to have been affected by acts of code switching and code mixing as practiced by teachers who taught them. At the school, this was likely because indigenous students were also not proficient at communicating in the language of instruction.

Second, they negotiated difficult schooling experiences due to acts of prejudice, discrimination, isolation and intimidation. Other challenging schooling experiences were bullying, indiscipline on the part of indigenous students, rapid turnover of teachers at the school, and inability to pay school fees. Their inability to pay school fees was due to the unemployment situation of their parents in South Africa. They also had to grapple with indigenous students who were engaged in smoking and gambling at the school. Similarly, they had to confront indigenous students who brought dangerous weapons to the school. These are answers to the research question on: What are the educational experiences of immigrant students in South African schools? The socio-cultural experiences of DRC immigrant students involved the following:

First, linguistic adjustment incapability was a socio-cultural issue confronting DRC immigrant students at the school. As a result of their linguistic adjustment inabilities, their academic performance remained poor. They were also under pressure to learn the indigenous languages spoken at the school, in order to have a sense of belonging at the school. The need

to learn the indigenous languages spoken at the school seemed to predispose them to forgetting their home languages in the host society. The inability of DRC immigrant students to proficiently communicate in the indigenous languages spoken at the school appeared not to allow them to adjust to the host society. Therefore, linguistic adjustment inability was one of the socio-cultural issues confronting DRC immigrant students at the school; thus giving an answer to one of the research sub-questions of this study: What are the socio-cultural issues confronting DRC immigrant students in South African schools?.

Second, acculturative stress was another socio-cultural issue confronting DRC immigrant students at the school. It seemed to be challenging for them to negotiate their acculturation with the host society as a result of prejudice, discrimination, isolation, linguistic adjustment incapability, and xenophobia. Similarly, incongruence in culture; in the forms of visible acts of indiscipline, smoking and gambling activities at the school among indigenous students were likely dimensions of challenging experiences preventing them from acculturating to the host society. Thus, these findings provide answers to the research question of the study: What are the socio-cultural issues confronting DRC immigrant students in South African schools?

Third, inability of DRC immigrant students to negotiate their identities with mainstream culture was a likely socio-cultural issue confronting them at the school and in the host society. DRC immigrant students at the school seemed not to commence their identity negotiation at the school and in the host society probably due to challenges relating to xenophobia, narratives of their parents in terms of their unemployment situation in South Africa, prejudice and discrimination. DRC immigrant students seemed not to “grow beyond” (Yeh et al., 2008) their original culture, to form a new “hybrid” (Vandeyar, 2008) of cultures. Their inability to “grow beyond” their home culture was likely because of strange and challenging occurrences they experienced at the school. The likely source of these challenges was the vindictive conduct of indigenous students towards them. They seemed not to also commence their identity negotiation in the host society because of unwholesome experiences in terms of smoking and gambling, as well as the practice of bringing deadly weapons to the school among indigenous students.

Lastly, the opportunities confronting DRC immigrant students at the school involved the leniency of the school, in terms of allowing the high population of Black immigrant students at the school to study without paying school fees. The school was able to accommodate them

because of the understanding that their parents had to grapple with xenophobia. Xenophobia may have led to the prolonged unemployment situation among DRC parents. The leniency of the school, in terms of the policy of allowing immigrants to study, without being able to pay fees likely became an academic challenge for them.

This challenge became obvious because the SGB at the school could not hire additional educators who could have attempted to address their academic concerns. Therefore, it was argued that the educational opportunity they had at the school was likely their source of academic challenge. These findings provide answers to the research sub-question: What are the educational opportunities and challenges confronting DRC immigrant students in South African schools?

## **6.5 Conclusions**

The dimensions used to explore this study appear to be intricately connected to one another. It appears as if it could be demanding to discuss one dimension without involving one or more other dimensions (academic performance, schooling experiences, language use, acculturation and identity). Therefore, it may be that the educational experiences of DRC immigrant students depend on a number of socio-cultural issues confronting them in mainstream culture. Chapter seven presents conclusions and recommendations of the study.



## CHAPTER SEVEN

### THE DESTINATION

#### 7.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a summary of the findings related to the research questions. Recommendations and contributions based on the experiences of the DRC immigrant students will be offered. Prospects for future research will be presented.

#### 7.2 Summary of emerging themes and conclusions from the study

This study has provided answers to the main research question: What are the educational and socio-cultural experiences of DRC immigrant students in South African schools? It has also answered the two research sub-questions namely: What are the educational opportunities and challenges confronting DRC immigrant students in South African schools? What are the socio-cultural issues confronting DRC immigrant students in South African schools? The main research question and the two research sub-questions were answered by exploring the five dimensions proposed by Chow (2006), namely, academic performance and schooling experiences (educational experiences); language use, acculturation and identity construction among immigrants in mainstream culture (socio-cultural experiences). Grobler et al. (2006) and Xu et al. (2007) were used as support mechanisms in the study because they argue that narratives from family members, the community and demographic information about immigrant students are important to understand immigrant students experiences in the host society.

A comparison of the findings of this study and the findings in the extant literature review revealed some similarities. First, among immigrants from non English speaking countries, it was found (Collier, 1995; Fantino & Colak, 2001; Nsubuga- Kyobe & Dimock, 2002; Rutter & Jones, 1998) that issues involving language proficiency should be addressed, so as not to undermine their academic potential at the school. This study supports the findings from these researchers (Collier, 1995; Fantino & Colak, 2001; Nsubuga- Kyobe & Dimock, 2002; Rutter & Jones, 1998) that it is important to address the linguistic concerns of immigrant students coming to an environment with different language of instruction. The study of Rangvid (2007) indicates a digression from this perspective of setting immigrant students aside to learn the language of instruction in mainstream culture. Rangvid (2007) proposed that it may

be better to inculcate the culture of achievement into immigrant students; despite the challenges confronting them at the school. This study is however silent about how to inculcate the culture of achievement among DRC immigrant students at the research site.

Second, this study supports findings in literature (Gillborn, 1997; Qin et al., 2008; Sookrajh et al., 2005; Wang & Phillion, 2007; Yeh et al., 2008) that immigrant students' experiences are situation specific and dependent on "community forces" (Ogbu & Simons, 1998). It does not support the notion that "community forces" are the only important forces to engage, when tackling the educational and socio-cultural experiences of DRC immigrant students in South African schools. A gap has been filled in the South African context in this study by considering "system forces" (Ogbu & Simons, 1998) as complementary forces, when exploring the academic achievements of DRC immigrant students. Consequently, this study seems to support findings from critiques of the CET (Erickson, 1987; Foster, 2004, 2005; Hamann, 2004; Trueba, 1991) that the CET is preponderant in terms of its undue shift towards "community forces" at the expense of "system forces" (Ogbu & Simons, 1998) that are also capable of influencing the academic achievements of immigrant students in mainstream culture. The silence in literature, concerning the undue shift on "community forces" by the CET (Ogbu, 1990, 1991) appears to have been broken in the South African perspective by considering a number of "systems forces" confronting the academic potential of DRC immigrant students at the research site.

Therefore, it was argued that a combination of "community forces" and "system forces" are important complementary forces when determining the academic achievement of DRC immigrant students in the South African schooling context. This study agrees with the work of Erickson (1987) and Hamann (2004) that the CET (Ogbu, 1990, 1991) is not to be discarded, but should be applied with understanding that is devoid of stereotype and subjectivity. In this study, acts of exclusion during teaching, rapid turn over of teachers, discrimination, bullying and acts of prejudice were found to be probable sources of the low academic achievement among the six DRC immigrant students of the study.

Third, this study found acculturative stress, harassment, discrimination, isolation, and xenophobia to be the challenges negotiated by DRC immigrant students at the school. These challenges were probably responsible for the low academic achievements of DRC immigrants and their lack of negotiating their identities with South Africa. These findings answer one of

the research sub-questions of this study: What are the socio-cultural issues confronting DRC immigrant students in South African schools? CRT seemed to expose acts of racism at the school as specified in literature (Dixson & Rousseau, 2006; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Ladson-Billings, 1998, 1999; Matsuda et al., 1993; Villenas & Deyhle, 1999). Racism was noticed through acts of exclusion during normal class sessions, in terms of code switching practiced by teachers and harassment from indigenous students.

Inability of the school to mitigate academic failure emanating from language barrier among DRC immigrant students also appeared to constitute an act of racism (Matsuda et al., 1993:6). It was found that the English language concerns of indigenous students were also not addressed. However, they enjoyed the use of the indigenous South African languages which were intermittently employed to explain class lessons to them at the expense of immigrant students at the school. Findings in this regard may indicate the resourcefulness of CRT at exposing and tackling instituted acts of racism among immigrant and indigenous students in mainstream culture. Therefore, this study supports the efficacy of CRT in tackling racial discrimination at schools.

Exemption from tuition fees was the opportunity enjoyed by DRC immigrant students. This opportunity was found to have likely constituted the foundation of their challenge in academic terms. Exemption from tuition fees seems to be a distinct phenomenon among the DRC immigrant students at the school, when compared with what has been found in the extant literature. It may thus imply that, one of the reasons for the high influx of Black immigrants into South Africa may be because of the opportunity to study without the payment of tuition fees among immigrants from poor African countries like the DRC. This finding seems to support the observation made by Klotz (2000) and Baubock et al. (1996) that immigrants are usually found wherever they locate opportunities. This argument involving the opportunities enjoyed by DRC immigrant students may also be important because Rodriguez (2009) stipulates that information is negotiated between the host society and the home country of immigrant children. Consequently, it may imply that, when immigrants in the host society inform their family members in their home country, they tend to come to South Africa because of the opportunity to study. Other prominent concerns among the DRC immigrant students were disrespect to teachers, smoking, gambling and the incessant display of dangerous weapons at the school. These findings offer answers to the

second part of the first research sub-question of this study: What are the educational opportunities and challenges confronting DRC immigrant students in South African schools?

Fourth, this study elicited the importance of incorporating culture into the school curriculum. Culturally responsive pedagogy (Au & Mason, 1981; Asanova, 2005) was identified as a useful instrument capable of focusing the attention of DRC immigrant students on their studies. The contradiction in this study, when compared with studies elsewhere (Asanova, 2005; Epstein & Kheimets, 2000; Ladson-Billings, 1992, 1992b; Osterman, 2000) was the inability of culturally responsive pedagogy enhancing the academic performance of DRC immigrant students at the school. In conclusion, this study found that the educational experiences of DRC immigrant students at PSS depended on their socio-cultural experiences.

### **7.3 Limitations of the study**

A number of factors that could limit the study have been identified. First, immigrant students from other African countries were not involved in this study. This could be a limitation for the current study because additional sources of data could have been obtained if they were interviewed. Furthermore, if immigrant students from other African countries were interviewed, there could have been a platform for triangulation of research data to enhance the overall trustworthiness of the research.

Second, it was challenging to access all the parents of DRC immigrant students in this study. The fact that only two sets of parents were reached for interview could be a limiting factor in the study; because there could have evolved a situation where comprehensive data may have been obtained, had all of them been able to participate in the focus group interview conducted.

Third, a longer time on research site would have given me the opportunity to have more comprehension of the study, especially during the observation sessions which were once off. Repeated visits during observation sessions would have elicited a more comprehensible insight to the educational and socio-cultural experiences of DRC immigrant students at the school by minimizing observer bias.

Fourth, during the observation sessions, the learners to be observed were informed. This prior knowledge could be a limitation for the study because there was the likelihood of bias from

the learners. Consequently, the investigator may not obtain the true situation of events at the research site.

Fifth, because the study concentrated on learners in grades 8 to 10, findings from the study may appear to be limiting. A broad set of findings could have been elicited if learners from other grades were involved.

## **7.4 Contributions of the study**

### **7.4.1 Significance of the study**

Adequate knowledge of the educational and socio-cultural experiences of DRC immigrant students in South African schools may indicate prospective promise that may afford the understanding of what they negotiate in the host society. When this is achieved, all stakeholders in the field of education may be well informed and adequately prepared for the task of accommodating Black immigrants in the midst of a historically disadvantaged and culturally diverse environment. With the complexity of intermingled cultures at schools, teachers may need to receive sufficient training so that they may be able to better understand the needs of immigrant students in the host society. When this is conscientiously done, it may counteract the observation that teachers “are rarely prepared to understand the complex lives and connections their students have to multiple places, cultures, and languages” (Rodriguez, 2009:18). The descriptions and understanding produced in this research may provide prospective input that is made available for our comprehension of the educational and socio-cultural experiences of DRC immigrant students in South African schools. This research could add to the identified gap in the current literature by shedding light on the experiences of Black immigrant students in South African schools.

Issues involving racism, xenophobia and harassment, which are common occurrences in South Africa, may also be better addressed. Public schools may be better informed about the need to be sensitive about multiculturalism, by engaging in curriculum and instructional design and development in a manner that may be receptive to the current diversity in South Africa. This drive may be fostered by their appetite (i.e., teachers) for continual professional development (Onwu & Mogari, 2004). The study appears to have given an account of the socio-cultural perspectives of DRC immigrant students, so as to foster a kind of understanding among Black immigrants and indigenous students in a manner that may enhance their peaceful co-existence. This study may give enlightenment on the importance of

addressing English language proficiency at schools where the chosen medium of instruction is English, especially where immigrant and indigenous students are constantly challenged in this area of need. One of the distinguishing factors between this country and the other parts of the world deals with the diverse languages spoken among indigenes (Louw, 2004), as well as the divergent and complex issues of language emanating from immigrants.

#### **7.4.2 Generation of new knowledge**

New knowledge appeared to have been generated due to silences in literature on DRC immigrant students in South African schools. The composure of DRC immigrant students are likely indicative of strong leadership qualities, resilience, trust in God and discipline. It therefore may imply that, resilient character among immigrant students, leadership quality and discipline may have emerged from their dependence on the Supreme Being. Second, in the South African context, it was found that voluntary immigrant students could also perform poorly at school, meaning that the CET alone may not be sufficient to explain the academic achievement patterns of DRC immigrant students. Third, indigenous students brought weapons to school. This was a new experience to DRC immigrant students. Indigenous students also engaged in gambling and smoking during school hours.

