

**CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE INTEGRATION
OF SECOND-GENERATION ZIMBABWEANS IN SOUTH AFRICA:
IMPLICATIONS FOR SOCIAL WORK WITH MIGRANTS**

By

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Because we were not in our country, we could not use our own language, and so when we spoke our voices came out bruised. When we talked, our tongues thrashed madly in our mouths, staggered like drunken men. Because we were not using our languages we said things we did not mean; what we really wanted to say remained folded inside, trapped. In America we did not always have the words. It was only when we were by ourselves that we spoke in our real voices. When we were alone we summoned the horses of our languages and mounted their backs and galloped past skyscrapers. Always, we were reluctant to back down (NoViolet Bulawayo, *We need new names*, 2013:240).

DECLARATION

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I, Sheron Mpofu, declare that this thesis is my original work. Where secondary information is used, this has been carefully acknowledged and referenced in accordance with university requirements. I understand what plagiarism is and I am aware of the university's policy and implications in this regard.

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ABSTRACT

Title of thesis: Challenges and opportunities for the integration of second-generation Zimbabweans in South Africa: Implications for social work with migrants

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Department: Social Work and Criminology

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South Africa is home to a diverse population of migrants from across the African continent, with the majority of them coming from the Southern African region. Second-generation migrants constitute part of the migrant population living in and being integrated into South African society. The study's focus is on second-generation children and young people. This study aims to explore second-generation Zimbabwean migrants' experiences of inclusion or exclusion in South Africa along the political, economic, legal, and social dimensions of their lives. The study also seeks to determine if inclusion or exclusion is passed on intergenerationally, how second-generation migrants' experiences affect their wellbeing, as well as the implications of their experiences for social work. To gain an in-depth understanding of the experiences of second-generation migrants, the study uses anti-oppressive social work as its theoretical framework, drawing on concepts of coloniality, misframing and oppression.

The study employs a qualitative interpretive methodology, utilising a case study design. The research is conducted in study areas, namely Pretoria and Johannesburg. A purposive sampling strategy was used, and research participants were recruited via snowball and convenience sampling. Data was collected through semi-structured, one-on-one interviews. Sixteen second-generation Zimbabwean migrants, aged between 14 and 21, and 10 key informants from the fields of education, social welfare, sport, and legal services were interviewed. Data was analysed using thematic content analysis. The study adhered to ethical requirements, and the study's protocol number is HUM 017/0622.

Findings indicate that second-generation migrants integrate into three home communities: middle-income areas, townships, and inner-city migrant communities, with school being an

additional community where integration mainly takes place. Both at home and in school, language functions as the main tool for assimilation, integration and acculturation. Second-generation migrants are part of the mostly unequal friendship networks formed at school, as they are teased, bullied and subjected to xenophobia owing to their Zimbabwean origins. Beyond their daily encounters with community members and peers, South Africa's documentation and migration laws are a major factor influencing the integration experiences of the children of migrants. Second-generation migrants face documentation barriers and, resultantly, encounter difficulties when accessing social welfare, educational and health care services. The findings indicate that due to these documentation barriers and discrimination, second-generation migrants and their families live in hiding and maintain invisibility.

Intergenerational similarities and differences between first-generation and second-generation migrants were found in making the decision to migrate, as well as in experiencing solidarity and discrimination. These factors influence their differential integration. Second-generation migrants have career-oriented goals, dreams and hopes, which some of them believed to be achievable through hard work. However, others thought they would not realise their goals in South Africa. The goals, dreams and hopes of second-generation migrants are dependent on the class and economic standing of their migrant parents. Besides their generally difficult circumstances, second-generation migrants have found support and care from community members and friends and expressed gratefulness for being raised in a relatively well-resourced country like South Africa. Furthermore, they reported experiencing valuable service provision from teachers, social workers and lawyers. Identity is central to second-generation migrants' experiences, impacting their assimilation, integration and acculturation.

This study concluded from participants' accounts that based on their identity as Zimbabweans, and despite their attempts to integrate into South Africa, second-generation migrants are considered outsiders by the state and some South African community members. Thus, they are subjected to oppression, particularly marginalisation, cultural imperialism, social and psychological violence, and are rendered powerless. The study recommends that anti-oppressive social work be made relevant to the contexts of the Global South and that there is a need to adopt more macro level social work practice with migrants. The study also recommends that policymakers in the fields of education, migration, and social welfare prioritise the rights of children, along with undertaking further research in social work and migration, focusing specifically on the children of migrants.

Key words

Second-generation migrants

Integration

Assimilation

Acculturation

South Africa

Social work

Oppression

Coloniality

Social justice

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This thesis is dedicated to my late father, Godfrey Mpofu, and late grandmother, Hlanyana Christina Mthethwa.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AU	African Union
CBD	Central Business District
COVID-19	Corona Virus Disease-2019
DHA	Department of Home Affairs
DoE	Department of Education
DoH	Department of Health
DSD	Department of Social Development
EU	European Union
IASSW	International Association of Schools of Social Work
IDAC	International Data Alliance
IFSW	International Federation of Social Workers
IOM	International Organisation of Migration
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
Stats SA	Statistics South Africa
SADC	Southern African Development Community
UK	United Kingdom
USA	United States of America
UN	United Nations
UNCRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of a Child
UNDESA	United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
UNCOHR	United Nations Commissioner of Human Rights
ZDP	Zimbabwean Documentation Project

ZEP

Zimbabwean Exemption Permit

CHAPTER 1: GENERAL INTRODUCTION OF THE STUDY

1.1. Introduction

Children, women, and families are increasingly moving across international borders both regularly and irregularly (Briskman, 2020:107; Department of Home Affairs [DHA], 2017:1). There is also a growing number of young adults reportedly migrating across these borders (Statistics South Africa, [Stats SA], 2023:1). Between 2000 and 2010, the number of migrants increased by 48 million and between 2010 and 2020, it grew globally by another 60 million, which is 12 million higher than in the previous decade (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs [UN DESA], 2020:1). Thus, despite a less than expected growth in numbers on account of Corona Virus-related travel restrictions, the year 2020 witnessed an estimated 281 million migrants globally (UN DESA, 2020:1), with more recent figures not yet available. UN DESA (2020:1) attributes the growth in migration figures to people migrating for job opportunities, family migration, an increase in refugees and asylum seekers, as well as climate change and environmental destruction. Of the 281 million migrants reported globally in 2020, 35.5 million were children (United Nations Children's Fund [UNICEF], 2021:10; International Data Alliance for Children on the Move, [IDAC], 2023). According to IDAC (2023), 35.5 million is "the largest number [of child migrants] ever recorded." The IDAC (2023) also captures statistics for refugee children, and from 2005 to the present day, this number has risen by "more than 60 per cent", thus constituting close to half of the world's 36 million refugees.

UN DESA (2020:1) notes that as the numbers of migrants continue on an upward trajectory, there has also been a shift in migration trends. Thus, of the 281 million, half constitute intra-regional migrants, with Sub-Saharan Africa contributing the second largest population, meaning that intra-regional movement is mainly characteristic of migration into South Africa (Crush & Tevera, 2010:21; Misago, 2017:40; Stats SA, 2023:2). Crush and Tevera (2010:21) point out that this trend is not new to Southern Africa because migration within the region dates back in history, and South Africa is the main migrant-receiving country in the region and the continent at large (see also Misago, 2017:40; Stats SA, 2023:7). The 2011 census reported that there were 2.1 million migrants in South Africa, and this figure was included in the country's total population of 51.7 million people (DHA, 2017:23). Additionally, Stats SA highlights that in 2019, South Africa had a population of 58.78 million and by mid-year 2020, approximately

2.9 million migrants were living in the country (Migration Data Portal, 2020). The 2022 census states that 2 418 197 migrants presently live in South Africa, and this figure is part of a population of 62 027 503 (Stats SA, 2023:7-10). Therefore, from 2011 to 2020, the official number of migrants increased by 800 000, and between 2020 and 2022, the number grew by 318 197.

In addition to the official number of all the migrants living in South Africa, Stats SA (2023:2) also provides statistics showing migrant learners enrolled in the country's primary and high schools. These statistics are derived from the database of the Department of Basic Education (DoE) (Stats SA 2023:2). Stats SA (2023:36) notes that in 2018, 26 992 migrant learners were enrolled in schools, with 13 498 being male, while 13 494 were female. In 2019, 68 607 male and 67 748 female migrant learners were counted in both primary and high schools, forming a total of 136 355 migrant learners. Then, in 2020, of a total of 57 976 migrant learners, 28 398 were male, while 29 578 were female (Stats SA, 2023:36). Finally, 2023 saw the figure increasing to a total of 76 805, with consecutively 37 856 female, and 38 949 male migrant learners (Stats SA, 2023:36). However, even if there was an increase in the numbers of migrant learners in South African schools between 2022 and 2023, 2019 had the highest recorded number. These statistics deduce a partially estimated number of child migrants in South Africa because not all of them are enrolled in primary and high schools, and others may be enrolled without their migrant status being known to the authorities.