#### **7.5 Recommendations for further research**

Recommendations for further research include studies that could be conducted in terms of the following potential research topics:

- The educational and socio-cultural experiences of immigrant students in tertiary institutions of learning
- Exploring the experiences of Black immigrant undergraduate students in terms of their perceptions of employment opportunities after study
- Investigating opportunities and challenges confronting the South African education system in terms of immigration issues.

#### **7.6 Conclusions**

Three theoretical frameworks (CET, CCT and CRT) were employed to attempt to understand the educational and socio-cultural experiences of DRC immigrant students in this study. CET was found to be inadequate to offer comprehensible insight to the academic performance of DRC immigrant students in the study. There are inconsistencies in terms of the applicability of CCT to tackle instituted acts of discrimination at schools. CRT is viewed by certain

researchers to be controversial (Farber & Sherry, 1993; Posner, 1995; Powell, 1992; Tushnet, 1992) in terms of its ability to tackle acts of racism in mainstream culture. It may imply that immigrant students' experiences are diverse and complex. Consequently, their experiences in mainstream culture still need a combination of theories to understand how they thrive (Awokoya & Clark, 2008; Trueba, 1991).

## REFERENCES

- Abada, T., Hou, F. & Ram, B. (2009). Ethnic differences in educational attainment among the children of Canadian Immigrants. *Canadian Journal of Sociology*, 34(1), 1-28.
- Aboud, F. E. (2003). The formation of in-group favouritism and out-group prejudice in young children: Are they distinct attitudes? *Developmental Psychology*, 39(1), 48-60.
- Alexander, P. A. & Jetton, T. L. (2000). Learning from text: A multidimensional and developmental perspective. In M.L. Kamil, P.B. Mosenthal, P.D. Pearson, & R. Barr (Eds.), *Handbook of reading research*, 3, 285–310. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Al-Haj, M. (2004). The political culture of the 1990s immigrants from the former Soviet Union in Israel and their views toward the indigenous Arab minority: a case of ethnocentric multiculturalism. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 30(4), 681–696.
- Alitolppa-Niitamo, A. (2004). Somali youth in the context of schooling in metropolitan Helsinki: a framework for assessing variability in educational performance. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 30(1), 81–107.
- Allen, C. (2006). Narrative Research. *Nurse Researcher*, 13(3), 4-6.
- Al Melhi, A. M. (2000). Analysis of Saudi college students' reported and actual reading strategies along with their metacognitive awareness as they read in English as a foreign language. *Dissertation Abstracts International*, 60, 7, January.
- American Psychological Association. (1992). Ethical principles of psychologists and code of conduct. *American Psychologist*, 47, 1597–1611.
- Andriessen, T., Phalet, K. & Lens, W. (2006). Future goal setting, task motivation and learning of minority and non-minority students in Dutch schools. *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, 76, 827-850.
- Aneshensel, C. S. et al. (1990). Onset of fertility-related events during adolescence: a Prospective comparison of Mexican-American and non-Hispanic White females. *American Journal of Public Health*, 80(8), 959-963.
- Anfara, V. & Mertz, N. T. (2006). *Theoretical Frameworks in Qualitative Research*, Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications Inc.
- ARC Associates (1982). Bilingual Education in a Chinese Community: Final Report. Contract No. 400-80-0013. Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Education.



- Aronowitz, M. (1984). The social and emotional adjustment of immigrant children: A review of literature. *International Migration Review*, 18, 237–257.
- Asanova, J. (2005). Educational experiences of immigrant students from the Former Soviet Union: a case study of an ethnic school in Toronto. *Educational studies*, 31(2), 181-195.
- Au, K. & Mason, J. (1981). Cultural Congruence in Classroom Participation Structures: Achieving a Balance of Rights. *Discourse Processes*, 6, 145-167.
- Auer, P. (ed.) (1998). *Code-switching in conversation. Language, interaction and identity*. London: Routledge.
- Avdi, E. & Georgaca, E. (2007). Narrative research in psychotherapy: A critical review. *The British Psychological Society*, 80, 407-419.
- Awokoya, J. T. & Clark, C. (2008). Demystifying cultural theories and practices: Locating Black immigrant experiences in teacher education research. (Higher Education) (Report). *Multicultural Education*, 16(2), 49.
- Baird, J. R. (1990). Metacognition, purposeful inquiry and conceptual change. In E. Hegarty-Hazel (Ed.). *The student laboratory and the science curriculum*. London: Routledge.
- Bankston, C. L. & Zhou, M. (1995). Effects of minority-language literacy on the academic achievement of Vietnamese youth in New Orleans, *Sociology of Education*, 68 (1), 1–17.
- Bankston, P., Caldos, S. J. & Zhou, M. (1997). The academic achievement of Vietnamese-American students: ethnicity as social capital, *Sociological Focus*, 30(1), 1–16.
- Barbie, E. R. & Mouton, J. (2001). *The practice of social research*: Wardworth publishing company, California.
- Barnes, R. (1990). Race consciousness: The thematic content of racial distinctiveness in critical race legal scholarship. *Harvard Law Review*, 103, 1864-1871.
- Bartlett, L. & Brayboy, B. M. J. (2005). Introduction: Race and Schooling Ethnographies: Directions for the Future. *The Urban Review*, 37(5), 361-374.
- Bartolomé, L. & Macedo, D. (1997). Dancing with bigotry: The poisoning of racial ethnic identities. *Harvard Educational Review*, 67, 222-246.
- Bascia, N. (1996). Inside and outside: racial minority immigrant teachers in Canada, *Qualitative Studies in Education*, 9(2), 151–165.
- Baubock, R., Heller, A., & Zolberg, A. (Eds.) (1996). *The challenge of diversity*:

*Integration and pluralism in societies of immigration.* Aldershot: Avebury.

- Baxter, L. A. (1991). Content analysis. In: Montgomery, B.M., Duck, S. (Eds.), *Studying Interpersonal Interaction*. The Guilford Press, New York, London, pp. 239–254.
- Behar-Horenstein, L. S. & Morgan, R. R. (1995). Narrative research, thinking and teacher thinking: perspectives and possibilities. *Peabody Journal of Education*, 70 (2), *Teacher Effectiveness: A Look at What Works*, 139-161.
- Bell, D. (1980). *Race, racism and American law* (Boston, Little, Brown).
- Bell, D. (1987). *And we will not be saved: The elusive quest for racial justice*. New York: Basic Books.
- Bell, D. (1989). *And we are not saved: the elusive quest for racial justice* (New York, Basic Books).
- Bell, D. (1992). *Faces at the Bottom of the Well: The permanence of Racism*. New York: Basic Books.
- Bellefeuille, G., Martin, R. R. & Buck, M. P. (2005). From Pedagogy to Technagogy in Social Work Education: A Constructivist Approach to Instructional Design in an Online, Competency-Based Child Welfare Practice. *Child & Youth Care Forum*, 34(5), 371-389.
- Bemak, F., Chung, R. C. & Pedersen, P. B. (2003). Case study of Natasha, a 23-year-old Russian. *A psychosocial approach to innovative multicultural interventions* (pp. 129-133). Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press.
- Benjamin, L. (1992). *The Black Elite: Facing the Color Line in the Twilight of the Twentieth Century*. Chicago: Nelson-Hall.
- Bennett, C. I. (2004). *Comprehensive multicultural education: theory and practice* (5th edn) (Boston, Allyn & Bacon).
- Berelson, B. (1952). *Content Analysis in Communication Research*. The Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois.
- Bernard, R. (2002). *Research methods in anthropology* (3rd edn) (Walnut Creek, CA, Altamira Press).
- Berry, J. W. (1995). Psychology of acculturation. In N. R. Goldberger & J. B. Veroff (Eds.). *The culture and psychology reader*. New York: New York University Press, 457-488.

- Berry, J. W. (1980). Acculturation as varieties of adaptation. In A. M. Padilla (Ed.). *Acculturation: Theory, models and some new findings* (pp. 9–25). Boulder, CO: West view Press.
- Berry, J. W. (2003). Conceptual approaches to acculturation. In K. Chum, P. Organista, & G. Marin (Eds.), *Acculturation: Advances in theory, measurement, and applied research* (pp. 17–38). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Berry, J. W., Kim, U., Power, S., Young, M. & Bujaki, M. (1989). Acculturation attitudes in plural societies. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 38, 185–206.
- Berry, J. W., Phinney, J. S., Sam, D. L. & Vedder, P. (2006). Immigrant Youth: Acculturation, Identity, and Adaptation. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 55(3), 303-332.
- Berry, J. & Sam, D. (1997). Acculturation and adaptation. In J. Berry, M. Segall, & C. Kagitcibasi (Eds.). *Handbook of cross-cultural psychology: Social behavior and applications* (Vol. 3, pp. 291–325). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.
- Birman, D. & Trickett, E. J. (2001). Cultural transitions in first-generation immigrants: Acculturation of Soviet Jewish refugee adolescents and parents. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 32, 456–477.
- Bleakley, A. (2005). Stories as data, data as stories: making sense of narrative inquiry in Clinical Education. *Medical Education*, 39, 534-540.
- Bogdan, R. C. & Biklen, S. K. (1992). *Qualitative research for education: An introduction to theory and methods*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Botes, A. (2000). Validity, reliability and trustworthiness. In D. Rossouw (Ed), *Intellectual tools: skills for the human sciences*, (pp.188-197). Pretoria: Amabhuku.
- Bowler, R., Rauch, S. & Swarzer, R. (1986). Self-esteem and interracial attitudes in black high school students: A comparison with five other groups. *Urban Education*, 21, 3-19.
- Bowles, S. & Gintis, H. (1976). *Schooling in capitalist America: Education reform and the contradictions of economic life*. New York: Basic Books, Inc.
- Bratko, I. & Suc, D. (2003). Qualitative data mining and its applications. *Journal of computing and information technology*, 3, 145-150.
- Brown, R. (2006). *The TDSB grade 9 cohort study: A five-year analysis 2002-2005*. Research Report. Toronto District School Board (Toronto, ON: Toronto District School Board).

- Brown, T. M. & Rodriguez, L. F. (2009). School and the co-construction of drop out. *International Journal of Qualitative studies in Education*, 22(2), 221-242.
- Brown, J., Miller, J. & Mitchell, J. (2006). Interrupted Schooling and the acquisition of Literacy: Experiences of Sudanese refugees in Victorian Secondary Schools. *Australian Journal of Language and Literacy*, 29(2), 150-162.
- Bruner, J. (1986). *Actual minds, possible worlds*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Bruner, J. (1996). *The Culture of Education*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Burck, C. (2005). Comparing qualitative research methodologies for systemic research: the use of grounded theory, discourse analysis and narrative analysis. *Journal of Family Therapy*, 27, 237-262.
- Burden, R. (1997). Research in the real world: an evaluation model for use by applied psychologists. *Educational Psychology in Practice*, 13 (1), 13–29.
- Burnard, P. (1991). A method of analysing interview transcripts in qualitative research. *Nurse Education Today*, 11(6), 461–466.
- Burnard, P. (1996). Teaching the analysis of textual data: an experiential approach. *Nurse Education Today*, 16(4), 278–281.
- Burr, V. (1995). *An Introduction to Social Constructionism*. London: Routledge.
- Burr, V., Butt, T. & Epting, F. (1997). Core construing: Self discovery or self invention? In G. J. Neimeyer & R. A. Neimeyer (Eds.), *Advances in personal construct psychology* (Vol. 4, pp. 39-62). Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.
- Butt, T. (1998a). Sociality, role, and embodiment. *Journal of Constructivist Psychology*, 11, 105-116.
- Butt, T. (1998b). Sedimentation and elaborative choice. *Journal of Constructivist Psychology*, 11, 265-281.
- Butt, T. (2000). Pragmatism, constructivism, and ethics. *Journal of Constructivist Psychology*, 13, 85-101.
- Camarota, S. A. (2002). “Immigrants from the Middle East: A Profile of the Foreign Born U.S. Population from Pakistan to Morocco.” *Journal of Social, Political, and Economic Studies*, 27(3), 1–25.
- Campbell, D. (1992). *Writing Security: United States Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity*, Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Caplan, N. Choy, M. H. & Whitmore, J. K. (1992). *Children of the Boat people: A study of educational success*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.

- Carger, C. L. (1996). *Of Borders and Dreams: A Mexican-American Experience of Urban Education*. New York: Teachers College Record.
- Casey, K. (1996). "The New Narrative Research in Education". In *Review of Research in Education*, 21, 211-253.
- César, M. & Oliveira, I. (2005). The curriculum as a mediating tool for inclusive participation: A case study in a Portuguese multicultural school. *European Journal of Psychology of Education*, 20(1), 29-43.
- Chase, S. E. (2005). Narrative Inquiry: Multiple Lenses, Approaches, Voices. *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*. In N. K. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln (Eds), Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Chow, H. P. H. (2000). The Determinants of Academic Performance: Hong Kong Immigrant Students in Canadian Schools. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 32(3), 115-120.
- Chow, H. P. H. (2001). English Language Use among Chinese Adolescent Immigrants. *Alberta Journal of Educational Research*, 67(2), 191-195.
- Chow, H. P. H. (2006). Vietnamese-Canadian University Students in Regina: Socio-cultural and Educational Adaptation. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 38(2), 2.
- Christians, C. G. (2000). Ethics and politics in qualitative research, in: N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds) *Handbook of qualitative research* (Thousand Oaks, CA, Sage).
- Church, A. (1982). Sojourner adjustment. *Psychological Bulletin*, 91, 540-572.
- Clandinin, D. J. (1989). "Developing Rhythm in Teaching: The Narrative Study of a Beginning Teachers' Personal Practical Knowledge of Classrooms." In *Curriculum Inquiry*: 19(2), 121-141.
- Clandinin, D. J. & Connelly, F. M. (2000). *Narrative inquiry: Experience and story in qualitative inquiry*. San Francisco: Jossey-Boss Publishers.
- Coatsworth, J. D., Maldonado-Molina, M., Pantin, H., & Szapocznik, J. (2005). A person-centered and ecological investigation of acculturation strategies in Hispanic immigrant youth. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 33, 157-174.
- Coffey, A. & Atkinson, P. (1996). Making Sense of Qualitative Data. Complementary Research Strategies. Sage Publications Inc., Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi.
- Cohen, L., Manion, L. & Morrison, K. (2000). *Research Methods in Education* (5th ed.). London: Routledge Falmer.
- Cohen, L., Manion, L. & Morrison, K. (2007) *Research Methods in Education*. 6th ed. London: Routledge Falmer.