From the statistics of the migrants provided, Zimbabweans constitute one of the “largest migrant populations” living in South Africa (Amit & Kriger, 2014:284; Nkala & Masuku, 2023:page; see also Stats SA, 2023:2). The researcher is part of the Zimbabwean migrant population living in South Africa. Since the late 1990s, Zimbabweans have been pushed into migration by “an economy in free-fall, soaring inflation and unemployment, the collapse of public services, political oppression, and deepening poverty ...” in their country (Crush & Tevera, 2010:1). In 2009, the DHA regularised irregular Zimbabwean migrants' stay in South Africa under a special programme known as Zimbabwe Documentation Project (ZDP) (Amit & Kriger, 2014:285), which later metamorphosed into the Zimbabwe Exemption Permit (ZEP). In 2016, when the DHA renewed their permits (visas) under the ZDP, an estimated 1.5 million Zimbabweans were resident in South Africa, and 243 731 special permits were received under this programme (Thebe, 2017:614). On November 25, 2021, the DHA released a statement announcing that these permits, which were supposed to expire on December 31, 2021, would

not be renewed, and the then Minister of Home Affairs advised people to apply for other permits as per the requirements of the Immigration Act 13 of 2002 (DHA, 2021; DHA, 2024:71). Although the decision not to renew the ZDP permits was challenged and overturned by a court, it remains under litigation to date (DHA, 2024:71). In the past two decades, and until presently, “precise figures of Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa have been quite elusive, mainly because of the clandestine character of some movements” (Thebe, 2017:618). The issue of irregular migration is central to the discussion on Zimbabweans’ migration into South Africa.

The irregular nature of the movements of some Zimbabweans and other migrants, and their subsequent stay in South Africa, has resulted in some authors arguing that the official statistics hardly represent the actual figures of the migrants in the country (Clifford, 2021). The question regarding the number of migrants living in South Africa is a “hotly contested” one (Heleta, 2018; see also DHA, 2017:2), with some scholars estimating the number at 15 million (Clifford, 2021). Indeed, a gap exists in any given country’s migration statistics because the number of irregular migrants is unknown, as this population group is undocumented and tends to lead an “invisible life”, hiding from detection, especially by officials (UN, 2014:1). More specifically, in South Africa, the number of irregular migrants is not captured because of the “... unavailability of administrative records which allow for indirect estimation of this group...” (Stats SA, 2023:3). Although the true number of regular and irregular migrants is unknown, a political and public discourse that concentrates on the militarisation of borders and criminalisation of irregular migration (UN, 2014:12) - tends to exaggerate migration statistics (Crush & Tevera, 2010:4; Heleta, 2018).

This political and public discourse on migration in the South African and global contexts is prevalent in the media (Crush & Tevera, 2010:3; Fekete, 2018:81; Heleta, 2018; Nkala & Masuku, 2023:4; Walia, 2021). South African newspapers consistently carry headlines of ‘migrants flooding into the country’ (Crush & Tevera, 2010:3; Heleta, 2018; Nkala and Masuku, 2023:11) and, resultantly, instilling fear in the citizenry regarding job losses and competition for the already limited public resources and services with migrants (Landau, 2011:5; Misago, 2017:41). In addition to the formal mainstream media, the current era of social media has also fuelled anti-migrant sentiments and discourses (Nkala & Masuku, 2023:2). Nkala and Masuku (2023:3-4) explain that:

Hashtags such as #PutSouthAfricansFirst and #OperationDudula trended for months on popular social media platforms such as Twitter, showing that foreigners have become a topical issue in the South African society. The supporters of the hashtags are of the view that foreigners are taking up jobs and overwhelming social systems, thereby inhibiting South African citizens from accessing public services.

Sentiments expressed in the mainstream news media and, arguably, on social media instil xenophobic attitudes in the citizenry of South Africa, who ultimately feel that as ‘insiders’, they are obliged to keep out ‘outsiders’, who are migrants, from ‘flooding’ the country (Fekete, 2018:81; Misago 2017:48; Misago, Bule & Mlilo, 2021; Landau, 2011:20). Landau (2011:5) further notes that there is “...the coding of unregulated (and even regulated human mobility as a threat to insider’s economic and physical wellbeing and national (even sub-national achievement)”. The researcher contends that guarding the boundaries between ‘insiders’ (citizens) and ‘outsiders’ (non-citizens) and keeping out ‘large numbers of migrants’ can effectively be done with the aid of the border.

In Chapter 4 of this thesis, it is argued that the border is important to this study. More so, Chapter 4 notes that the border is marked not just on the land that people cross but also, and more importantly, in migrants’ experiences of belonging. Thus, in the current chapter, the researcher stresses the importance of the border in tackling issues of migration. Firstly, it is important because, as already noted over the years, and in response to the rising numbers of people crossing international borders, there has been a growing negative political and public discourse around migration (United Nations [UN], 2014:12) and the militarisation of borders as well as the criminalisation of irregular migration (Furman, Sanchez, Ackerman & Ung, 2012:814). Secondly, writing from Europe, Fekete (2018:3) observes a rise in xeno-racism, which is a response to increased numbers of migrants crossing international borders. Xeno-racism, according to Fekete (2018:3), is “the harmonisation of refugee and immigration policies across Europe, charting the path from the extreme right’s call for an exclusive national preference and cultural identity in the 1990s, to the institutionalisation of anti-foreigner racism ...”. This study contends that xeno-racism is also observable in South Africa. In fact, in its recent White Paper on citizenship, immigration and refugee protection: Towards a complete overhaul of the migration system in South Africa DHA (2024:37) advocates for the withdrawal of South Africa from international refugee statutes as a way of protecting the state and its citizens from negative effects of migration, which can arguably be seen as a move towards right migration regimes.

Thirdly, the travel restrictions induced by the Coronavirus Disease - 2019 (COVID-19) resulted in the tightening of borders, placing the already vulnerable groups of migrants at an added risk of exclusion (International Organisation of Migration [IOM], 2021:13; see also Hölscher & Nipperess, 2021:1). Therefore, presently, according to Hölscher and Nipperess (2021:1), the borders that the migrants are crossing are increasingly becoming a “dis-place” for they clearly demarcate the boundaries of nation states. This suggests that international borders “are no longer [just] sites to be crossed but lines that separate” nation states (Mbembe, 2019:3). For purposes of this study, borders are used as lines that separate people in relation to the migrant identity and status. Furthermore, Chapter 4 denotes that the ability to be counted as members of a demarcated nation state determines the social, political, legal and economic conditions of second-generation migrants in their respective receiving countries.

All the foregrounding information is relevant to the second-generation Zimbabwean migrants living in South Africa, as they are at the centre of this study. However, an additional element should be considered, that is, the majority of the second-generation migrant participants who partook in this study were below the age of 18; thus, according to the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 in Section 3, they are viewed as children. Farmer (2017:362) and Mpofu (2018:5) advocate for the protection of children’s rights, regardless of their migration status. In fact, because of their heightened vulnerability, the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC, 1989) and the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of a Child (African Union (AU), 1990¹) provide for the protection of the rights of the migrant child. Article 2 of the Convention (UNCRC, 1989:2) highlights that:

State Parties shall respect and ensure the rights set forth in the present Convention to each child within their jurisdiction without discrimination of any kind, irrespective of the child’s or his or her parents’ or legal guardians’ race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national, ethnic or social origin, property, disability, birth or other status.

Article 3 of the African Charter (AU, 1990:9) makes pronouncements similar to those outlined above. Schenck and Triegaardt (2018:166) add that in matters relating to migrants and refugees, South Africa is bound to these international protocols and conventions.

Section 28 (1) of the Constitution states that: “Every child” has a right to a name and nationality from birth; parental care and alternative care; basic nutrition, shelter, basic health care services

¹The African Union replaced the Organisation of African Unity in 2002

and social services; protection from maltreatment, neglect, abuse, and degradation; and protection from exploitative labour practices. Nonetheless, the DHA (2024:51) contends that:

Some argue that section 28 applies to all children born in South Africa, irrespective of the child's legal status or that of the parent. This stretches the meaning of section 28 too wide. By way of an example, an asylum seeker whose application is rejected and has exhausted all the remedies is liable to be deported. If a child is born in the process, the nationality of that child would be that of a parent(s).