- Cole, E. R. & Omari, S. R. (2003). Race, class, and the dilemmas of upward mobility for African Americans. *Journal of Social Issues*, 59, 785-802.
- Collier, V. P. (1995). Acquiring a second language for school (Entire issue). *Directions in Language and Education, National Clearing house of Bilingual Education*, 1(4).
- Connelly, M. F. & Clandinin, J. D. (1990). Stories of experience and narrative inquiry. *Educational Researcher*, 19(5), 2-14.
- Contreras, A. R. (2004). Impact of Brown on Multicultural Education of Hispanic Americans. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 73(3), 314-327.
- Cornish, F., Peltzer, K, & MacLachlan, M. (1999). Returning strangers: The children of Malawian refugees come 'home'. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 12(3), 265-283.
- Cose, E. (1993). *The Rage of a Privileged Class: Why Are Middle-Class Blacks Angry? Why Should America Care?* New York: Harper-Collins.
- Cowen, E. L. (1996). The ontogenesis of primary prevention: Lengthy strides and stubbed toes. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 24, 235–249.
- CPA (1991). Canadian Psychological Association. *Canadian code of ethics for psychologists*. Ottawa: Author.
- Creswell, J. W. (2002). *Educational Research: Planning, Conducting, and Evaluating Quantitative and Qualitative Research*. New Jersey: Merrill Prentice Hall.
- Cresswell, J. W. (2005). *Educational Research: Planning, Conducting, and Evaluating Quantitative and Qualitative Research*. New Jersey, Pearson, Merrill Prentice Hall.
- Cross, W. E. (1971). Negro to Black conversion experience. *Black World*, 20, 13-27.
- Cross, W. E. (1991). *Shades of Black: Diversity in African-American identity*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Crotty, M. (1998). *The Foundations of Social Research: Meaning and Perspective in the Research Process*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Crush, J. & Mc Donald, D. A. (2000). Transnationalism, African Immigration, and New Migrant Spaces in South Africa. *Canadian Journal of African studies*, 1-19.
- Cuellar, I., Arnold, B. & Maldonado, R. (1995). Acculturation rating scale for Mexican Americans II - A revision of the original ARSMA Scale. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 17, 275-304.
- Cummins, J. (1978). Bilingualism and Educational Development in Anglophone and Minority Francophone groups in Canada. *Interchange*, 9(4), 40-51.

- Cummins, J. (1979). Linguistic interdependence and the educational development of bilingual children. *Review of Educational Research*, 49(2), 222-251.
- Darabi, K. F. & Ortiz, V. (1987). Child bearing among young Latino women in the United States. *American Journal of Public Health*, 77(1), 25-28.
- Darling-Hammond, L. (1997). *The right to learn: A blueprint for creating schools that work*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Dean, R. G. & Fleck-Henderson, A. (1992). Teaching clinical theory and practice through a constructivist lens, *Journal of Teaching in Social Work*, 6, 3–20.
- Debus, M. (1990). *Handbook for excellence in focus group research*. Washington, D.C.: Academy for Educational Development.
- De Cuir, J. T. & Dixson, A. (2004). “So when it comes out, they aren’t that surprised that it is there”: Using critical race theory as a tool of analysis of race and racism in education. *Educational Researcher*, 33(5), 26-31.
- De Klerk, V. & Barkhuizen, G. P. (1998). Language Policy in the SANDF: A case for biting the bullet? *Language problems and language planning*, 22(3), 215-236.
- Delgado, R. (1989). Storytelling for oppositionists and others: a plea for narrative. *Michigan Law Review*, 87, 2411-2441.
- Delgado, R. (1993). On telling stories in school: a reply to Farber and Sherry. *Vanderbilt Law Review*, 46, 665-676.
- Delgado Bernal, D. (2002). Critical race theory, LatCrit theory, and critical raced-gendered epistemologies: Recognizing students of color as holders and creators of knowledge. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 8(1), 105–126.
- Delgado Bernal, D. & Villalpando, O. (2002). An apartheid of knowledge in academia: The struggle over the ‘Legitimate’ knowledge of faculty of color. *Journal of Equity & Excellence in Education*, 35(2), 169–180.
- Delgado-Gaitan, C. (1994). Russian Refugee Families: Accommodating aspirations through education. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, 25(2), 137-155
- Delgado-Gaitan, C. (1996). *Protean Literacy: Extending the Discourse on Empowerment*. London: Falmer Press. S
- Delgado, R. (1995a). *The Rodrigo chronicles: Conversations about America and race*. New York: New York University Press.
- Delgado, R. (Ed.). (1995b). *Critical race theory: The cutting edge*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

- Delgado, R. (1996). *The coming race war?: And other apocalyptic tales of American after affirmative action and welfare*.
- Delgado-Gaitan, C. & Trueba, H. (1991). *Crossing Cultural Borders: Education for Immigrant Families in America*. London: Falmer Press.
- Delgado, R. & Stefancic, J. (2000). *Critical Race Theory: The cutting edge* (2<sup>nd</sup> Ed.), Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Delpit, L. (1995). *Other people's children: Cultural conflict in the classroom*. New York: WW. Norton and Co.
- Denzin, N. K. (1989). *Interpretive biography*. London: Sage.
- Denzin, N. K. & Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds). (2003). *Collecting and Interpreting Qualitative Materials* (2nd ed.). California: Sage Publications.
- Denzin, N. K. & Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds). (1998). *Collecting and interpreting qualitative materials*. Thousand Oaks: Sage publications, Calif.
- Denzin, N. K. & Lincoln, Y. (2003b). *The Landscape of Qualitative Research* (Second ed.), Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications Inc.
- Derrington, C. & Kendall, S. (2007). *Gypsy traveller students in secondary schools: Culture, identity and achievement*. Stoke-on-Trent: Trentham Books.
- De Vos, A. S., Strydom, H., Fouche, C. B. & Delport, C. S. L. (2005). *Research at Grass Roots for the Social Sciences and Human Service Professions* (3rd ed.). Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.
- Deyhle, D. (1995). Navajo youth and Anglo racism: Cultural integrity and resistance. *Harvard Educational Review*, 65(3), 403–444.
- Dika, S. & Singh, K. (2002). Applications of social capital in educational literature: a critical synthesis. *Review of Educational Research*, 77(1), 31–60.
- Dixson, A. D. & Rousseau, C. K. (2005). Editorial. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 8(1), 1-5.
- Dixson, A. D. & Rousseau, C. K. (Ed.) (2006). *Critical Race Theory in Education: All God's children got a song* (Pp 1-60). Routledge: Taylor & Francis Group, NY 10016
- Donald, D., Lazarus, S. & Lolwana, P. (2002). *Educational psychology in social context* (2<sup>nd</sup> Ed.). Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- Downe-Wamboldt, B. (1992). Content analysis: method, applications, and issues. *Health Care for Women International*, 13(3), 313–321.
- Drew, C. J., Hardman, M. L. & Hart, A. W. (1996). *Designing and Conducting*



- Research: Inquiry in education and Social Sciences.* Massachusetts: Allyn and Bacon.
- Duan, C. & Vu, P. (2000). Acculturation of Vietnamese students living in or away from Vietnamese communities. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*, 28, 225-242.
- Duffy, T. M. & Jonassen, D. H. (1992). *Constructivism and the technology of instruction: a conversation.* NJ, Hillsdale: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Duran, B. J. & Weffer, R. E. (1992). "Immigrants' Aspirations, High School Process, and Academic Outcomes". *American Educational Research Journal*. 29, 163-181.
- Edwards, L. & Lopez, S. (2006). Perceived family support, acculturation, and Mexican American youth: A mixed methods explanation. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 53, 279-287.
- Emerson, R. M., Fretz, R. I. & Shaw, L. L. (2001). Participant observation and field notes. In *Handbook of Ethnography* (Atkinson P., Coffey A., Delamont S., Lofland J. & Lofland L. eds.), Sage, London, pp. 352–368.
- Enslin, P. (1990). *The Role of Fundamental Pedagogics in the Formulation of Educational Policy in South Africa in Apartheid and Education*, Johannesburg: Raven Press.
- Epstein, A. & Kheimets, N. (2000). Cultural clash and educational diversity: immigrant teachers' efforts to rescue the education of immigrant children in Israel. *International Studies in Sociology of Education*, 10(2), 191–210.
- Erickson, F. (1987). Transformation and School Success: The Politics and Culture of Educational Achievement. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, 18, 335-356. Espiritu, Yen.
- Espin, O. M. (1999). *Women crossing boundaries: a psychology of immigration and transformations of sexuality* (New York, Routledge).
- Extra, G. & Yagmur, K. (2006). Immigrant Minority Languages at Home and at School: A Case Study of the Netherlands. *European Education*, 38(2), 50-63.
- Eyou, M. L., Adair, V. & Dixon, R. (2000). Cultural identity and psychological adjustment of adolescent Chinese immigrants in New Zealand. *Journal of Adolescence*, 23, 531–543.
- Ezzy, D. (2002). *Qualitative analysis: Practice and innovation.* London: Routledge.

- Fantino, A. M. & Colak, A. (2001). Refugee children in Canada: Searching for identity. *Child Welfare*, 80(5), 587–596.
- Farber, D. & Sherry, S. (1993). Telling Stories out of School: An Essay on Legal Narratives. *Stanford Law Review*, 45, 807-855.
- Feeley, N. & Gottlieb, L. N. (1998). Classification systems for health concerns, nursing strategies, and client outcomes: nursing practice with families who have a child with chronic illness. *Canadian Journal of Nursing Research*, 30(1), 45–59.
- Fern, E. F. (2001), *Advanced Focus Group Research*, Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA.
- Fernandez-Kelly, P. (2008). The back pocket map: social class and cultural capital as transferable assets in the advancement of second-generation immigrants. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 620, 116-137.
- Findahl, O. & Hoijer, B. (1981). Text- och innehållsanalys. En översikt av några analysstraditioner. (Swedish) (Text- and content analysis. A review of some analysis traditions). SR Publik- och Programforskning, Stockholm.
- Fine, M., Burns, A., Payne, Y. A. & Torre, M. E. (2002). Civic lessons: The color and class of betrayal. Unpublished manuscript.
- Fischer, M. (2004). *Emergent forms of life and the anthropological voice* (Durham, Duke University Press).
- Ford, K. & Norris, A. E. (1993). Urban Hispanic adolescents and young adults: Relationship of acculturation to sexual behavior. *Journal of Sex Research*, 30, 316-323.
- Foster, K. (2004). The cultural ecological theory: John Ogbu's understanding of minority academic achievement, *Intercultural Education*, 15(4), 369–384.
- Foster, K. (ed.). (2005a). (Ogbu Special Issue.) *International Qualitative Studies in Education*, 18(5).
- Foster, K. M. (2005). Narratives of the social scientist: understanding the work of John Ogbu. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 18(5), 565-580.
- Foster, K. (2005b). How do you ensure the fair consideration of a complex ancestor? Multiple approaches to assessing the work and legacy of John Ogbu. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 18(5), 559–564.
- Foster, K. (2005c). Gods or vermin: Alternative readings of the African American experience among African and African American college students. *Transforming Anthropology*, 13(1), 34–46.
- Foster, K. (2005d). Narratives of the social scientist: Understanding the work

- of John Ogbu. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 18(5), 565–580.
- Foster, K. & Gobbo, F. (Eds.) (2004). (Ogbu Special Issue). *Intercultural Education*, 15(4).
- French, S. E., Seidman, E., LaRue, A. & Aber, J. L. (2006). The Development of Ethnic Identity during Adolescence. *Developmental Psychology*, 42(1), 1-10.
- Fuligni, A. (2001). A comparative longitudinal approach to acculturation among children from immigrant families. *Harvard Educational Review*, 71, 566–578.
- Furrer, C. & Skinner, E. (2003). Sense of relatedness as a factor in children's academic engagement and performance. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 95, 148–162.
- Gallagher, S. (1997). Hermeneutical Approaches to Educational Research. In *Hermeneutics in Educational Discourse*, ed. Helmut Danner (Johannesburg: Heinemann), pp. 129-148.
- Gandara, P. (1994). The impact of the education reform movement on limited English proficient students. In B. McLeod (Ed.). *Language and Learning: Educating linguistically diverse students*. Albany NY: State University of New York Press.
- Gans, H. J. (1997). Toward a reconciliation of "assimilation" and "pluralism": The interplay of acculturation and ethnic retention. *International Migration Review*, 31, 875-892
- Gay, G. (1994). Coming of age ethnically: Teaching young adolescents of color. *Theory Into Practice*, 33(3), 149-155.
- Gay, G. (2000). *Culturally, responsive teaching: Theory, research, & practice*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Gay, L. R. & Airasian, P. (2003). *Educational research: Competencies for analysis and applications (7<sup>th</sup> Ed.)*. New Jersey Merrill Prentice Hall.
- Gee, J. P. (1991). A linguistic approach to narrative. *Journal of narrative and life History*, 1, 15-39.
- Gergen, K. J. (1981b). The functions and foibles of negotiating self-conception. In M.D. Lynch, A.A. Norem-Hebeisen, & K. J. Gergen (Eds.), *Self-concept: Advances in theory and research* (pp. 59–73). Cambridge, MA: Ballinger.
- Getrich, C. M. (2008). Negotiating boundaries of social belonging (second generation Mexican youth and the immigrant rights protests). *American Behavioural Scientist*, 52(4), 533-556.
- Ghuman, P. (2003). *Double loyalties: South Asian adolescents in the west*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

- Gibson, M. (1993). Accommodation without Assimilation". Paper presented at the conference on Immigrant Students in California, Centre for U.S- Mexican Studies, University of California, San Diego.
- Gibson, M. (1997). Complicating the immigrant/involuntary minority typology, *Anthropology an Education Quarterly*, 28(3), 431–454.
- Gibson, M. (1998). Promoting academic success among immigrant students: is acculturation the issue? *Education Policy*, 12(6), 615–633.
- Gibson, M. A. & Carrasco, S. (2009). The Education of Immigrant Youth: Some Lessons From the U.S. and Spain'. *Theory into Practice*, 48(4), 249 – 257
- Gibson, M. A., Gandara, P. & Koyama, J. P. (2004). School Connections: U.S Mexican Youth, Peers, and School Achievement. Teachers College Press.
- Gilbert, S. (2009). A study of Ogbu and Simons' thesis regarding Black children's Immigrant and non-Immigrant Status and school achievement. *The Negro Education Review*, 60(1-4), 71-91.
- Gillborn, D. (1997). Ethnicity and Educational Performance in the United Kingdom: Racism, Ethnicity, and Variability in Achievement. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 28 (3), 375-393.
- Gim Chung, R. H., Kim, B. S. K. & Abreu, J. M. (2004). Asian American Multidimensional Acculturation Scale: Development, factor analysis, reliability, and validity. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 10, 66–80.
- Goddard, J. T. & Foster, R. Y. (2002). Adapting to Diversity: Where Cultures Collide- Educational Issues in Northern Alberta. *Canadian Journal of Education*, 27(1), 1-20.
- Golafshani, N. (2003). Understanding reliability and validity in qualitative research. *The qualitative report*, 8(4), 597-607.
- Gottlieb, E. (2007). Learning how to believe: Epistemic Development in Cultural Context. *The Journal of the Learning Sciences*, 16(1), 5-35.
- Graneheim, U. H. & Lundman, B. (2004). Qualitative content analysis in nursing research: concepts, procedures and measures to achieve trustworthiness. *Nurse Education Today*, 24, 105-112.
- Gray, A. & Elliot, S. (2001) *Refugee Resettlement Research Project Literature Review*, New Zealand Immigration Service, Auckland.

- Graziano, G. (1990). Why we should study sub-abusive violence against children. *The child, Youth and Family Services Bulletin*, 15(4), 6-8.
- Greckhamer, T. & Karo-Ljungberg, M. (2005). The Erosion of a Method: examples from grounded theory. *International Journal of Qualitative studies in Education*, 18(6), 729-750.
- Greene, M., Way, N. & Pahl, K. (2006). Trajectories of perceived adult and peer discrimination among Black, Latino, and Asian American adolescents. *Developmental Psychology*, 42, 218–238.
- Greenland, k. & Brown, R. (2005). Acculturation and contact in Japanese students studying in the United Kingdom. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 145(4), 373-389.
- Gregory, J. (2000). Human science research: A matter of quality. *Transactional Analysis Journal*, 30(2), 150-158.
- Grobler, B. R., Moloi, K. C., Bisschoff, T. C. & Mestry, R. J. (2006). Creating a School Environment for the Effective Management of Cultural Diversity, *Educational Management, Administration & Leadership*, 34(4), 449-472.
- Guarnizo, L. E. (1994). Los Dominicanyorks: The making of a binational society. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 533(1994), 70-86.
- Guba, E. G. & Lincoln, Y. S. (1994). “Competing Paradigms in Qualitative Research”. In Denzin, N.K. & Lincoln Y.S. (Eds). *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. London: Sage Publications, 105-117.
- Guba, E. G. & Lincoln, Y. (1998). Competing paradigms in qualitative research. In Denzin N. & Y. Lincoln (Eds.). *The landscape of qualitative research*. London: Sage.
- Hall, S. (1996a). New ethnicities. In D. Morley & C. Kuan-Hsing (Ed.). *Stuart hall: Critical dialogues in cultural studies*: 252-260. London Routeledge.
- Hall, S. (1996b). ‘What is ‘black’ in black in black popular culture? In D. Morley & C. Kuan-Hsing (Eds.). *Stuart hall: Critical dialogues in cultural studies*: 21-37. London Routeledge.
- Hamann, T. (forthcoming)? Lessons from the interpretation/misinterpretation of John Ogbu’s Scholarship, *Intercultural Education*, 15(4), 399–412.
- Hamann, T. (2004). Lessons from the interpretation/misinterpretation of John Ogbu’s scholarship. *Intercultural Education*, 15(4), 399–412.
- Handwerker, W. P. (2001). *Quick Ethnography*. Walnut Creek, CA: Alta Mira Press.

- Harklau, L. (1994a). Tracking and linguistic minority students: Consequences of ability grouping for second language learners. *Linguistics and Education*, 6(3), 217-244.
- Harklau, L. (1994b). “Jumping Tracks”: How language-minority students negotiate evaluations of ability. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 25(3), 347-363.
- Harklau, L. (2000). From the “good kids” to the “worst”: Representations of English language learners across educational settings. *TESOL Quarterly*, 34(1), 35-67.
- Harklau, L. (2002). The role of writing in second language acquisition. *Journal of Second Language Writing*, 11, 329–50.
- Harklau, L. (2005). Discussant comments at Hewlett Foundation and University of California Davis conference on Secondary English Language Learners and Academic Learning. Menlo Park, CA.
- Harley, K., Barasa, F., Bertram, C., Mattson, E., & Pillay, S. (2000). “The real and the ideal”: teacher roles and competences in South African Policy and Practice. *International journal of Educational Development*, 20, 287-304.
- Hatch, J. A. (2002). *Doing Qualitative Research in Education Settings*. New York: State University of New York Press.
- Hebert, J. P. & Beardsley, T. M. (2002). “Jermaine: A Critical Case Study of a Gifted Black Child Living in Rural Poverty”. In Merriam, S. B and Associates (Eds). *Qualitative Research Practice: Examples for Discussion and Analysis*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 201-232.
- Hermans, P. (2004). Applying Ogbu’s theory of minority academic achievement to the situation of Moroccans in the Low Countries. *Intercultural Education*, 15(4), 431–439.
- Hilliard, A. (1984). Democratizing the common school in multicultural society. *Education and Urban Society*, 16(3), 262-273.
- Hirschman, C. (2001). The Educational Enrolment of Immigrant Youth: A Test of the Segmented-Assimilation Hypothesis. *Demography*, 38(3), 317-336.
- Hochschild, J. L. (2003). Social class in public schools. *Journal of Social Issues*, 59, 821–840.
- Hoge, D. R., Smit, E. K., & Crist, J. T. (1997). Four family process factors predicting academic achievement in sixth and seventh grade. *Educational Research Quarterly*, 21, 27-42.

- Hollingsworth, S. & Sockett, H. (1994). *Teacher Research and Educational Reform*. 93<sup>rd</sup> Yearbook, part 1, of the National Society of Education (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).
- Holstein, J. A. & Gubrium, J. F. (1995). *The active interview* (Thousand Oaks, CA, Sage Publications).
- Hones, D. F. (1998). Known in part: The transformational power of narrative inquiry. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 4(2), 225-248.
- Huang, L. N. (1997). Asian American adolescents. In E. Lee (Ed.), *Working with Asian Americans: A guide for clinicians* (pp. 175-195). New York: Guilford.
- Human Rights Watch. (1998). "Prohibited Persons": Abuse of Undocumented Migrants, Asylum Seekers, and Refugees in South Africa ([www.hrw.org/hrw/reports98/sareport](http://www.hrw.org/hrw/reports98/sareport)).
- Husbands, W. & Idahosa, P. (1995). *Ethnicity and Recreation Behaviour: A Review and Critique of the Literature*. *Canadian Ethnic Studies / Études ethniques au Canada*, 27(1), 84-98.
- Hyman, I. A. & Perone, D. C. (1998). The other side of school violence: Educator policies and practices that may contribute to student misbehavior. *Journal of School Psychology*, 36(1), 7-27.
- Janasik, N., Honkela, T. & Bruun, H. (2009). Text mining in qualitative research. *Organizational research methods*, 12(3), 436-460
- Janesick, V. J. (2004). *"Stretching" Exercises for Qualitative Researchers*. 2nd Ed. California: Sage Publications.
- Jinyang, D. & Gordon, W. (2007). Chinese Acculturation Measurement. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 39(1/2), 187-217.
- Jesson, J. & Lacey, F. (2006). How to do (or not to do) a critical literature review. *Pharmacy Education*, 6(2), 139-148.
- Johnson, J. (1990). *Selecting Ethnographic Informants*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- Jones, K. (2004). Mission drift in qualitative research, or moving toward a systematic review of qualitative studies, moving back to a more systematic narrative review. *The Qualitative Report*, 9(1), 95-112. Retrieved [01/03/2010], from <http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR9-1/jones.pdf>.
- Jorgensen, D. (1989). *Participant Observation*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

- Kalekin-Fishman, D. (2004). Diagnosing inequalities in schooling: Ogbu's orientation and wider implications, *Intercultural Education*, 15(4), 413–430.
- Kallaway, P., Kruss, G. Fataar, A. & Donn, G. (1997). Education after apartheid; South African education in transition. Cape Town. University of Cape Town Press.
- Kao, G. & Tienda, M. (1995). Optimism & Achievement: The Educational Performance of Immigrant Youth. *Forthcoming in Social Science Quarterly*. Population Research Center, University of Chicago.
- Karunungan, M. (2002). Chasing hope through culturally responsive praxis: One master teacher and her African-American eighth grade readers. In J. Irvine (Ed.), *In search of wholeness: African American teachers and their culturally specific classroom practices*, 113-138. New York: Palgrave.
- Keith, P. B., Lichtman, M. V. & Marilyn, V. (1994). Does Parental involvement influence the Academic Achievement of Mexican-American eight graders? *School Psychology Quarterly*, 9(4), 256-273.
- Klotz, A. (1997). "International Relations and Migration in Southern Africa". Institute for Security Studies: *African Security Review*, 6(3). Retrieved 10 September, 2008.
- Klotz, A. (2000). Migration after apartheid: Deracialising South African foreign policy. *Third World Quarterly*: 21, 831-847.
- Kohn, T. (2002). Becoming an Islander through Action in the Scottish Hebrides. *Journal of Royal Anthropological Institute* (N.S.) 8, 143-158.
- Korzenny, F. (1998). "Acculturation: Conceptualization and Measurement." *Quirk's Marketing Research Review*.
- Kovach, C. R. (1991). Content analysis of reminiscences of elderly women. *Research in Nursing & Health*, 14(4), 287–295.
- Kozol, J. (1991). *Amazing grace: The lives of children and the conscience of a nation*. New York: Crown.
- Krashen, S. (1988). *On Course*. Sacramento, CA: California Association for Bilingual Education.
- Krippendorff, K. (1969). Models of messages: three prototypes. In G. Gerbner, O.R. Holsti, K. Krippendorff, G.J. Paisly & Ph.J. Stone (Eds.), *The analysis of communication content*. New York: Wiley.
- Krippendorff, K. (1980). *Content Analysis. An Introduction to its Methodology*. The Sage Commtext Series, Sage Publications Ltd., London.



- Krueger, R. A. & Cassey, M. A. (2000). *Focus groups: A practical guide for applied research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage
- Kunz, J. (2000). *Immigrant youth in Canada* (Ottawa, Canadian Council on Social Development).
- Kvale, S. (1996). *Interviews: An introduction to Qualitative Interviewing*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Kvale, S. (1996) Methods of analysis, in: *Interviews* (London, Sage), 187-209.
- LaDousa, C. (2006). The Discursive Malleability of an Identity: A Dialogic Approach to Language: Medium Schooling in North India. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, 16(1), 36-57.
- Ladky, M. & Stagg-Peterson, S. (2008). Successful Practices for Immigrant Parents Involvement: An Ontario Perspective. *Multicultural Perspectives*, 10 (2), 82-89.
- Ladson-Billings, G. (1992). Reading between the lines and beyond the pages: A culturally relevant approach to literacy teaching. *Theory Into Practice*, 31(4), 312-320.
- Ladson-Billings, G. (1992b). Liberatory consequences of literacy: A case of culturally relevant instruction for African American students. *Journal of Negro Education*, 61, 378-391.
- Ladson-Billings, G. (1994). *The dreamkeepers: Successful teachers of African-American children*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Ladson-Billings, G. & Tate, W. F. (1995). Toward a critical race theory of education. *Teachers College Record*, 97, 47-68.
- Ladson-Billings, G. (1998). Critical race theory: What's it doing in a nice field like education. In *The International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*. Special issue: Critical race theory and qualitative research in education. L. Parker, D. Deyhle, S. Villenas and K. Nebecker (Eds.).
- Ladson-Billings, G. J. (1999). Just what is critical race theory and what's it doing in a nice field like education. In L. Parker, D. Deyhle, S. Villenas (Eds.). *Race is...race isn't: Critical race theory and qualitative studies in education* (7-30). Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- LaFromboise, T., Goleman, H. K. & Gerton, J. (1993). Psychological impact of biculturalism: Evidence and theory. *Psychological Bulletin*, 114, 395-412.

- Langhout, R. D. & Mitchell, C. A. (2008). Engaging Contexts: Drawing the Link between Student and Teacher Experiences of the Hidden Curriculum. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, 18, 593–614.
- Latour, F. & Kahn, R. (1999). Feuding Cape Verdean youths tied to an outbreak of violence. Boston Globe. Retrieved February 17, 2009, from <http://www.lexisnexis.com>
- Lauttamus, T. (1990). “Code-Switching and Borrowing in the English of Finnish Americans in an Interview Setting.” *Studies in Languages*. No. 20, University of Joensuu, Faculty of Arts.
- LeCompte, M. & Preissle, J. (1993). *Ethnography and qualitative design in educational research* (San Diego, CA, Academic Press).
- Lee, S. K., Sobal, J. & Frongillo, E. A. (2003). Comparison of models of acculturation: The case of Korean Americans. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 34, 282-296.
- Lemmer, E. M. & van Wyk, N. (2004). “Learning at home: an ethnographic study of a South African home school” In *South African Journal of Education*, 24(1), 18- 24.
- Lichstein, P. R. & Young, G. (1996). My most meaningful patient. Reflective learning on a general medicine service. *Journal of General Internal Medicine*, 11(7), 406–409.
- Lietz, C. A., Langer, C. L. & Furman, R. (2006). “Establishing Trustworthiness in Qualitative, Research in Social Work: Implications from a Study Regarding Spirituality”. In *Qualitative Social Work*, 5(4), 441-456.
- Li, J. (2001). Expectations of Chinese Immigrant Parents for Their Children’s Education: The interplay of Chinese Tradition and the Canadian Context. *Canadian Journal of Education*, 26(4), 477-494.
- Lin, A. M. Y. (1996). Bilingualism or linguistic segregation? Symbolic domination, resistance and code switching in Hong Kong schools. *Linguistic and Education*, 8(1), 49-84.
- Lincoln, Y. S. & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic Inquiry*: Newbury Park CA: Sage Publications.
- Lit, S. W. & Shek, D. T. L. (2007). Application of Social Constructionist Principles in Field Practice Teaching in a Chinese Context. *Social Work Education*, 26(4), 359-375.
- Louw, P. E. (2004). Anglicising Post apartheid South Africa. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 25(4), 318-332.
- Lucas, T. (1997). *Into, through, and beyond secondary school: Critical transitions for immigrant youth*. McHenry, IL: Delta Systems Co.