Notwithstanding the contention by the DHA (2024:51), Schenck and Triegaardt (2018:167) state that all the rights enshrined in the Bill of Rights apply to all people living in South Africa, meaning that the rights and protections provided for in Section 28 (1) of the Constitution also apply to Zimbabwean second-generation migrants living in South Africa. Overall, Section 2 of the same document states that, "this Constitution is the supreme law of the Republic; law or conduct inconsistent with it is invalid, and obligations imposed by it must be fulfilled". Additionally, considering that second-generation migrants are the main participants in this study, Section 61 (1a) of the Children's Act 38 of 2005 (as amended), though dealing with matters relating to the children's court, makes provision for the participation of children in matters affecting them. Section 61 (1a) further states that child participation is dependent on the "child's age, maturity and stage of development". This section gives children a voice to talk about matters affecting them, including their migration-related experiences.

Against the background of contemporary migration conditions and migrant children's rights, this study investigated the challenges inhibiting and opportunities influencing the integration of second-generation Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa and the implications of their experiences for social work in the field of migration. This doctoral study is written as a follow-up study on a Masters study conducted by the researcher in 2017, exploring the lived experiences of Zimbabwean migrants raising children in South Africa under conditions of irregularity (Mpofu, 2018:1). The findings of the Masters study suggested the importance of conducting further research on the experiences of children growing up under such circumstances, a field that remains under-researched to date (Mpofu, 2018:72). This doctoral study intends to contribute to the closure of this gap.

1.2. Key terms

This section defines the key terms used in the study. These terms are migration; regular and irregular migrants or migration; second-generation migrants and community.

- **Migration**

The term migration refers to the movement of persons within state boundaries from one place to another, including moving across international borders from one country to another (IOM, 2019:137). In other words, migrants can move both internally and externally. Normally, this movement involves people leaving their everyday places of residence and residing in another (IOM, 2019:137). However, in this study, the term migration will be used to refer to a person's movement from one country to another. Accordingly, a migrant is a person who has moved regardless of i) the intent of their movement being temporary or permanent, ii) their reasons for moving, and iii) their status in the receiving country (IOM, 2019:132).

- **Regular and irregular migration or migrants**

There are different categories of migrants, and their categorisation depends on their legal status, which is linked to the reasons instigating their migration (Crush, Chiakanda & Tawodzera, 2015:364). These categories are regular migrants, irregular migrants and refugees. The IOM (2019:175) defines regular migration as "... migration that occurs in compliance with the laws of the country of origin, transit and destination". Thus, a migrant is considered regular if their movement adheres to the laws of their home, transit and receiving countries. Meanwhile, irregular migration occurs when migrants enter a foreign country without authorisation and documentation (UN, 2014:4). Irregular migration also happens when a migrant, upon entering a country through regular means, continues to stay irregularly after the expiry of their permits and visas (UN, 2014:4).

Therefore, irregular migration takes "place outside the laws, regulation or international agreements governing the into or exit from the State of origin, transit or destination" (IOM, 2019:116). Consequently, irregular migrants are sometimes referred to as undocumented, unlawful, unauthorised, clandestine, or illegal migrants (UN, 2014:4; IOM, 2019:102). However, the IOM (2019:102) and UN (2014:4) assert that referring to these migrants as unlawful, illegal, clandestine and unauthorised conveys negative legal connotations. For this study, the terms *regular* and *irregular* migrants were chosen to avoid the stigma attached to other terms. The term 'irregular migrant' was also selected because, though they might have

broken the laws, no person should be referred to as illegal, particularly because the UN (2014:13) argues that “under international law, irregular entry and stay are administrative misdemeanours rather than criminal offences” However, where the study discusses issues touching on documentation, the terms *documented* and *undocumented* migrants are used so as to contextualise the experiences of second-generation migrants.

- **Second-generation migrant**

The term second-generation migrants denotes the children of one or two foreign parents living in a receiving country and people who migrate with their parents as young children (Durmalet & Swamy, 2013:1; Karthick Ramakrishnan, 2004:381). Second-generation migrants are differentiated on the basis of migration age, where they were born, and to whom they are born (Lee, 2008:7). Some of these migrants are referred to as the one-and-a-half generation (1.5 generation) - meaning they migrated before turning 18 or were born to two migrant parents in the receiving country after their migration (Lee, 2008:7). Still, some of them are called the two-and-a-half generation (2.5 generation), meaning they were born to one migrant and local parent in the receiving country (Lee, 2008:7). Defining, referring to, and treating certain groups of people as second-generation migrants, according to Durmalet and Swamy (2013:1), is problematic. Durmalet and Swamy (2013:1) posit that this is so because the term *second-generation migrant* is an “oxymoron”, that is, a terminological contradiction, because:

The term negates the multifaceted work of integration performed by immigrants and their descendants, and continues to stigmatize descendants of immigrants as foreign bodies, as if they could not but inherit their parents’ status and thus are still considered (de facto) “second class citizens” in their parents’ country of residence.

The authors further argue that referring to children of migrants as second-generation migrants “seems to suggest an endless inherited chain ... of third, fourth ... generations of migrants” (Durmalet & Swamy, 2013:1). While this criticism is considered valid, this study took the position that being born to migrant parents has notable consequences on the lives of the next generation, a notion that needs to be clearly articulated and well-understood. The importance of this is even more pronounced when the second-generation migrants are children of irregular migrants. In this study, the term *second-generation migrant* has been used to refer to both children born to Zimbabwean migrant parents living in South Africa and to children brought into the receiving country before adolescence.

- **Community**

Thornton and Ramphela (1988:30) state that “the term community is used to denote aggregations of people who have something in common, such as common residence, geographic region, and shared beliefs, or who claim membership in a common lineage structure, or who are distinguished by similarities of economic activity or class position”. A community can also be understood as a “political term” because it is a space formally governed by the state and informally by community members (Thornton & Ramphela, 1988:29). In communities, there are leaders who hold power (Thornton & Ramphela, 1988:31). In the context of migration, leaders, community members and the state decide on who are the ‘insiders’ and ‘outsiders’ (Misago & Landau, 2023:1612-1613). Additionally, the term *community* denotes the idea of ‘place belonging’ for migrants (O’Keeffe & Nipperess, 2021:100). In such a place, there are those who have the power or the “capacity to grant belonging (insiders)” and, also, there are those “people who are making a claim to belonging (outsiders)” (O’Keeffe & Nipperess, 2021:105). In this study, the term *community* refers to both the geographical and physical locations and the functional spaces second-generation migrants assimilate, integrate, and acculturate. Also, people may be accepted in certain parts of the community, while being excluded from other sectors.

1.3. The study setting

This section discusses the geographical setting of the study. The study was conducted in Pretoria and Johannesburg, in the Gauteng Province, South Africa. Currently, Gauteng Province has a population of 15.2 million people (Gauteng Provincial Government, n.d:11). The Gauteng Provincial Government (n.d:10) describes the province inhabited by 15.2 million people as “a hub of economic activity within the SADC [Southern African Development Community] region”. Because of its lucrative economic activities, the Gauteng Province is viewed as “a place of opportunities” and thus “draws many people in the hope of escaping poverty through acquiring jobs that will better their lives” (Gauteng Provincial Government, n.d.:10). For these reasons, the province attracts large numbers of internal and external migrants (Gauteng Provincial Government, n.d:11). Stats SA (2023:2) adds that “... the migration landscape [in South Africa] revolves around Gauteng as a central hub ...”.

Within the Gauteng Province, Misago, Bule and Mlilo (2021:20) have specifically identified Johannesburg and Pretoria as urban areas that external migrants prefer moving to. Pretoria is

the capital city of South Africa, and its municipality is referred to as the City of Tshwane (City of Tshwane, 2024:20), which has a population of 4 040 315 residents (City of Tshwane, 2024:21). Meanwhile, Johannesburg is often referred to as the main financial hub of the Gauteng province and the country as a whole (City of Johannesburg, 2024:20). There are 6.09 million people living in Johannesburg (City of Johannesburg, 2024:18). The two cities boast of world-class infrastructure and services. There are state-of-the-art hospitals, theatres, educational institutions, houses and roads (Gauteng Provincial Government, n.d.:10). Regardless of this infrastructural sophistication, Johannesburg has social, economic and political inequalities, as not everyone has access to the city's world-class facilities, services and economic opportunities (City of Johannesburg, 2024:20); the same scenario applies to Pretoria. According to the City of Johannesburg (2024:20), "many residents still struggle to access basic services, adequate housing, and decent employment".