- Lynn, M. & Adams, M. (2002). Critical Race Theory and education: recent developments in the field. *Equity and Excellence*, 35(2), 119-130.
- Madhavappallil, T. & Choi, J. B. (2006). Acculturative stress and social support among Korean and Indian immigrant adolescents in the United States. *Journal of Sociology and social welfare*, 33(2), 123-143.
- Maharaj, B. & Moodley, V. (2000). New African immigration to the Durban region. *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 34, 149-160.
- Maharaj, B. (2002). Economic refugees in post-apartheid South Africa-Assets or liabilities? Implications for progressive migration. *Geojournal*, 56(11), 47-57.
- Malete, L. (2007). Aggression and anti-social behaviours among secondary school students in Botswana: The influence of family and school based factors. *School Psychology International*, 28, 90-109
- Mana, A., Orr., E., Mana, Y. (2009). An Integrated Acculturation Model of Immigrants' Social Identity. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 149(4), 450-473.
- Manning, P. K. & Cullum-Swan (1994). Narrative, content, and semiotic analysis. In Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, pp. 463-477.
- Mansouri, F. & Kamp, A. (2007). Structural Deficiency or Cultural Racism: the educational and Socio-cultural experiences of Arab-Australian Youth. *Australian Journal of Social issues*, 42(1), 87-10.
- Mansouri, F., Leach, M. & Traies, S. (2006). Acculturation experiences of Iraqi refugees in Australia: The impact of visa category. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 27(4), 393-412.
- Marger, M. N. (2001). Social and Human Capital in immigrant adaptation: The Case of Canadian business immigrants. *Journal of Socio-Economics*, 30(2), 169-170.
- Marks, A. K., Szalacha, L. A., Lamarre, M., Boyd, M.J. & Coll, C. G. (2007). Emerging ethnic identity and interethnic group social preferences in middle childhood: Findings from the children of Immigrants Development in Context (CIDC) study. *International Journal of Behavioural Development*, 31(5), 501-513.
- Masuku, T. (2006). "Targetting Foreigners: Xenophobia among Johannesburg Police". Institute for Security Studies. *Crime Quarterly*, 15. Retrieved 8 October, 2008.
- Matsuda, M. (1991). Voices of America: accent, antidiscrimination law, and jurisprudence for the last reconstruction. *Yale Law Journal*, 100, 1329- 1407.

- Matsuda, M., Lawrence, C., Delgado, R. & Crenshaw, K. (Eds) (1993). *Words that wound: critical race theory, assaultive speech and the first amendment* (Boulder, CO, Westview Press).
- Matsuda, M. (1995). Looking to the bottom: Critical legal studies and reparations. In K. Crenshaw et al. (eds.). *Critical Race Theory*, 63-79. New York: New Press.
- Matsuda, M. (1996). *Where is your body?: And other essays on race, gender and the law*. Boston: Beacon.
- Matusow, B. (1989). Alone Together: What Do You Do When the Dream Hasn't Come True, When You're Black and Middle-Class and Still Shut Out of White Washing- ton, When It Seems to Quit Trying? *The Washingtonian*, November: 153-159, 282-290.
- Matute-Bianchi, S. (1986). Ethnic identities and patterns of school success and failure among Mexican-descent and Japanese-American students in a California high school: an ethnographic analysis, *American Journal of Education*, 95, 233–55.
- Mayring, P. (2000, June). Qualitative Content Analysis [28 paragraphs]. *Forum for Qualitative Research: Qualitative Social Research [On-line Journal]*, 1(2). Available at: <http://qualitative-research.net/fqs/fqs-e/2-00inhalt-e.htm> [Accessed 26 : 03: 2010]
- McDermott, R. P. (1987). Explaining Minority School Failure, Again. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, 18, 361-64.
- McMillan, C. B. (1975). Organizational change in schools: Bedford-Stuyvesant. *The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, 11, 437–453.
- McMillan, J. H. & Schumacher, S. (2001). *Research In Education (5<sup>th</sup> Ed): A Conceptual Introduction*. Addison Wesley Longman Inc.
- McNamee, S. & Gergen, K. J. (1999). *Therapy as Social Construction*, Sage, London.
- Merriam, S. B. (1997). *Qualitative Research and Case Study in Education*, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Merriam, S. B. (1998). *Qualitative research and case study applications in education* (Rev. ed.). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Merriam, S. B. & Associates (2002). “Case Study” In Merriam, S.B and Associates (eds). *Qualitative Research in Practice: Examples for Discussion and Analysis*: San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 178-180.

- Mertens, D. M. (1998). *Research Methods in Education and Psychology. Integrating Diversity with Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches*. Sage Publications Inc., Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi.
- Miller, A. M., Birman, D., Zenk, S., Wang, E., Sorokin, O. & Connor, J. (2009). Neighborhood Immigrant Concentration, Acculturation, and Cultural Alienation in Former Soviet Union Immigrant Women. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 37(1), 88-105.
- Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, Gobierno de España. (2008). Estadísticas de la educación [Statistics of education]. Retrieved October 25, 2008 from [www.mepsyd.es/horizontales/documentacion/estadisticas.html](http://www.mepsyd.es/horizontales/documentacion/estadisticas.html)
- Minnaar, A., Pretorious, S. & Wentzel, M. (1995). Who goes there? Illegals in South Africa. *Indicator SA*, 12 (Winter), 33-40.
- Mishler, E. G. (1986). *Research interviewing: Context and narrative*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Montreuil, A. & Bourhis, R. Y. (2005). Acculturation orientations of competing host communities toward valued and devalued immigrants. *International Journal of Intercultural relations*, 28(6), 507-532.
- Moore, J. (2005). Recognising and Questioning the Epistemological Basis of Educational Psychology Practice. *Educational Psychology in Practice*, 21(2), 103–116.
- Morris, J. E. & Monroe, C. R. (2009). Why study the U.S South? The Nexus of Race and Place in investigating Black Student achievement. *Educational Researcher*, 38(1), 21-36.
- Morse, J. (1991). On the evaluation of qualitative proposals. *Qualitative Health Research*, 1(2), 147-151.
- Moss, G. (2004). “Provisions of Trustworthiness in Critical Narrative Research: Building Intersubjectivity and Fidelity”. In *The Qualitative Report*, 9(2), 359-374.
- Mouton, J. (2001). *How to succeed in your Master’s and Doctoral studies*. Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- Mouw, T. & Xie, Y. (1999). Bilingualism and the academic achievement of first and second generation Asian Americans: Accommodation with or without assimilation? *American Sociological Review*, 64, 232-252.
- Mulhall, A. (2003). Methodological issues in Nursing Research. In the field: notes on observation in qualitative research. *Journal of advanced nursing*, 41(3), 306-313.

- Neocosmos, M. (2006). From ‘foreign natives’ to ‘native foreigners’: Explaining xenophobia in post-apartheid South Africa. <http://codesria.org/Links/Publications/monograph/neocosmos.pdf> — 2008. ‘The politics of fear and the fear of politics’. Available at [www.abahlali.org/node/3616](http://www.abahlali.org/node/3616).
- Neuman, W. L. (2006). *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches* (6th ed.). Boston: Pearson.
- Ngobeli, T. (2001). “Qualitative and Quantitative Research Methods: Two sides of a coin”. In *Journal of Educational Studies*, 1(1), 49-57.
- Nieto, S. (2002). *Language, culture and teaching: Critical perspectives for a new century*. Mahwah, NJ: Laurence Erlbaum Associates.
- Nieto, S. & Bode, P. (2007). Affirming Diversity: Socio-political context of Multicultural Education. Pearson (Ed.). 1-496.
- Noguera, P. A. & Wing, J. Y. (2006). *Unfinished Business: Closing the Racial Achievement Gaps in our Schools*. San Francisco: Josey Boss.
- Nsubuga-Kyobe, A. & Dimock, L. (2002). *African communities and settlement services in Victoria*. Bundoora: Australian Multicultural Foundation.
- Nwadiora, E. & McAdoo, H. (1996). Acculturative stress among American refugees: Gender and racial differences. *Adolescence*, 31, 477-486.
- Nyamnjoh, F. (2006). *Insiders and outsiders: Citizenship and xenophobia in contemporary southern Africa*. London: Zed Books (in association with CODESRIA).
- Nyarawanda, V. (2003). “Doing qualitative research”. In *Zimbabwe Bulletin of Teacher Education*, 12(1), 1 – 15.
- Oetting, E. R. & Beauvais, F. (1990). Orthogonal cultural identification theory: The cultural identification of minority adolescents. *International Journal of the Addictions*, 25, 655–685.
- Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted) (1996). *The Education of Travelling Children*, London: Ofsted.
- Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted). (1999). *Raising the Attainment of Minority Ethnic Pupils: Schools and LEA Responses*, London: Office for Standards in Education.
- Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted) (2001). *Managing Support for the Attainment of Pupils from Minority Ethnic Groups* (HMI 326). London: Ofsted [online]. Available:

- <http://www.ofsted.gov.uk/portal/site/Internet/menuitem.eace3f09a603f6d9c3172a8a08c08a0c/?vgnnextoid=fcf71e7a681eb010VgnVCM2000003607640aRCRD> [13 -08-2008].
- Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted) (2003). *Provision and Support for Traveller Pupils*. London: Ofsted [online]. Available: <http://www/ofsted.gov.uk/publications/index.cfm?fuseaction=pubs.summary&id=3440> [14-08-2008].
- Ogbu, J.U. (1974). *The Next Generation: Ethnography of Education in an Urbana Neighborhood*. New York: Academic Press.
- Ogbu, J. U. (1978). *Minority Education and Caste: The American System in Cross-Cultural Perspective*. New York: Academic Press.
- Ogbu, J. U. (1981a). Education, clientage, and social mobility: Caste and social change in the United States and Nigeria. In G. Berreman (Ed.), *Social inequality: Comparative and developmental approaches*. New York: Academic Press.
- Ogbu, J. U. (1987). Variability in minority responses to schooling: A problem in search of an explanation. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, 18(4), 312-334.
- Ogbu, J. U. (n.d.b). *Community Forces and Minority Educational Strategy: A Comparative Study*, Report No. 1. Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley. Unpublished MS.
- Ogbu, J. U. (n.d.c). *Community Forces and Minority Educational Strategy: A Comparative Study*, Report No. 2. Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley. Unpublished MS.
- Ogbu, J. U. (1990). Minority Education in Comparative Perspective. *Journal of Negro Education*, 59(1), 45-57.
- Ogbu, J. U. (1991). Immigrant and Involuntary Minorities in Comparative Perspective”, 3-33. In Gibson, M. A. & Ogbu, J. U (editors). *Minority Status and Schooling: A Comparative Study of Immigrant and Involuntary Minorities*. New York: Garland Publishing.
- Ogbu, J. U. (1995a). Cultural Problems in Minority Education: Their Interpretations and Consequences-Part One: Theoretical Background. *The Urban Review*, 27(3):189-205.
- Ogbu, J. (1995b). Cultural problems in minority education: their interpretations and consequences: Part two: case studies, *The Urban Review*, 27(4), 271–297.

- Ogbu, J. U. (1999). Beyond Language: Ebonics, Proper English, and Identity in a Black-American Speech Community. *American Educational Research Journal*, 36(2), 147-184.
- Ogbu, J. U. (2003). Black American students in an affluent suburb: A study of academic disengagement. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum. (ED 476 118).
- Ogbu, J. U. & Simons, H. (1998). Voluntary and Involuntary Minorities: A Cultural-Ecological Theory of school Performances with some implications for Education. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 29(2), 155-188.
- Oikonomidou, E. (2007). 'I see myself as a different person who [has] acquired a lot ...': Somali female students' journeys to belonging'. *Intercultural Education*, 18(1), 15–27.
- Oliver, D. G., Serovich, J. M. & Mason, T. L. (2005). Constraints and Opportunities with Interview Transcription: Towards Reflection in Qualitative Research. *Social Forces*, 84(2), 1273-1289.
- Onwu, G. O. M. & Mogari, D. (2004). Professional Development for Outcomes-based Education Curriculum Implementation: the case of UNIVEMALASHI, South Africa. *Journal of Education for Teaching*, 30(2), 161-177.
- Onwuegbuzie, A. J. & Leech, N. L. (2007). Validity and Qualitative Research: An Oxymoron? *Quality and Quantity*, 41, 233-249.
- Orr, E., Mana, A. & Mana, Y. (2003). Immigrant identity of Israeli adolescents from Ethiopia and the former USSR: Culture-specific principles of organization. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 33, 71-92.
- Osborn, T. A. & Osborn, D. C. (2005). Introduction: Participating in democracy means participating in schools. In T. A. Osborn (Ed.). *Language and cultural diversity in U.S. schools: Democratic principles in action*, 1-4. Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Osterman, K. (2000). Students' need for belonging in the school community, *Review of Educational Research*, 70(3), 323–367.
- Ottaviano, G. I.P. & Peri, G. (2005). Rethinking the gains from immigration: Theory and evidence from the U.S. NBER Working Paper Series, available on <http://www.nber.org/papers/w11672>.
- Ouellett, M. L. (1996). Systemic pathways for social transformation: School change, multicultural organization development, multicultural education, and LGBT youth. *Journal of Gay, Lesbian, and Bisexual Studies*, 1, 273–294.



- Overcash, J. A. (2004). Narrative Research: A viable Methodology for Clinical Nursing: *Nursing Forum*, 39(1), 15-22.
- Pak, A. W., Dion, K. L. & Dion, K. K. (1985). Correlates of self-confidence with English among Chinese students in Toronto. *Canadian Journal of Behavioral Science*, 174, 369-378.
- Parker, W. C. (2003). *Teaching democracy: Unity and diversity in public life*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Parkyn, L. K. (1994). OBE on Board. *The American School Board Journal*. 181(11), 35-36.
- Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Patrikakou, E. N. (1997). A model of parental attitudes and the academic achievement of adolescents. *Journal of Research & Development in Education*, 31, 7-26.
- Pawliuk, N., Grizenko, N., Chan-Yip, A., Gantous, P., Mathew, J. & Nguyen, D. (1996). Acculturation style and psychological functioning in children of immigrants. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 66, 111–121.
- Peberdy, S. & Rogerson, C.M. (2000). Transnationalism and non-South African entrepreneurs in South Africa's small, medium and micro-enterprise (SMME) economy. *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 34, 20-40.
- Peck, B. T. (2002). Transforming education: The South African experience. In-Education: Emerging goals in the new millennium. University of Strathclyde (Series Editors). New York. Nova Science Publishers, Inc.
- Peng, S. S. & Wright, D. (1994). Explanation of academic achievement of Asian American students. *Journal of Educational Research*, 87, 346-352.
- Permisan, C. G. & Garcia-Fernandez, J. A. (2007). Educational responses to Immigrant students in Madrid. *Intercultural Education*, 18(3), 207-213.
- Phillion, J. (2008). 'Multicultural and cross-cultural narrative inquiry into understanding immigrant students' educational experience in Hong Kong'. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 38(3), 281 - 293
- Phinney, J. S. (1990). Ethnic identity in adolescents and adults. Review of research. *Psychological Bulletin*, 10, 499-514.
- Phinney, J. S., Horenczyk, G., Liebkind, K. & Vedder, P. (2001). Ethnic identity, immigration, and well-being: An interactional perspective. *Journal of Social Issues*, 57(3), 493-510.

- Phinney, J. (2003). Ethnic identity and acculturation. In K. Chun, P. Organista, & G. Marin (Eds.), *Acculturation: Advances in theory, measurement, and applied research* (pp. 63–81). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Piedra, L. M. & Engstrom, D. W. (2009). Segmented Assimilation Theory and the Life Model: An Integrated Approach to Understanding Immigrants and Their Children. *Social Work, 54*(3), 270-277.
- Poggenpoel, M. (1998). Data analysis in qualitative research. In A.S. de Vos (Ed.), *Research at grassroots: A primer for the caring profession* (pp. 334-350). Pretoria: JL van Schaik
- Polit, D. F. & Hungler, B. P. (1999). *Nursing Research. Principles and Methods*, sixth ed. J.B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia, New York, Baltimore.
- Portes, A. & Fernández-Kelly, P. (2008). No margin for error: Educational and occupational achievement among disadvantaged children of immigrants. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 620*, 12-36.
- Portes, A. & Rumbaut, R. G. (2001). *Legacies: The story of the immigrant second generation*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Portes, A. & MacLeod, D. (1996). Educational progress of children of immigrants: the roles of class, ethnicity, and school context, *Sociology of Education, 69*, 255–275.
- Portes, A., Fernandez-Kelly, P. & Haller, W. (2005). Segmented assimilation on the ground: The new second generation in early adulthood. *Ethnic and Racial Studies 28*(6), 1000–1040.
- Posner, R. A. (1995). *Overcoming Law*. Cambridge, M.A: Harvard University Press.
- Powell, J. A. (1992). Racial Realism or Racial Despair? *Connecticut Law Review*, Winter, 533-551.
- Pretzlik, U. (1994). Observational methods and strategies. *Nurse Researcher, 2* (2), 13–21.
- Punch, K. (1998). *Introduction to Social Research: Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches*. London: SAGE Publications.
- Qin, D. B., Way, N. & Rana, M. (2008). The “model minority” and their discontent: Examining peer discrimination and harassment of Chinese-American immigrant youth. In Yoshikawa, H. & Way, N. (Eds.), *Beyond the family: Contexts of immigrant children’s development. New Directions for Child and Adolescent Development, 121*, 27 – 42.

- Ramirez-Esparza, N., Gosling, S., Benet-Martinez, V., Potter, J. & Pennebaker, J. (2006). Do bilinguals have two personalities? A special case of cultural frame-switching. *Journal of Research in Personality*, 40, 99–120.
- Rangvid, B. S. (2007). Sources of Immigrants' Underachievement: Results from PISA-Copenhagen. *Education Economics*, 15(3), 293-326.
- Rappaport, J., Moore, T. & Hunt, G. (Co-Chairs). (With Mattison, E., Pearce, N., Bracey, J., Reyes Cruz, M.). (2003). June It's not about education: Schooling for African-American and Latino students. Symposium conducted at the 9th Biennial Conference on Community Research and Action, Las Vegas, NM.
- Redfield, R., Linton, R. & Herskovits, M. J. (1936). Memorandum on the study of acculturation. *American Anthropologist*, 38, 149–152.
- Reitzes, M. (1994). Alien issues. *Indicator SA*, 12 (Summer), 7-11
- Reitzes, M. (1997). The migrant challenge to *Realpolitik*: Towards a human rights-based approach to immigration policy in South and Southern Africa. Foundation for Global Dialogue Occasional Paper No.7. {Online}  
available url: ([www.polity.org.za/govdocs/green\\_papers/migration/reitzes.html](http://www.polity.org.za/govdocs/green_papers/migration/reitzes.html)).
- Resnik, J. et al. (2001) Absorption of CIS immigration into Israeli schools: a semi permeable enclave model, *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, 32(4), 424–446.
- Richardson, V. (1990). The evolution of reflective teaching and teacher education. In R. T. Clift, W. R. Houston and M. C. Pugach (eds.). *Encouraging Reflective Practice in Education. An analysis of issues and programs*, New York: Teachers College Press.
- Richman, J. A., Gaviria, M., Flaherty, J. A., Birz, S., Wintrob, R. M. (1987). The process of acculturation: Theoretical perspectives and an empirical investigation in Peru. *Social Science and Medicine*, 25, 839-847.
- Ricks, F. (2002). The paradox: Research as practice and practice as research. Paper presented at the 2nd National Research Symposium on the Voluntary Sector Coalition of National Voluntary Organizations, Toronto, ON.
- Riessman, C. K. (1993). *Narrative Analysis*. Newbury Park: SAGE Publications
- Rodriguez, T. (2002). Oppositional Culture and Academic Performance among Children of Immigrants in the USA. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 5(2), 199-215.
- Rodriguez, T. (2009). Schooling and Language Learning in a Transnational Context. *The High School Journal*, 16-33.

- Roediger, D. (2003). Coloured White: Transcending the racial past. *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare*, 30(3), 23-38.
- Romo, H. & Falbo, T. (1996). *Latino High School Graduation: Defying the odds*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Rong, X. & Brown, F. (2001). The effects of immigrant generation and ethnicity on educational attainment among young Africans and Caribbean Blacks in the United States. *Harvard Education Review*, 71(3), 536-565.
- Rosenbaum, P. R. & Silber, J. H. (2001). Matching and thick description in an observational study of mortality after surgery. *Biostatistics*, 2(2), 217-232.
- Ruiz-de-Velasco, J., Fix, M., & Clewell, B. (2000). Overlooked and underserved: Immigrant students in U.S. secondary schools. Urban Institute. Retrieved February 20, 2009 from <http://www.urban.org/url.cfm?ID=310022>.
- Ruiz-de-Velasco, J. (2005). Performance-based school reforms and the federal role in helping schools that serve language-minority students. In A. Valenzuela (Ed.), *Leaving children behind: How "Texas-style" accountability fails Latino youth* (pp. 33-55). Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Rumbaut, R. G. (1990). Immigrant Students in Californian Public Schools: A Summary of Current Knowledge. Report for Centre for Research on Effective Schooling for Disadvantaged Students. The Johns Hopkins University.
- Rumbaut, E. (1994). The Crucible within: Ethnic Identity, Self Estem, and Segmented Assimilation among Children of Immigrants. *International Migration review*, 28(4), 748-794.
- Rumbaut, R. & Portes, A. (Eds.) (2001). *Ethnicities: Children of immigrants in America*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Rumberger, R. W. & Larson, K. (1998). Toward explaining differences in educational achievement among Mexican- American language-minority Students. *Sociology of Education*, 70, 69-93.
- Rumberger, R. W. & Rodriguez, G. M. (2002). "Chicano dropouts: an update of research and policy issues". Chicano school failure and success. (Ed). Richard, R. Valencia. 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed London: Routeledge/Falmer, 114-146.
- Rutter, J. & Jones, C. (1998) *Refugee Education: Mapping the Field*, Stoke-on-Trent: Trentham Books Ltd.

- Ryder, A. G., Alden, L. E. & Paulhus, D. L. (2000). "Is acculturation uni-dimensional or Bi-dimensional? A head-to-head comparison in the prediction of personality, self-identity, and adjustment." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 79 (1), 49-65.
- Sabogal, F., Faegeles, B. & Catania, J. A. (1993). Data from the national AIDS behavioral surveys 2: Multiple sexual partners among Hispanics in higher risk cities. *Family Planning Perspectives*, 25, 257-262.
- Sabogal, F., Pérez-Stable, E. J., Otero-Sabogal, R. & Hiatt, R. A. (1995). Gender, ethnic, and acculturation differences in sexual behaviors: Hispanic and non-Hispanic white adults. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 17, 139-159.
- Salgado de Snyder, V. N. (1987a). Factors associated with acculturative stress and depressive Symptomatology among married Mexican immigrant women. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 11, 475-488.
- Salgado de Snyder, V. N. (1987b). The role of ethnic loyalty among Mexican immigrant women. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 9, 287-298.
- Salome, R. (2008). Transnational Schooling and the New Immigrants: developing dual identities in the United States. *Intercultural Education*, 19(5), 383-393.
- Sam, D. (2006). Acculturation: Conceptual background and core components. In D. L. Sam & J. W. Berry (Eds.), *The Cambridge handbook of acculturation psychology* (pp. 11-26). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Sanchez, J. I. & Fernandez, D. M. (1993). Acculturative stress among Hispanics: A bi-dimensional model of ethnic identification. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 23, 654-668.
- Sanjek, R. (ed.). (1990). *Field notes: the Making of Anthropology*. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY.
- Sarason, S. B. (1971). *The culture of the school and the problem of change*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc.
- Sarason, S. B. (1995). *Parental involvement and the political principle: Why the existing governance structure of schools should be abolished*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Sarason, S. B. (1997). The public schools: America's Achilles heel. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 25, 771-785.
- Sarason, S. B. (2004). *And what do you mean by learning?* Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.

- Sarbin, T. R. (Ed.). (1986). *Narrative psychology: The storied nature of human conduct*. New York: Praeger.
- SASA (1996). The South African Schools Act (SASA), 1996 (Act No. 84 of 1996) as amended.
- Sayed, Y. (2002). Exclusion and inclusion in the South with special reference to South Africa. *Centre for International Education, University of Sussex*. Paper read at CIES “The Social Construction of Marginality: Globalisation’s Impact on the Disenfranchised”.
- Sayed, Y., Soudien, C. & Carrim, Nazir. (2003). Discourses of Exclusion and Inclusion in the South: Limits and Possibilities. *Journal of Educational Change*, 4, 231-248.
- Schwandt, T. A. (1994). Constructivist, interpretivist approaches to human inquiry. *Handbook of qualitative research*. In Denzin, N.K. (Ed); Lincoln, Y.S. (Ed). (pp. 118-137). Thousand Oaks, CA, US: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Schwandt, T. A. (1997). Constructivist, interpretivist approaches to human inquiry. In Denzin, N.K. & Lincoln, Y.S. (Eds.). *The landscape of qualitative research: Theories and issues* (221-255). London: Sage Publications.
- Schwandt, T. A. (1998). Constructivist, interpretivist approaches to human inquiry. In: Denzin, N.K. & Lincoln, Y.S. (Eds.). *The Landscape of qualitative research: Theories and issues*. London: Sage Publications.
- Schwandt, T. A. (2007). *The Sage Dictionary of Qualitative Inquiry (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.)*. Los Angeles: SAGE Publications.
- Sears, D. O., Fu, M., Henry, P. J. & Bui, K. (2003). The Origins and Persistence of Ethnic Identity among the “New Immigrant” Groups. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 66(4), 419-437.
- Schoole, M.T.C. (2005). *Democratising Higher education policy: Constraints of reform in post-apartheid South Africa*, New York and London Routeledge.
- Seiginer, R. (1983). Parents' educational expectations and children's academic achievement: A literature review. *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly*, 29, 1-23.
- Sekete, P., Shilubane, M. & Moila, B. (2001). Deracialisation and migration of learners in South African schools: Challenges and implications. A research project undertaken by the unit for systemic studies, group education and training. Human Sciences Research council.