It will be argued in Chapter 3 of this thesis that the inequalities that prevail in Johannesburg and Pretoria are due to the country's colonial history and the present social, political and economic circumstances (see Section 3.4). These inequalities manifest, for instance, in the type of housing available in the cities. An ideal example of such inequalities presents itself in Johannesburg, where Sandton, an affluent suburb, is located right across Alexandra, an under-resourced township comprising formal and informal housing. Often, in such spaces, there is:

Fierce competition for scarce public services, livelihood resources and opportunities driven by these circumstances often leads to tensions and conflicts among individuals and groups. More specifically, competition for jobs, housing, public services such as health care and social grants, business space, etc. between citizens and foreign residents, results in resentment and tension between them ... (Misago et al., 2021:26)

It is in communities like townships and informal settlements that xenophobia is bred (Misago et al., 2021:26). The inequalities in social, political and economic conditions highlighted in this section are important to the study.

1.4. Rationale for the study and problem statement

As indicated in the introductory Section 1.1., this doctoral study was prompted by a Masters study the researcher conducted with Zimbabwean migrant parents living in South Africa and raising their children under conditions of irregularity (Mpofu, 2018:1). The Masters study found that the children of irregular migrant parents were excluded from accessing some of the basic services, experienced xenophobic attitudes in their school environments, and were treated

as second class citizens in their communities of residence (Mpofu, 2018:83-88). Consequently, they were marginalised along social, economic, legal, and political lines in South Africa. Furthermore, the children's lived experiences of marginalisation were tied to the irregular migrant status that was passed on intergenerationally, that is, from the parents to their children (Mpofu, 2018:82). The study found that before their migration, irregular migrant parents had "initial hopes and aspirations" for a better life, both for themselves and their children; however, their lives in South Africa were characterised by "broken dreams and disappointments" (Mpofu, 2018:99). The conclusions reached at in the Masters study regarding parental experiences prompted the researcher to undertake a follow-on study that seeks to explore the first-hand experiences of these migrants' children in South Africa.

In this doctoral study, a preliminary review of available literature suggests that across a number of geopolitical contexts, second-generation migrants continue to experience social, political, and economic forms of marginalisation in their migrant-receiving countries (see Borgna, 2016:182; Evans, Crea & Soto, 2021:69; Crul & Schneider, 2013:1; Farmer, 2017; Jolly, 2018:1-2; Kyaw, 2017:269; Midbøten, 2017:1658, Robinson & Gifford, 2019:257; Simsonen, 2018:131; Teasley, 2017:195; Zhou & Lee, 2007:1658). Literature also shows that although social workers have clearly articulated professional responsibilities towards migrants, many of them face difficulties meeting these responsibilities (see Briskman & Doe 2016:75; Browne et al., 2016:160; Farmer, 2017:361; Jolly, 2018:6; Bjorngren Cuadra, 2015:303; Farmer, 2017:365; Hölscher, 2016:54; Maylea & Hirsch, 2018:161; Mpofu, 2021:23). Although there is literature on second-generation migrants from different contexts, there is limited research on this topic in the South African context. This gap ought to be closed because South Africa is an important magnet within Southern African migration systems. Also, the limited literature suggests that further investigation can possibly reveal the complexities and dynamics, which may contribute to a better understanding of the experiences, opportunities and challenges surrounding the integration of second-generation migrants in their receiving societies worldwide. Therefore, it is important that such investigations be conducted into the first-hand lived experiences of second-generation migrants to allow for an in-depth and contextualised understanding thereof.

1.5. Significance of the study

In view of the rationale for the study, the problems identified in the researcher's previous Master's study, the literature review conducted for this study, and the research objectives

outlined below, this thesis addresses three unique and significant points. Firstly, unlike most studies conducted in the South African context, whereby Zimbabwean migrant parents were made to speak on behalf of their children about their experiences, this study seeks to allow second-generation Zimbabwean migrants to share their first-hand experiences of inclusion or exclusion in the social, political, legal, and economic domains of their receiving country. Secondly, when discussing both regular and irregular Zimbabwean second-generation migrants, the researcher had an opportunity to compare the challenges and opportunities that were prevalent in the participants' respective experiences, and how they were possibly related to their migrant status. Additionally, having key informant participants from professional fields of social work, law, and education allowed for a contextual and an in-depth exploration of the experiences of second-generation migrants.

Thirdly, by framing the study within anti-oppressive social work as a theoretical framework, specifically drawing on concepts of coloniality, oppression and misframing, the researcher focuses attention on the contextual conditions of the integration of second-generation migrants. More so, it is important to include 'the border' as a frame of belonging when developing an understanding of and exploring the experiences of the integration of Zimbabwean second-generation migrants into South Africa. Thus, it is envisaged that the findings of the study will contribute to an understanding of second-generation migrants from the perspective of social work and the elements influencing their inclusion or exclusion in the process of integration to guide their practice. Furthermore, the study's findings and recommendations may be useful in informing the development of migration policy supporting the integration of children, particularly in South Africa and beyond.

1.6. Research questions

The main research question guiding this study was structured as follows:

What are the challenges and opportunities for the integration of second-generation Zimbabweans in South Africa and the implications of their experiences for social work with migrants?

The following four sub-questions informed the main research question:

1. What are second-generation migrants' experiences of inclusion and exclusion along the economic, cultural, legal, and political dimensions of their lives?

2. To what extent do second-generation migrants understand these experiences as continuities, ruptures and/or gradual changes along intergenerational lines?
3. How are these experiences embodied, and how do they affect second-generation migrants' sense of well-being and social justice within the context of the communities in which they live?
4. What are the implications of second-generation migrants' experiences of inclusion/exclusion for anti-oppressive social work theorising and practice?

1.7. Goal and objectives of the study

The study's goal was to explore challenges and opportunities for the integration of second-generation Zimbabweans in South Africa and the implications of their experiences for social work with migrants.

In pursuit of this goal, the study was guided by the following objectives:

1. To explore second-generation migrants' experiences of inclusion and exclusion along the economic, legal, and political dimensions of their lives
2. To understand to what extent second-generation migrants understand these experiences as continuities, ruptures and/or gradual change along intergenerational lines.
3. To explore how these economic, legal, and political experiences are embodied and describe how they affect the second-generation migrants' sense of well-being and social justice within the context of the communities in which they live.
4. To understand the implications of second-generation migrants' experiences of inclusion/exclusion for anti-oppressive social work theorising and practice.

1.8. Research methodology

The study is located within the qualitative interpretive research paradigm, which studies people's subjective experiences of their daily lives within their natural environments (Shaw & Holland, 2014:6). The epistemology in qualitative research is 'interactive and intersubjective', meaning that the researcher closely engages with the participants (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 2006:7). The nature of the qualitative interpretive paradigm and its epistemological

underpinnings allowed for the study to be aligned with an anti-oppressive, decolonial and social justice-oriented theoretical framework. A case study research design was used for the study. The type of case study chosen for this study was exploratory and descriptive. Guided by this case study design, purposive sampling criteria were formulated and used to select second-generation migrants and key informants for participation in the study. Snowball and convenience sampling methods were used to recruit both groups of participants. Data was collected from all the participants using semi-structured individual interviews, guided by interview schedules.

The collected data was analysed using thematic content analysis, which followed Terre Blanche et al.'s (2006) five stages of familiarisation and immersion, inducing themes, coding, elaborating, and interpreting and checking. A pilot study was conducted to test the suitability of the research design, sampling methods, data collection methods, and data analysis methods, as well as the environment in which the study was going to be conducted (Kim, 2011:191; Sampson, 2004:383). To ensure the trustworthiness of the data, dependability, credibility, transferability and confirmability were achieved (Korstjens & Moser, 2014:121). The researcher also ensured that the study was conducted ethically by following the principles of autonomy and respect for the dignity of persons, non-maleficence, beneficence and justice, as outlined by Wassenaar (2006:67-68). Lastly, the limitations of the study were considered in relation to the methodology and the sensitive nature of the research topic.

1.9. Chapter outline

Chapter One presents the introduction to and orientation of the study as well as the definition of key terms. It further presents the problem statement, significance and goal of the study, research objectives and questions, and a brief overview of the research methodology. Lastly, the chapter outlines all the chapters that make up the thesis.

Chapter Two contextualises the study within the available literature on second-generation migrants from various contexts and migrant statuses. This chapter also discusses the concepts of assimilation, integration and acculturation, demonstrating how they overlap and relate to second-generation migrants. Consequent to that, the chapter discusses empirical literature on second-generation migrants. This literature, which predominantly emanates from the Global North, focuses on second-generation migrants' social, political, and economic experiences in

the receiving countries. The final section of the chapter looks at the experiences of second-generation migrants in the South African context.