- Sergiovanni, T. (2000). *The lifeworld of leadership: Creating culture, community, and personal meaning in our schools*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Sexton, T. L. (1997). Constructivist thinking within the history of ideas: The challenge of a new paradigm. In Sexton, T. L. & Griffin, B. L. (Eds.). *Constructivist thinking in counselling practice, research and training* (3-18). New York: Teachers College Press.
- Shamai, S. & Ilatov, Z. (2005). Acculturation models of immigrant Soviet adolescents in Israel. *Adolescence*, 40(159), 629-644.
- Shea, M., Ma, P. W. & Yeh, C. J. (2007). Development of a culturally specific career exploration group for urban Chinese immigrant youth. *Career Development Quarterly*, 56, 62-73.
- Short, D. (1999). Integrating language and content for effective sheltered instruction programs. In C. Faltis & P. Wolfe (Eds.), *So much to say: Adolescents, bilingualism, and ESL in the secondary school* (pp.105-137). New York: Teachers College Press.
- Sichone, O. (2008). Xenophobia and xenophilia in South Africa: African migrants in Cape Town. In: Werbner, P. (ed.). *Anthropology and the new cosmopolitanism: Rooted, feminist and vernacular perspectives*, pp. 309-332. Oxford: Berg Publis.
- Simons, H., Ogbu, J. U. & Bolton, K. (n.d.b). *Ogbu's Theory for Teachers*. Department of Anthropology/School of Education, University of California, Berkeley. Unpublished MS. Solomon, Patrick.
- Skinner, E. A. & Belmont, M. J. (1993). Motivation in the classroom: Reciprocal effects of teacher behavior and student engagement across the school year. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 85, 571–581.
- Smythe, W. E. & Murray, M. J. (2000). Owing the Story: Ethical Considerations in Narrative Research. *Ethics and Behaviour*, 10(4), 311-336.
- Snel, E., Engbersen, G. & Leerkes, A. (2006). Transnational Involvement and Social Integration. *Global Networks*, 6(3), 285-308.
- Solórzano, D. G. (1998). Critical Race Theory, race and gender microaggressions, and the experience of Chicana and Chicano Scholars. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 11(1), 121–136.
- Solorzano, D. G. & Yosso, T. J. (2001). Critical race and LaCrit theory and method: Counterstory telling. *Qualitative studies in Education*, 14(4), 471-495.

- Solórzano, D. G. & T. J. Yosso. (2002). “A Critical Race Counterstory of Race, Racism, and Affirmative Action.” *Equity and Excellence in Education*, 35(2), 155-168.
- Solórzano, D. G. & T. J. Yosso. (2002). “Critical Race Methodology: Counter-storytelling as an Analytical Framework for Educational Research.” *Qualitative Inquiry*, 8(1), 23-44.
- Sookrajh, R., Gopal, N & Maharaj, B. (2005). Interrogating inclusionary and exclusionary practices: Learners of war and flight. *Perspectives in Education*, 23(1), 1-14.
- Soto, L. D. (1997). *Language, culture and power: Bilingual families and the struggle for quality education*. New York: State University of New York Press.
- Spring, J. (1991). *American Education: An Introduction to Social and Political Aspects*. White Plains, NY: Longman.
- Stake, R. (2000). Case studies. In N. K. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed.) (pp. 435-454). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Stake, R. E. (2005). Qualitative Case Studies. In Denzin, N. K. and Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds.). (2005). *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*, 3rd ed. California: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Stoicheff, P. (1991). The chaos of metafiction. In Hayles NK (ed.), *Chaos and order: Complex dynamics in literature and science*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Stone, S. & Han, M. (2005). Perceived school climate and perceived discrimination among children of immigrants. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 27(1), 51-66.
- Suárez-Orozco, C. & Suárez-Orozco, M. (1995). *Transformations: Migration, Family Life, and Achievement Motivation among Latino Adolescents*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Suarez-Orozco, C. & Suarez-Orozco, M. M. (2001). *Children of immigration*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Suárez-Orozco, C. & Suárez-Orozco, M. M. (2002). *Children of Immigration*. Boston, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Suárez-Orozco, M. & Suárez-Orozco, C. (2000). Some conceptual considerations in the interdisciplinary study of immigrant children. In E. T. Trueba & L. I. Bartolome (Eds.), *Immigrant voices: In search of educational equity* (pp. 17–36). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Suarez-Orozco, M. (1989) *Immigrant Adaptation and Schooling: A Hispanic Case*. In *Minority Status and Schooling: A Comparative Study of Immigrant and Involuntary*

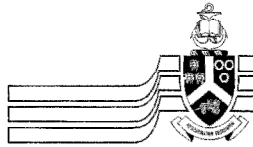


- Minorities. Margaret Gibson and John U. Ogbu, eds. Pp. 37-62. New York: Garland.
- Tate, W. (1997). Critical race theory and education: history, theory and implications, in: M. Apple (Ed.) *Review of research in education* Volume 22 (Washington, DC, American Educational Research Association).
- Tavallaei, M. & Abutalib, M. (2010). A general perspective on role of theory in qualitative research. *The journal of International Social Research*, 3(11), 570-577.
- Taylor, T. & Doherty, A. (2005). Adolescent sport, recreation and physical education: experiences of recent arrivals to Canada. *Sport, Education and Society*, 10(2), 211-238.
- Tedrow, B. M. & Mabokela, R. O. (2007). An analysis of international Partnership Programs: The case of an historically disadvantaged institution in South Africa. *Higher Education*, 54, 159-179.
- Teklemariam, A. A. (2005). Understanding Abyssinian Immigrants in the U.S: Socio-cultural Background and Contemporary Experiences. *The Western Journal of Black Studies*, 29(2), 571-594.
- Teranishi, R. (2002). Asian Pacific Americans and Critical Race Theory: An examination of School Racial Climate. *Equity and Excellence in Education*, 35, 144-154.
- Terrazas, A. & Batalova, J. (2008). The most up-to date frequently requested statistics on immigrants in the United States. Migration Information Source, December. Migration Policy Institute. Retrieved December 15, 2008 from <http://www.migrationinformation.org/USfocus/display.cfm?idD714#5>.
- Trueba, H.T. (1991). Comments on Foley's "Reconsidering Anthropological Explanations ..." *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, 22(1), 87-94.
- Trueba, H. (1993). Castification in multicultural America. In H.Trueba, C. Rodriguez, Y. Zou, J. Cintrón, *Healing Multicultural America: Mexican Immigrants Rise to Power in Rural California*. Washington, D.C.: Falmer Press.
- Trueba, H., Rodriguez, C., Zou, Y. & Jose, C. (1993). *Healing Multicultural America: Mexican Immigrants Rise to Power in Rural California*. London: Falmer Press. U.S. Bureau of the Census.
- Tushnet, M. (1992). The Degradation of Constitutional Discourse. *Georgetown Law Review*, 81, 1151-1193.

- UNHCR. (2002). *Refugee Resettlement: An International Handbook to Guide Reception and Integration*, UNHCR and Victorian Foundation for Survivors of Torture. Geneva.
- UNPD (2002). United Nations Population Division. *World immigration report*. New York: United Nations.
- Valenzuela, A. (1999). *Subtractive schooling: U.S. - Mexican youth and the politics of caring*. Albany: State University of New York.
- Vandeyar, S. (2008). *Changing Student-Teachers' Beliefs and Attitudes in South African Classrooms*, 113-126. In Weber, E. (Eds.) 2008. *Educational Change in South Africa: reflections on local realities, practices and reforms*. Sense Publishers.
- Van Maanen, J. (1997). *Tales of the Field: On Writing Ethnography*, Chicago/London, University of Chicago Press.
- Villenas, S. & Deyhle, D. (1999). Critical Race Theory and Ethnographies challenging the stereotypes: Latino families, schooling, resilience and resistance. *Curriculum Inquiry*, 29(4), 413-445.
- Waggoner, D. (1993). The growth of multilingualism and the need for bilingual education: What do we know so far? *Bilingual Research Journal*, 17(1, 2), 1-12.
- Wallitt, R. (2008). Cambodian Invisibility: Students lost between the “Achievement Gap” and the “Model Minority”. *Multicultural Perspectives*, 10(1), 3-9.
- Wang, Y. & Phillion, J. (2007). Chinese American Students Fight for Their Rights. *Educational Foundations*, 91-105.
- Weber, R. P. (1990). *Basic Content Analysis*, second ed. Series: Sage University Papers. *Quantitative Applications in the Social Sciences*, vol. 49. Sage Publications Ltd., London.
- Weine, S. M., Mare, N. & Klebic, A. (2008). Converting Cultural Capital among Teen Refugees and their Families from Bosnia-Herzegovina. *American Psychiatric Association*, 55, 923-927.
- Welikala, T. (2007). Flirting with the boundaries: artistic spaces, social science spaces and narrative inquiry. *The Sri Lanka Journal of the Humanities*, 33, 131-148.
- White, M. & Epston, D. (1990). *Narrative Means to Therapeutic Ends*. New York: Norton.
- Wilens, W. W. (1990). Introduction. In W. W. Wilens (Ed.), *Teaching and learning through discussion: The theory, research and practice of the discussion method*. Illinois: Charles C. Thomas. Publisher.

- Winter, G. (2000). A comparative discussion of the notion of 'validity' in qualitative and quantitative research. *The qualitative report*, 4 (3/4). Available: <http://www.nova.edu/ssw/QR4-3/winter.html>
- Wong Fillmore, L. (1991). When learning a second language means losing the first. *Early Children Research Quarterly*, 6, 323-346.
- Wong Fillmore, L. (1992). Against our best interest: The attempt to sabotage bilingual education. In J. Crawford (Ed.), *Language Loyalties: A Sourcebook on the Official English Controversy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Woolfolk, A. E. (1993). *Educational Psychology*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon. Bellefeuille, Martin, and Buck, 389-391.
- Worthy, J., Rodríguez-Galindo, A., Assaf, L.C., Martínez, L. & Cuero, K. (2003). Fifth-grade bilingual students and precursors to subtractive schooling. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 27(2), 275-94.
- Xu, S., Connenelly, F., He, M., Fang, M. & Joann, P. (2007). "Immigrant students' experience of schooling: a narrative inquiry theoretical framework". *Journal of Curriculum studies*, 39(4), 399-422.
- Yamauchi, F. (2004). Race, Equity, and Public Schools in Post-Apartheid South Africa: Is Opportunity Equal For All Kids? Food Consumption and Nutrition Division International Food Policy Research Institute. FCND Discussion Paper No. 182.
- Yeh, G. J. (2003). Age, acculturation, cultural adjustment, and mental health symptoms of Chinese, Korean, and Japanese immigrant Adolescents. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 9, 34-48.
- Yeh, G. J. & Inose, M. (2002). Difficulties and coping strategies of Chinese, Japanese, and Korean immigrant students. *Adolescence*, 37, 69-82.
- Yeh, G. J. & Inose, M. (2003). International students' reported English fluency, social support satisfaction, and social connectedness as predictors of acculturative stress. *Counselling Psychology Quarterly*, 16, 15-28.
- Yeh, C. J., Okubo, Y., Ma, P. W., Shea, M., Ou, D. & Pituc, S. T. (2008). Chinese immigrant high school students' cultural interactions, acculturation, family obligations, language use, and social support. *Adolescence*, 43, 172, 775-790.
- Yin, R. K. (1994). *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, Second Edition, Sage Publications London.

- Yin, R. K. (2003). *Case Study Research: Design and Methods* (3rd ed.). California: Sage Publications.
- Ying, Y. (1995). Cultural orientation and psychological well-being in Chinese Americans. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 23, 893–911.
- Zhao, G. (2005). Playing as Adaptation? Layered Selfhood and Self-regard in Cultural Contexts. *Culture & Psychology*, 11(1), 5-27.
- Zheng, X. & Berry, J. W. (1991). Psychological adaptation of Chinese sojourners in Canada. *International Journal of Psychology*, 26, 451-470.
- Zhao, Y. (2002, August 5). Shortage of English teachers for immigrants. *Providence Journal*, pp. A1, A4.
- Zhou, M. & Bankston, C.L., III (1998). *Growing up American: how Vietnamese children adapt to life in the United States* (New York, Russell Sage).
- Zhou, Y. R., Knoke, D. & Sakamoto, I. (2005). Rethinking silence in the classroom: Chinese students' experiences of sharing indigenous knowledge. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 9(3), 287-311.



UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA  
FACULTY OF EDUCATION  
RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

**CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE**

**DEGREE AND PROJECT**

**INVESTIGATOR(S)**

**DEPARTMENT**

**DATE CONSIDERED**

**DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE**

**CLEARANCE NUMBER :**

HS10/01/01

Educational and socio-cultural experiences of immigrant students in South African schools.

S Howie  
L Zimmerman

Department of Humanities Education

30 July 2010

APPROVED

Please note:

*For Masters applications, ethical clearance is valid for 2 years*

*For PhD applications, ethical clearance is valid for 3 years.*

**CHAIRPERSON OF ETHICS COMMITTEE** Prof L Ebersohn

DATE

30 July 2010

CC

Prof S Vandeyar  
Ms Jeannie Beukes

This ethical clearance certificate is issued subject to the following conditions:

1. A signed personal declaration of responsibility
2. If the research question changes significantly so as to alter the nature of the study, a new application for ethical clearance must be submitted
3. It remains the students' responsibility to ensure that all the necessary forms for informed consent are kept for future queries.

Please quote the clearance number in all enquiries.

## Appendix A

Address

Date-----

The Principal  
-----

### APPLICATION FOR CONDUCTING RESEARCH AT -----

I am a student of the University of Pretoria completing a Masters degree that specializes in curriculum and instruction design and development. Part of my degree includes completing a relevant and factual research project. The purpose of my research project is to investigate the educational and socio-cultural challenges of immigrant students in a South African school.

In order for me to collect my data, I would like to interview 6 DRC learners, 3 teachers, 3 indigenous South African learners, 2 learners from other African countries at the school, during the month of January and February, 2010. Observation of the 6 DRC learners during their normal class lessons will be done using a video camera. I have already contacted the district office and asked for permission to do the research. I am waiting for their reply. After I receive permission from the district and the school, I will inform the parents in writing about the expected research and ask their consent. I will also inform the learners and get their assent to take part in the research.

All the necessary arrangements have been made regarding the research. All ethical issues have been considered and precautions have been taken to prevent any unfair or unethical practices. All information will be handled in strict confidence. The names of the teachers and learners will not be used in my research report. The interviews with the learners will be recorded and transcribed for reference purposes.

I would appreciate it, if you would grant me permission to conduct the research at your school.

Thank you for your attention.

Yours sincerely

**ADEBANJI C.A (Researcher)**

**Prof. Saloshna Vandeyar  
Supervisor**

**Appendix B**

Date-----

Dear Parent / Guardian

**INFORMATION REGARDING RESEARCH BEING CONDUCTED AT YOUR CHILD'S SCHOOL**

This letter is to inform you about the research that will be conducted at your child's school. The research will form part of my Masters degree that specializes in curriculum and instructional design and development. The purpose of my research project is to investigate the educational and socio-cultural challenges of immigrant students in a South African school.

In order for me to collect my data I will be interviewing and observing teachers and learners at the school. I will interview the learners by asking them questions in their free time. Lesson observation will focus on how learners compose themselves in class among their peers. The data will be collected during the month of January and February, 2010. I have already received permission from the Department of Education, the Principal and SGB to conduct the research.

Your son/daughter might be selected to take part in the research. All the necessary arrangements have been made regarding the research. All ethical issues have been considered and precautions have been taken to prevent any unfair or unethical practices. All information will be handled in strict confidence. Your child's name will not be used in the research report. The interviews will be recorded and transcribed for reference purposes. Your child will not be at risk during the research. The observations and interviews will take place in a safe environment within the school premises. Please remember the research is voluntary. If your child does not want to take part in the research, there is freedom to withdraw at any time. The choice of the child to withdraw will not result in any consequences. If you have any concerns about the research, or if you do not want your child to take part in the research, please contact me at the school.

Thank you for your attention.

Yours sincerely

**ADEBANJI C.A**  
**RESEARCHER**  
**0765967691**

**PRINCIPAL**

✂-----  
-----

I, \_\_\_\_\_ parent/guardian of \_\_\_\_\_ in Grade \_\_\_\_\_ hereby give permission for him/her to take part in the research being conducted at the school regarding active learning.

## Appendix C




### Letter of Informed Consent

Dear SGB,

We would like to learn more about the educational and socio-cultural challenges of immigrant students in a South African school, enrolling learners from different backgrounds. We feel that there are many good stories that are worth telling, and that will help scholars here and abroad better understand the crucial aspects of the processes of transformation currently occurring in South African schools. More importantly, we hope that the results of the study will be useful in further advancing the school's achievement.

The name of the school and the names of all participants will remain confidential. We wish to point out that despite one's best efforts, there are hardly any qualitative researchers in the world, ourselves included, who can guarantee anonymity in an absolute sense. However, we have set certain measures in place to protect the anonymity of the learner by not directly using the learner's name in the research report. Similarly, there are potential risks that have been considered in the research as a result of the participation of the learner. Such issues relate to calling the immigrants names like "foreigner", which can subject them to ridicule by some of their friends at school. Measures have been taken by arranging with their teachers to privately invite them for the interview session without announcing the intent of the study to the entire class of learners at the school after school hours. A special arrangement has been made especially when interviewing female respondents to do so when other male teachers and school staff are around after school hours to avoid unethical insinuations due to gender differences. Another source of risk involves the management of the video clips of the learners in an intelligible manner. The video recordings of the immigrant students will only be used for research writing purpose and will not be presented at conferences or seminars. It is however brought to the notice of the SGB that data obtained from this study will be handed over to my project supervisor for safe keeping for a period of 15 years according to the university regulations on research. In all, anonymity and confidentiality are guaranteed.

Data collection will involve a range of standard qualitative research techniques such as interviews, observations, field notes and focus groups. In addition we are collecting film and photograph data which adds a further dimension to the field of qualitative data collection and analysis in that we will not only be able to read about integration, but *see* the process in the school setting. Filming and photography will take place throughout the school setting and may include, for example classrooms, hallways, sports or cultural events, assemblies and so forth and will include students and teachers. We will interpret the data, make selections, and write an article, perhaps more than one article, about what we think it all means. We intend to submit the article or articles to academic journals for publication, but photographs of learners v  d. Our aim is to initiate a discussion in which many will participate.

Please know that you will be free to respond to all or only some of our questions. You may also request that the tape-recorder be switched off for certain responses during the interview process if



you feel uncomfortable for certain responses to be recorded. Permission to conduct this research has already been granted by the Department of Education.  
Thank you for agreeing to be a part of this important study

Yours in education

\_\_\_\_\_  
Adebanji C.A  
M.Ed student, University of Pretoria

\_\_\_\_\_  
Participant:

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

**Appendix D**

Date-----

Dear Learner

**INFORMATION REGARDING RESEARCH BEING CONDUCTED AT YOUR SCHOOL**

This letter is to inform you that you have been purposefully selected to take part in the research that is being conducted at your High School. The research will form part of my Masters degree that specialises in curriculum instruction design and development. The purpose of my research project is to investigate the educational and socio-cultural challenges of immigrant students in a South African school.

Your parents have been informed about the research and no concerns were raised by them. All the necessary arrangements have been made regarding the research. All ethical issues have been considered and precautions have been taken to prevent any unfair or unethical practices. I have considered the sensitivity of requesting for your academic performance from the school. To protect you from issues that may be uncomfortable about having information about your academic report, I have discussed with the school authority not to include your name on your academic record. I have instructed them to put dummy names (i.e names that are non existent) so that I would not be able to know whose academic record I am dealing with, when I am writing my research report. Furthermore, your academic record will not be given to a third party but will be used to observe how immigrant students have been performing in South African schools. Please remember that the research is voluntary. If you do not want to take part in the research because of any of these issues that I have made known to you, you can withdraw at any time. Your choice to withdraw will not result in any consequences. All information will be handled in strict confidence. Your name will not be used in the research report. Your interview will be recorded and transcribed for reference purposes. I would like to also let you know that my project supervisor will be given all the data obtained from you for safe keeping for a period of 15 years. When the interview session begins, you will not be called “foreigner” in the midst of the classroom so that your class mates will not use it as an opportunity to call you names. Instead, one of your teachers will call you privately to book an appointment with you to participate in the interview after normal school hours. A video recorder will be used to monitor how you work and associate with your friends in school, but this will not be made known to your classmates so that all eyes would not be on you to avoid unnecessary embarrassment on your part. The video recording will not be used in the public, at seminars, but will be used to write my research report only.

If you have any questions or concerns regarding the research please ask. Once again, your confidentiality is strictly held in high esteem.

Yours sincerely

**RESEARCHER**  
**0765967691**

**PRINCIPAL**

✂-----

I, \_\_\_\_\_ in Grade \_\_\_\_\_ hereby agree to take part in the research that will be conducted at the school regarding the educational and socio-cultural experiences of immigrant students in South African schools.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Learner Signature

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

## Appendix E

Address

Date-----

Department of Education  
District Office Tshwane North (D3)

**Attention: Mr. Moss Nkonyana**  
Senior Manager  
Fax: (012) 323 9109

### **APPLICATION FOR CONDUCTING RESEARCH AS PART OF MY MASTERS DEGREE IN EDUCATION.**

I am a Masters student of the University of Pretoria, specialising in curriculum instruction design and development. Part of my degree includes the completion of relevant and factual research. The title of my research project is: *Educational and socio-cultural challenges of immigrant students in a South African school*. My main research question: *What are the educational and socio-cultural experiences of Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) immigrant students in South African schools?*

In order for me to collect my data I will be interviewing 6 DRC immigrant students, 3 indigenous South African learners, 2 learners from other African countries, the school principal or representative of school principal, parents of the 6 DRC immigrant learners and 3 teachers who teach the immigrants. I will be observing all the 6 DRC immigrant learners participating in the proposed study. I would be writing journal entries and field notes on all the 6 DRC immigrant learners in my study. During observation, I will be using video tape to capture data during normal class lessons of approximately 40-45 minutes on the 6 DRC immigrant learners. My proposed research site is Pretoria Secondary school. The data collection will take place in January to February 2010. After I receive permission from the District Office, I will inform the School Governing Body and ask their permission to conduct the research at the school. I will inform the parents in writing about the expected research and ask their consent. I will also inform the learners and get their assent to take part in the research.

All the necessary arrangements have been made regarding the research. All ethical issues have been considered and precautions have been taken to prevent any unfair or unethical practices. All information will be handled in strict and confidence. The names of the teachers and learners will not be used in my research report. The interviews with the learners will be recorded and transcribed for reference purposes.

Yours sincerely  
Adebanji C.A

100  
1908 - 2008



UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA  
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA  
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA


## Appendix F

Date-----

Dear teacher

### INFORMATION REGARDING RESEARCH BEING CONDUCTED AT THE SCHOOL

We would like to learn about the educational and socio-cultural challenges of immigrant students in a South African school, known to have a high intake of black immigrant students. We feel that there are many good stories that are worth telling, and that will help scholars in this country and overseas better understand the crucial aspects of the process of transformation currently occurring in South African schools. More importantly, we hope that the results of the study will be used in further advancing the achievements of the entire school. The name of the school and the names of all the participants will remain strictly confidential. We wish to point out that despite one's effort to maintain absolute confidentiality and anonymity; there is hardly any qualitative study that can guarantee absolute confidentiality. However, certain principles and steps have been set in motion as indicated in the letters written to parents and the learners. As a teacher, there are certain risk factors that I have identified in the course of designing this study. One of them is the fact that your own confidentiality will be guaranteed by not divulging any information that you give in this study to the department, or to the government. Your name will not be mentioned in the course of writing this research report; a pseudonym (false name) will be used to replace your real name. During class observation, the goal is not to evaluate your practice as a teacher, but to explore how the immigrant students in your class respond to their new environment. Better still, we would not give your lesson notes to the department of education or to any authority concerned.

During the data gathering sessions, I would be conducting semi-structured interviews with the students for maximum of 1 hour. Field notes will be taken, observation of the immigrant students will be made in a participatory manner. The confidentiality of the learners that are not participating in the study will be maintained as much as possible by not allowing them to feature in the video recording by focusing on the class lesson and the immigrant students that are participating in the research. Filming of the hall ways, school setting, sports facilities, assemblies, and all other relevant activities will be captured to obtain the total picture of what is desired to be known about immigrant students in South African schools. You are however assured that all video recordings on the learners will not be published; their photographs will not be included in the research report. As you are aware that we recently had a xenophobic violence in May 2008, the immigrants will not be called names such as "foreigner" to avoid un-  using the immigrant students to ridicule. During the period of interview with you on the educational and socio-cultural experiences of the immigrant students, questions relating to their situation as you have seen them since they arrived at the school are required from you. This is to get a true picture of their experiences at school from you.

Furthermore, we intend to write articles from the findings of this research and submit such for publications, but the publications will be devoid of photographs of students and any other thing that may suggest the identity of the school to the public or the learners. Please be informed that, should you feel uncomfortable about divulging certain information, you are free to request the tape recorder to be switched off and your request will be honored. Similarly, should you at any time feel uncomfortable about the research, you are free to opt out. Permission to conduct this study has already been granted by the department of education. Thank you so much

**ADEBANJI C.A**  
**RESEARCHER**  
**0765967691**

**PRINCIPAL**

✂-----  
-----

I, \_\_\_\_\_ teacher of \_\_\_\_\_ in Grade \_\_\_\_\_  
hereby give permission for him/her to take part in the research being conducted at the school  
regarding active learning.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Parent/Guardian Signature

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

## **PLEASE TAKE NOTE OF THE FOLLOWING**

The interview protocols used during the broader project were specifically used to explore how Black immigrant students negotiated their identities within South African schools in 2008. A second round of data capture was conducted in March 2010 to directly collect data from 6 of the DRC immigrant students purposively selected during the broader study, to fill identified gaps. It sought to capture additional data specifically related to the educational (academic performance and schooling experiences) and socio-cultural experiences (language use, acculturation and identity negotiation) of DRC immigrant students. Field notes also constituted part of the data capture in March 2010 as shown in Appendix FLDNT1, in an attempt to triangulate data obtained from the broader project and the limited data capture in March 2010.

## **Appendix SECDRC**

### **Research study: Educational and socio-cultural challenges of immigrant students in a South African school**

#### **Interview protocol for the limited data capture for DRC immigrant students**

1. How regularly do you travel to the DRC since you got to South Africa?
2. Do you exchange ideas, fashion, food etc between South Africa and the DRC?
3. Are you attached to the DRC more than South Africa?
4. Do you see yourself as a Congolese South African?
5. When you complete your studies, where do you hope to live permanently?
6. What benefits have you gained from South Africans since you began to live in South Africa?



## APPENDIX K (FGIPWP)

Research study: Educational and socio-cultural challenges of immigrant students in South African schools

Focus group interview protocol for parents of Democratic Republic of Congo immigrant (DRC) students

**Interviewer:** You are all welcome to this interactive interview session. Thank you for your presence. Questions will be asked and we require responses from all of you, one after the other on your experiences as well as the experiences of your children since you came here from the DRC.

### 1. Experiences within South Africa

- What are your experiences in South Africa? Have you ever experienced Xenophobia in SA since you came here?
- What were the complaints of your child(ren) during the first day, week, or month at school?
- Are you working in South Africa? (If yes, where; if no, why?)
- Do you experience discrimination in South Africa? Explain in detail.
- Why are your children attending this school?
- Which school would you have preferred them to attend and why?
- How do you handle rejection, if any?

### 2. Expectation in terms of schooling of children

- What are your expectations as your children are in school for now and in the future? Do you tell them to study hard? Why?
- Do you assist your children to do their home work? If yes, Why? If no, why?
- Do you guide your children by reminding them to study hard in school? Why? How?
- How well do your children perform in their school work?
- How do you like the school your children attend now?
- Where would you have liked them to attend?
- What are the difficulties confronting you now in terms of supporting your children?
- Where do you work presently? Were you employed back home? (Probe)

### 3. Language issues

- What languages do you speak at home and why?
- Do you speak any of the South African languages?
- Do you expect your children to retain their home language in SA? Why? How?
- Do your children experience difficulty speaking English at home or at school?

### 4. Socio-cultural issues

- What is your culture? Can you describe it?
- What role does your culture play in your family?
- How do you ensure that your culture is retained by your children in South Africa?
- Do you socialize with other non-immigrants in South Africa? How? Why?
- Do you expect your children to be taught about different cultures in school? Why?
- Can you describe the kind of friends your children are allowed to emulate and play with? (Professionals, musicians, dancers, academically inclined friends etc.)

**5. Do you prefer to stay in South Africa than to stay in your country? Why? What is your status in South Africa?**

**6. Do you still have plans to go back to your country? Why?**

**7. What are the challenges that you face in South Africa as a parent, especially with respect to catering for your children in school?**

**8. If you were asked to identify yourself, would you identify yourself as a South African or Congolese or South African-Congolese? Why? How do you like this country?**

**9. What else would you like to ask that we have not discussed that you think will help you for now and in the future about the education of your children?**