Chapter Three reviews available literature on the ethical commitments, roles and responsibilities of social work in the field of migration. The chapter first explores the ethical obligations of social work towards migrants in general and second-generation migrants in particular. Thereafter, the chapter explores empirical literature from the Global North on the practical roles and responsibilities of social work in relation to second-generation migrants, refugee children, and unaccompanied minors. The last section of the chapter explores the responsibilities and roles of social work regarding second-generation migrants living in South Africa. Lastly, the chapter explores the three ethical dilemmas arising from social workers' provision of services in a contested space like migration.

Chapter Four reviews the literature on anti-oppressive social work and explains how concepts such as oppression, misframing and coloniality fit within this tradition. Consequently, these concepts are discussed in detail, and reasons are provided as to why the three concepts were chosen, individually and in conjunction, as part of the theoretical framework underpinning the study.

Chapter Five outlines the study's research methodology and how it was applied in the field during the data collection exercise. The chapter first discusses the qualitative interpretive paradigm and then outlines the case study research design chosen for this study. Thereafter, purposive convenience and snowball sampling methods are discussed along with semi-structured individual interviews, thematic content analysis, and trustworthiness. Under sampling, the chapter outlines the characteristics of 16 second-generation migrants and 10 key informants who were interviewed. The chapter discusses the pilot study that was conducted and further outlines the study's adherence to ethical principles during the execution of the study. The chapter concludes by presenting the study's strengths and limitations.

Chapter Six begins by presenting an overview of second-generation migrant participants' and key informants' profiles. Following that, a summary of the themes and accompanying sub-themes is provided. Thereafter, findings from all semi-structured individual interviews are presented and discussed as themes and sub-themes.

Chapter Seven is the concluding chapter and presents key findings and conclusions drawn from the findings presented in Chapter Six. Thereafter, the chapter outlines how the four

research objectives guiding the study were met. In this chapter, the researcher also reflects on the process of conducting this study. Lastly, recommendations are made as derived from the study, including for anti-oppressive social work theory and practice, policy, and further research.

CHAPTER TWO: SECOND-GENERATION MIGRANTS

2.1. Introduction

Various theories and frameworks have been used to foster an understanding of the process of incorporating and settling migrants and their children into the social, political and economic fabric of the receiving countries (Valtonen, 2008:59). Thus, different geopolitical and contextual migration conditions have brought about a variety of theories (Valtonen, 2008:59). The theories that have been developed to explain the incorporation and settlement of migrants and their children into the receiving countries originate from a variety of fields, including Psychology; Sociology; Anthropology; Cultural Studies; and Social Work (Valtonen, 2008:59). These theories are far from being static, as they are constantly evolving with and in response to the changing social, political, and economic migration environment (Valtonen, 2008:59). Thus, drawing on the theories of assimilation, integration, and acculturation, this chapter contextualises the study within the available literature on second-generation migrants from Europe, Asia, Australia and United States of America (USA) and different migrant statuses. Literature from Europe, Asia and USA was chosen because Zimbabweans migrate to these destinations.

This chapter is divided into three sections. *Section 2.2* defines and discusses the concepts of assimilation, integration, and acculturation, outlining how these are interconnected and explicating how they relate to the experiences of second-generation migrants. *Section 2.3* reviews the empirical literature on second-generation migrants, focusing on the embodiment of their experiences, the intergenerational impact, and their assimilation, integration, and acculturation along the social, political, and economic dimensions of their lives. The final part of the literature review, *Section 2.4*, focuses on the literature on second-generation migrants in the South African context. Considering that the majority of the literature comes from Australia, North America, and Europe, this chapter concludes that there is a relative gap in the literature that articulates the experiences of assimilating, integrating, and acculturating second-generation migrants in the Global South. Thus, there is a need to conduct further research on this topic in the contexts of the Global South and propose alternative ways of understanding the experiences of second-generation migrants through concepts such as anti-oppression, social justice, and decolonisation.

2.2. Assimilating, integrating, and acculturating second-generation migrants

The past and present experiences of second-generation migrants from various geopolitical contexts have been dominated by expectations to assimilate; there has also been some expectations for them to integrate and acculturate into their receiving countries (see Crul & Schneider; 2013:1; Gonzales & Lee, 2013:1; Renzaho, Dhingra & Georgeou, 2017:1; Sandberg, 2018:477; Zhou & Lee, 2007:189). This section defines and discusses the concepts of assimilation, integration, and acculturation. The researcher starts by discussing classical and segmented assimilation theories. Thereafter, the concepts of integration and acculturation are explored. It will become apparent that not only have conceptual inadequacies of the idea of assimilation brought about that of integration, but the discussion also shows that both draw on the concept of acculturation. Therefore, the three concepts have a symbiotic relationship, as they are intertwined and interlinked.

2. 2.1. Assimilation

Assimilation was the first concept used to conceptualise the settlement and incorporation of second-generation migrants into their host countries. The concept was introduced during the early 1900s in the USA as what is now known as classical assimilation theory (Gordon, 1964:69; Gonzales & Lee, 2013:2). For example, Park and Burgess (1921:735) defined assimilation as:

...a process of interpretation and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons or groups, and, by sharing their experiences and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life.

The International Organisation of Migration (IOM, 2019:10) provides a recent definition of assimilation as:

A one directional approach whereby an ethnic or social group - usually minority - adopts the cultural practises of another - usually that of the majority culture or ethnic group.

Thus, according to Gonzales and Lee (2013:1), assimilation:

Involves the subsuming of language, traditions, norms, values, mores and behaviour normally leading the assimilating party to become less socially distinguishable from other members of the receiving society.

The classical and current definitions of assimilation imply that regardless of their ‘racial’, national, and cultural origin, a properly assimilated individual is expected to embrace and emulate the dominant persons’ culture and social conditions.

Portes and Zhou (1993:75) provide another view of assimilation, stating that the assimilation process entails second-generation migrants negotiating their identity, sense of belonging and culture between that of the receiving country and their countries of origin and the migrant community. This view relates to the theory they developed, which will be discussed further in Section 2.2.1.2. Schneider (2016:3) links second-generation migrants to all the definitions of assimilation, noting that compared to the first-generation migrants who often retain strong cultural and family ties that they have with the home country and who, at some point in their lives, may desire to go back to their home country, second-generation migrants face a stronger expectation to assimilate because they are born and raised in the migrant-receiving country. As already indicated in Section 2.1, theories explaining the incorporation and settlement of the children of migrants are evolving, and in the context of assimilation, they have moved from classical to segmented theories and, recently, they have shifted to neo-assimilation theories. Although neo-assimilation theories are the most recent ones, the researcher focuses on classical and segmented assimilation theories because they are particularly relevant to this study.

2. 2.1.1 Classical assimilation theory

Most early studies used the classical assimilation theory to unpack the incorporation and settlement of second-generation migrants into their receiving countries (see Borrie, 1959; Gordon, 1964). Classical assimilation theory originated in the USA during the early 1900s in the field of sociology, and can be found, for example, in the works of Borrie (1959), Gordon (1964), Park and Burgess (1921) and Park (1914) who provided accounts of the theory that was developed earlier. Gordon (1964:69) constructed a classical, hypothetical and “ideal type” of assimilation of migrants into a migrant-receiving country. In this ideal hypothetical case, the receiving country was assumed to have a population that was of a similar “race”, religion, national origin, and culture, although the social statuses were different. The country then received migrants from another country (Gordon, 1964:69). These first-generation migrants then gave birth to children in this receiving country, and these children effectively became second-generation migrants (Gordon, 1964:69). The second-generation migrants were expected to adopt the receiving country’s dominant religion, culture, values and mores, consequently distancing themselves from groups affiliated to their country of origin and even

going a step further to disassociate from it (Gordon, 1964:69). The citizens of the host country openly embraced the second-generation migrants through “intermarriage” and “interbreeding”, and the latter would also be accepted “into their social cliques, clubs and institutions”; this happened without any form of “prejudice and discrimination” (Gordon, 1964:69). As a result, it was assumed that this group of second-generation migrants would be “no longer distinguishable culturally or structurally” from the receiving country’s citizens, thus there would be harmony within communities because the possibility of “conflict” would have been eliminated (Gordon, 1964:69).

Gordon noted a number of characteristics of assimilation in 1964 that could be conceptualised from this ideal case: a) migrants and their children change their cultural identity; b) migrants and their children replace their cultural identity with that of the receiving country; c) this is facilitated by the fact that they are allowed to freely “intermarry” and “interbreed”; d) for these reasons, they develop the receiving country’s personhood and identity; e) the receiving country is not prejudicial to the migrants; f) therefore, the migrants do not experience any form of discrimination; and g) because of their full incorporation into social groups and institutions, children of migrants do not challenge the receiving country’s identity and power dynamics. Drawing on Gordon’s (1964:69-70) work, it appears that from the perspective of classical assimilation theory, incorporating second-generation migrants was ideally supposed to be a total and exclusive, in order for them to fully identify with the receiving country (Crul & Schneider, 2013:1; Gonzales & Lee, 2013:2). It is thus worth noting that in this ideal case, assimilating second-generation migrants was viewed as a “universal”, “unidirectional” and “linear” process occurring in an environment that was assumed to be non-racial and non-discriminatory and, accordingly, expected to result in the “attainment of a self-image of an unhyphenated American” (Gonzales & Lee, 2013:2; see also Borrie, 1959:89). Indeed, in 1959 already Borrie pointed out that classical assimilation was about visibility, that is: Can the migrant identity be recognised in the receiving society? If not, then migrants and their children could be said to have achieved total assimilation into the culture and identity of the (USA). However, it will be argued below that such complete assimilation was never achieved.

There is one further important point to be considered from the ideal case, which is the notion that assimilation occurred in three domains (Gordon, 1964:70). Firstly, it occurred *structurally*, relating to the ability to “enter” and be part of the social groups and institutions in the receiving country (Gordon, 1964:70). Secondly, there was *identificational* assimilation, which means

that second-generation migrants' "personhood" and identity replicated that of the receiving country's culture (Gordon, 1964:70). Thirdly, though not directly highlighted like the two other domains, this remained largely implicit that assimilation happened *biologically*, as it resulted from "intermarrying" and "interbreeding" (Gordon, 1964:69). The three categories of assimilation are still essential today, with reference to Gordon (1964:69-70) and, according to Gonzales and Lee (2013:2), the biological and cultural forms of assimilation happen relatively easily when second-generation migrants structurally assimilate into the receiving country. The final point to be considered under classical assimilation theory is that in the USA, all migrants and their children were assumed to be assimilated into structures and an identity consisting of "the middle-class cultural pattern, of largely white Protestant, Anglo-Saxon origins" (Gordon, 1964:72). However, that did not imply that there were no other ethnic groups that were part of the American society, although during that time, this identity dominated (Gordon, 1964:72). The mere fact that at that time in the American society there were other groups and cultures whose influence has to be taken into consideration means that a conclusion can thus be reached that from its inception assimilation did not occur as ideally prescribed or outlined.

Furthermore, although some of the early studies were framed within classical assimilation theory, authors from different contexts criticise the theory for its failure to fit in with changing trends in global migration (see Crul & Schneider, 2013:1; Entzinger & Biezeveld, 2003:7; Gordon, 1964; Gonzales & Lee, 2013:2; Portes & Zhou, 1993:75). Valtonen (2008:66) highlights that after the Second-World War, the USA witnessed a change in world migration trends, that is, instead of coming only from Europe, migrants came from a much wider range of geopolitical contexts and more diverse cultural backgrounds, including Asia, the Caribbean and Latin America, which meant that second-generation migrants were of different 'races', religions, cultural backgrounds, classes and migrant statuses (Gonzales & Lee, 2013:2). Also, it emerged that in the USA, instead of settling in the South and West like earlier "waves" of European migrants, these new groups of migrants preferred to live in cities like Los Angeles, New York, Chicago and Miami (Gonzales & Lee, 2013:2). Additionally, compared to earlier groups of first-generation and second-generation migrants, this wave of migrants was found to hold onto the social, cultural and political identity of their home countries (Valtonen, 2008:66). This means that assimilation was not going to happen as expected in the ideal, classical sense (Entzinger & Biezeveld, 2003:7; Valtonen, 2008:66; Gonzales & Lee, 2013:2). Therefore, classical assimilation theory was found to be increasingly limited in the incorporation of this group of second-generation migrants.

This then presented the USA with what Portes and Zhou (1993:74) referred to as the then “new second-generation migrants”. Portes and Zhou (1993:81) point out that with these groups, “adopting the outlooks and cultural ways of the native-born does not represent, as in the past, the first step toward social mobility but may lead to the exact opposite”. In other words, the assimilation of migrants into the receiving country does not always have positive outcomes (Gonzales & Lee, 2013:3; Portes & Zhou, 1993:82; Walia, 2021:21). In fact, Gonzales and Lee (2013:3) and Portes and Zhou (1993:82) argue that second-generation migrants benefit from not fully assimilating into receiving countries because in their migrant communities they can tap into resources such as “social capital”, which can facilitate their upward social and economic mobility. Additionally, many authors have expressed concern over the often-held rigid expectations that second-generation migrants should assimilate into the dominant socio-cultural conditions (Crul & Schneider, 2013:3; Gonzales & Lee, 2013:2; Simonsen, 2017:119; Zhou & Lee, 2007:193). Anti-oppressive theorists caution that expectations on individuals from marginal social groups to embrace the dominant culture can result in cultural imperialism, where there is a risk entailed as for people who “fail” to, for example, assimilate, as they are labelled as deviants (Young, 1990:59). This can, in turn, justify exclusionary practices being maintained against those people in the socio-cultural margins (Young, 1990:59; see also Mullaly, 2010). Therefore, based on these criticisms, classical assimilation theory can be said to have been inadequate in explaining the incorporation of new second-generation migrants.

2.2.1.2. Segmented assimilation

Responding to the criticisms and inadequacies of classical assimilation theory, in the 1990s Portes and Zhou (1993:82) developed the segmented assimilation theory to better explain the complex settlement and incorporation of “new second-generation migrants” into the USA. Through the segmented assimilation theory, Portes and Zhou (1993:82) argue that instead of following a straight line leading one directionally to an ideal-type American, the assimilation of second-generation migrants can take different directions, with young people assimilating into different segments of the receiving country. According to Portes and Zhou (1993:82), in the USA segmented assimilation followed three directions, thus:

One of them replicates the time-honoured portrayal of growing acculturation and parallel integration, into the white middle-class; a second leads straight in the opposite direction to permanent poverty and assimilation into the underclass; and still a third associates rapid economic advancement with deliberate preservation of the immigrant community’s values and tight solidarity.

Commenting on the above, Crul and Schneider (2013:2) view the third segment, which is assimilating into the migrant community as positive and commend Portes and Zhou (1993:89) for using the example of Punjabi Indian second-generation migrants who attained upward economic mobility despite the prevalence of a prejudicial white middle-class, while at the same time managing to maintain their migrant community's identity, beliefs, and values (Crul & Schneider, 2013:2). Still, Crul and Schneider (2013:1) criticise the segmented assimilation theory, firstly, for making "gloomy predictions", in stating that assimilating into marginalised groups would automatically lead to downward economic and social mobility. The authors argue that groups like second-generation Mexicans in the USA who assimilated into marginalised communities still attain upward economic mobility (Crul & Schneider, 2013:1). The second criticism relates to the theory's inability to explain how members of a single migrant group can attain both downward and upward economic mobility (Crul & Schneider, 2013:2). Lastly, Crul and Schneider (2013:2) note that assimilation is American, because in the USA the focus has always been on assimilating into the "mainstream", and this is born out of a "historical" need "to create common denominators for immigrant cultures" in a country that has been home mostly to migrants and their descendants. Accordingly, Crul and Schneider (2013:2) critique segmented assimilation theory for failing to acknowledge the role of the national context in the assimilation process, contending that the theory exclusively explains the USA, thus rendering it limited in other contexts.

Indeed, Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013a:x), a decolonial theorist from Southern Africa, cautions that people in the Global South should not fall into a trap of universalising contexts and theories. Applying the segmented assimilation to this study, the question that arises is: Which segments do Zimbabwean regular and irregular second-generation migrants in South Africa assimilate to? The researcher observed that in South Africa, instead of the segments outlined by Portes and Zhou (1993:82), second-generation migrants assimilate into three groups, which are; i) citizens ii) regular migrants and iii) irregular migrants (see DHA, 2017: 64; Hlatshwayo & Vally, 2014:270). Considering the background of the study (see Section 1.1), that is, in South Africa, most irregular migrant communities live in fear of detection by law enforcement and migration officials; they are mostly eliminated to hidden societal margins where they are not recognised and have limited access to resources and deprived of a political voice. They also constantly worry about their safety should they choose to speak about their existence, and what it means to exist. By having a group or segment of irregular migrants, this then presents an extreme case of segmented assimilation theory, showing how unjust it is for society to even

have such a segment. It can thus be concluded that segmented assimilation theory, just like classical assimilation theory, can be applied with caution in other contexts. However, whether it is classical assimilation theory or segmented assimilation theory, the underlying concern is that the idea of children of migrants being assimilated can prove to be unjust. This research paper argues against the injustice that embedded in having such a segment in society.

2.2.2. Integration

This section reviews literature related to the concept of integration. It is reported in the literature that in migration, integration emerged due to two reasons. Firstly, the concept emerged mainly from the limitations of assimilation in conceptualising and helping to address the needs of migrants and their children in receiving countries in the Global North, including, but not limited to, the USA, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand (Borrie, 1959:92; Valtonen, 2008:66). As discussed in the preceding section, migration trends began to change in the 1950s, leading to the realisation that migrants held onto their cultural and social practices, while also trying to navigate those of the receiving country (Borrie, 1959:92; see also Valtonen, 2008:60). Therefore, instead of holding onto the idea of assimilation, it was considered more appropriate to conceive of the relationship between migrants, their children and receiving societies as the process of integration. Secondly, regardless of all the shortcomings of assimilation, a closer look at the literature on second-generation migrants reveals that, compared to other contexts, the USA held onto the concept of assimilation, as can be seen in a study conducted and the theory propounded by Portes and Zhou (1993). In the European context, the debate around how to engage with the topic on the settlement and incorporation of second-generation migrants in receiving countries took a different trajectory, as the concept of integration began to replace assimilation (Crul & Schneider, 2014:2; see also Valtonen, 2008:62). Therefore, the term ‘integration’ emerged as an alternative to assimilation in the USA and other contexts, thus, addressing the shortcomings of assimilation.

Borrie (1959:93) differentiates concepts of assimilation and integration, thus providing an early definition of integration, by stating that:

The fact of the matter is that the United States has not assimilated the newcomer or absorbed him [sic.]. Our immigrant stock and our so called “native” have integrated with each other. That is to say each element has been changed by association with the other, without loss of its own cultural identity, and with change in the resultant cultural amalgam, or civilization if you will, that is vital, vigorous, and an advance beyond its previous level. Without becoming metaphysical let us say the whole is better than the

sum of its parts, while affected by interaction with each other, nevertheless remain complementary but individual.

Presently, the IOM (2019:106) defines integration as:

The two-way process of mutual adaptation between migrants and the societies in which they live, whereby migrants are incorporated into the social, economic, cultural and political life of the receiving country. It entails joint responsibilities for migrants and communities, and incorporates other related notions such as inclusion and social cohesion.

These two definitions highlight the need for migrants and the receiving community to work together when integrating for the whole society to function. In the words of Westin, Behatoui, Larrucea and Osman (2015:16), integration requires societal elements, such as the receiving society's native members and migrant groups, institutions, and organisations, to work together for the whole society to function, thus allowing for the "participation" of people in all the sectors of society. Moreover, during the integration process, the receiving society's members and migrants culturally influence each other.

The concept of integration has its theoretical foundations in sociology (Borrie, 1959; Entzinger & Biezeveld, 2003:6; Perkmann, 1998:491; Westin et al., 2015:15), originating from the works of sociologists like Emile Durkheim and Talcott Parsons (De Waal, 2019:46). Sociologically, integration is linked to the concept of social cohesion (De Waal, 2019:46; Entzinger & Biezeveld, 2003:6; Westin et al., 2015:16). Entzinger and Biezeveld (2003:6) add that, "in recent years, the term *social cohesion* has been widely used as an equivalent for integration as a characteristic of society". Therefore, when linked to social cohesion, "integration is said to prevail when parts are in accord with the whole" (Westin et al., 2015:16). In other words, all societal elements, whether they are groups, subgroups or individuals, are responsible for making the whole to function (De Waal, 2019:46; Westin et al., 2019:46). In this process of making *the whole society function*, the state is the main role player at "the center of coordination" of integration (De Waal, 2019:46). The concept of integration does not favour any form of "segregation", be it at the group, subgroup or individual level; at the same time, these elements should not be viewed as being stand-alone entities of society (De Waal, 2019:46-47). Apparently, integration indeed "proves to be very useful" in helping to conceptualise the way social cohesion in migrant-receiving societies might be achieved (Valtonen, 2008:62). As an ideal concept, therefore, integration appears to be an important alternative to the classical assimilation and segmented assimilation theories (see also Nunn, Gifford, McMichael & Correa-Velez, 2017:47).

Although integration ideally conceptualises the functioning of a cohesive society, in relation to its subsystems, Entzinger and Biezeveld (2003:8) denote that the concept should not be seen as only one-dimensional. Entzinger and Biezeveld (2003:6) argue that literature attests to the different dimensions and understandings of integration. For instance, Westin et al. (2015:16) perceive integration in the traditional sense, that is, in the context of a cohesive society. Additionally, the authors conceive that “the concept of integration also has a supranational usage, as when the EU discusses integration in the sense of both cohesion and *harmonisation* of laws, regulations and practices” (Westin et al., 2015:16). In line with Westin et al.’s (2015:16) supranational view of integration, Karim and Wilkes (2022:1729) mention the three “national models of integration”, and these also relate to law and policy-making. Furthermore, Karim and Wilkes (2022:1729) point out that there is a link between nationalism and a country’s policies, specifically integration policies.

Nationalism is defined by Karim and Wilkes (2022:1730) as “narratives that shape people’s worldviews about citizenship and identity – the conceptions of ‘nationalism’ – are believed to be linked to immigration, citizenship, and integration policies”. In this context, nationalism influences a country’s type of integration model and policies (Karim & Wilkes, 2022:1729). Karim and Wilkes (2022:1729) outline what they term ‘the three integration models’, namely, the ethnic model, civic model and multicultural model. The authors add that there is “... a direct causal link between ethnic nationalism and restrictive immigration policy (ethnic model), civic nationalism with immigration policies which focus on citizenship rights and duties (civic model), and multicultural nationalism and multicultural liberal immigrational policy (multicultural model)” (Karim & Wilkes, 2022:1729).

However, Karim and Wilkes (2022:1730) note that starting from the 1990s, there has been a departure from the integration models, which seem not to match with the integration policies. There are examples of these changes. For example, Germany, despite using the ethnic model of citizenship, has been able to grant citizenship to second-generation migrants born in the country (Karim & Wilkes, 2022:1730). Meanwhile, Denmark, a country known for applying the civic model, has limited pathways for the documentation of refugees, thus preventing “refugees from becoming immigrants who would be eligible for long-term residency and citizenship rights” (Karim & Wilkes, 2022:1730). Another example, Canada, a country known for applying the multiculturalism model, “introduced a bill to implement restrictive citizenship policies, ones associated with ethnic nationalism” (Karim & Wilkes, 2022:1730). The most

significant takeaway point is that the most notable dimension of integration is its being supranational, that is, the concept forms part of the existing migration models and policies, and thus can be interpreted in different ways.

For these reasons, it is unsurprising to note that a review of available literature reveals that the concept of integration forms part of migration policies worldwide, and a clear illustration of these policies is evident in European Union (EU) countries like the Netherlands, Denmark, France, and Italy (De Waal, 2019:37; see also Westin et al., 2015:16). Integration policies, as applied in these countries, stipulate that migrants from non-EU and non-Western backgrounds have to meet what De Waal (2019:37) refers to as “integration requirements”, and these include language tests, integration courses, citizenship tests and oaths. Similarly, in Australia, integration policies seem to have remained a ‘one-way street’ where migrants and their children have to adapt to the context, and the receiving society is expected not to change at all (Castles, 2011:5; Nunn et al., 2017:47). These present interpretations of integration imply that there seems to be a “yearning to return to homogenous identities” (Castles, 2011:25). Arguably, homogeneity did not exist, to begin with, because societies throughout history have been diverse (Castles, 2011:26). In fact, these interpretations of integration represent the concept’s departure from being a collective societal responsibility to being an individual migrant’s responsibility to fit in (De Waal, 2019:50-55). Therefore, it can be argued that there is “a crisis in integration” (Castles, 2011:25), and 12 years going forward, the crisis would have deepened. Overall, at face value, the idea of integration appears to be an ideal alternative to that of assimilation, yet, in practice, integration is similar to assimilation, as it appears that many receiving societies seem to still regard it as the migrant’s sole responsibility to fit into the receiving society.

Accordingly, Castles (2011:26) contends that a return to a politics of assimilation is not viable because in today’s globalised world, humans are constantly migrating, and resultantly, people have no choice but to find ways of existing in diverse societies. In spite of all the criticisms levelled against the concept of integration and its apparent similarity to assimilation in terms of practice, in South Africa, the Department of Home Affairs (DHA, 2017:64), in its current White Paper for International Migration South Africa, 2016 has made integration part of its migration policy, noting that only documented migrants, refugees and citizens are to be integrated. This seems to imply that, in this context, groups like irregular migrant children are relegated to the peripheries of society where they are not even considered part of integration

policies. Notwithstanding the above notions, the researcher argues that if applied according to its original theoretical definitions and meanings, where all are considered parts of society and have an equal role to play in making the whole function, integration can still be a useful way of conceptualising the incorporation of second-generation migrants into South Africa and beyond.

2.2.3. Acculturation

This section presents a review of literature on the concept of acculturation. Both assimilation and integration draw on the concept of acculturation (Gordon, 1964:61; Renzaho et al., 2017:2; Valtonen, 2008:61). Within the three concepts, Gordon (1964:61) points out that historically, there has been a great deal of confusion in the literature regarding concepts of acculturation and assimilation, as in the 1960s, acculturation and assimilation were used interchangeably. Gordon (1964:61) explains that this situation arose because sociologists tended to favour the term ‘assimilation’, meanwhile, anthropologists preferred acculturation. Some sociologists argued that assimilation was an extreme case of acculturation (Gordon, 1964:65). In cross-cultural psychology, too, acculturation has also been perceived to be similar to assimilation, though this has not come without criticism (Berry, 1997:7).

Gordon (1964:61) contends that “rather than being [viewed as] identical” the concepts “have overlapped”. Gordon (1964:70) successfully establishes how the concepts overlap by stating that the receiving country’s “culture” is one of the three societal domains into which migrants should assimilate. Similarly, Redfield, Linton and Herskovits (1936:149) note that acculturation is another part of assimilation. Arguably, a similar overlap seemingly exists between the concepts of acculturation and integration, as acculturation forms one part of the integration of migrants. The main difference here is that when integrating, migrants and citizens of the receiving country are understood to culturally influence each other as they engage in a cultural exchange (Borrie, 1959:93). Overall, acculturation occurs within both assimilation and integration processes. The main difference is that while integration and assimilation also address other structural elements of society, acculturation deals specifically with matters pertaining to culture.

Redfield et al. (1936:149) provide an early definition of acculturation, stating that:

Acculturation 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.

Gordon (1964:62) has also defined acculturation as the “meeting of peoples” from different cultures, noting that in this meeting, changes are likely to happen to the cultures of all the groups involved. Valtonen (2008:60) adds that acculturating into the culture of a new environment or receiving environment does not mean forsaking one’s original culture, because by retaining one’s original culture, the acculturating individual carries with them a sense of “continuity” within the present culture. Berry (1997:7) points out that Redfield et al.’s (1936:149) and, arguably, Gordon’s (1964:62) definitions present acculturation as a “neutral term”, where changes on two or more cultures can equally happen. Berry (1997:7) contends that when two or more cultures meet, there is seldom an equal exchange, but instead, people from one culture acculturate into another culture (see Valtonen, 2008:60). This concurs with another view provided by Valtonen (2008:60) who stated that acculturation is a “pivotal process which refers to the newcomers’ adaptation” to the dominant cultures of the receiving society. The end results of this type of acculturation is taking up this environment’s behaviours, norms, values, practices and symbols (Valtonen, 2008:60). Social psychologists, Berry, Phinney, Sam and Vedder (2006:305) provide another view of acculturation, highlighting that it is “the process of cultural and psychological change that follows [taking into account the] intercultural context”. Within this view, acculturation is reflective of a psychological process. Overall, the different definitions and meanings provided in this section foster an understanding of the different experiences of the acculturation of second-generation migrants.

Berry (1997:9) poses an important question: “How do people acculturate?” This important question also applies to second-generation migrants. Berry (1997:9) identified the four strategies that migrants can use to acculturate, which are assimilation, separation, integration, and marginalisation. In the first strategy, which is assimilation, migrants distance themselves from their own culture, preferring another culture or other cultures to theirs (Berry, 1997:9). In the separation strategy, the acculturating individual maintains their own culture and has no desire to interact with other cultures (Berry, 1997:9). With regard to the integration strategy, the acculturating individual holds onto their culture, simultaneously being open to interaction with other cultures (Berry, 1997:9). Lastly, those people who choose the marginalisation strategy distance themselves from their culture, simultaneously remaining unwilling to interact with other cultures (Berry, 1997:9).

Berry (1997:10) notes the underlying assumption that individual migrants have the freewill to choose any acculturation strategy, although this is rarely the case. Instead, there are factors linked to power dynamics occurring between what Berry (1997:10) refers to as dominant and non-dominant groups, which influence their choice of acculturation strategies. For example, in contexts where there is an element of segregation, separation will be the chosen acculturating strategy; meanwhile, regarding the assimilation strategy, there is normally an element of coercion from dominant groups; and in the marginalisation strategy, there is a combination of coercion and segregation (Berry, 1997:10). Finally, unlike the other three acculturation strategies, the integration strategy involves society's dominant cultures not only allowing for a space for individuals to choose a strategy, but also for cultural diversity to take place (Berry, 1997:10). The concept of acculturation is linked to second-generation migrant experiences, as demonstrated in the two sections below.

Precisely, there are two main points that stem from this discussion of acculturation. Firstly, there are dominant and non-dominant cultural groups. In migration, the non-dominant cultural groups, which consist of migrants, are likely to acculturate into the citizens' dominant cultures. Secondly, as has been argued under assimilation and integration, and as highlighted below, the non-dominant groups of second-generation irregular migrants, due to the precarious nature of their status, are most likely to choose the assimilation strategy, perhaps because they would not want to be identified as migrants in South Africa. In anti-oppressive terms, selecting assimilation as an acculturation strategy can lead to "cultural imperialism" (see Young, 1990:58). The assimilation strategy can prove to be problematic because the lives and experiences of second-generation migrants would be interpreted only through the lenses of the dominant culture. Consequently, their non-dominant cultures will effectively be othered and, as a result, rendered invisible (Young, 1990:59). The problematic nature of cultural imperialism as one of the faces of oppression is explored further under Section 4.2. The concepts of assimilation, integration and acculturation are discussed in relation to second-generation migrants further in the next section.

2.3. Empirical literature on second-generation migrants

There are numerous recent studies that have investigated the assimilation, integration, and acculturation of second-generation migrants. These studies acknowledged that second-generation migrants require some degree of integration for them to exist in their receiving countries. This section thus presents a review of empirical literature on second-generation

migrants' experiences of assimilation, integration, and acculturation in various geo-political contexts. This section initially focuses on literature from Europe, then followed by Australia, thereafter America and, finally, Asia. The section concludes that the experiences of second-generation migrants are similar throughout the different contexts.

Sandberg (2018:477) reviewed a study conducted on the successful integration of adolescent second-generation migrants in Spain. Sandberg (2018:479), draws on segmented and neo-assimilation theories to explain why successful integration into the school and community environment is possible, noting that in Spain second-generation migrants are “allowed” to assimilate into different segments of society. Sandberg (2018:479) further contends that because most migrants originate from Spanish-speaking South and Central American countries, their children's integration into Spanish society is comparatively easy, requiring little more than a “laissez-faire” approach. Additionally, migration governance in Spain is decentralised, as the national government places the responsibility to create policies that regulate the integration of second-generation migrants on individual cities, further facilitating the “laissez-faire” approach. Going back to the classical assimilation theory discussed in Section 2. 2. 1. 1, it is worth noting that this Spanish example presents an ideal case of how an unrestrictive environment and similar identities facilitate the assimilation and integration of second-generation migrants into the receiving country. Nonetheless, Sandberg (2018:481) warns that this may as well change with the unfolding years because integration may not hinge only on this type of similarity in identities, especially in a global context where attitudes and discourses around migration are constantly evolving, thus insinuating that subsequent second-generation migrants might well be pushed to the margins of society.

Compared to Spain, young adult second-generation migrants of Middle Eastern origins have been found to struggle to integrate into Danish society (Simsonen, 2018:118). Simsonen (2018:125) reveals that they have instead found ways of existing in a mostly exclusionary Danish society by adopting two degrees of belonging, which are; “reservations against identifying as Danish” and “feeling Danish”. The first group, though born and raised in the country, and are able to speak the language, have “reservations against identifying as Danish”, feeling that because of their ‘race’ and religion, they are not fully considered part of the society (Simsonen, 2018:12). For the second group, who “felt Danish”, the identity “...is about having been born and raised in Denmark, about knowing Danish ‘inside out’, about speaking and ‘thinking in Danish’ and, about seeing one’s future in Denmark”. In this context, it may be

summed up that second-generation migrants find themselves in a position where they have to fall into either one of two opposing identities.

De Waal (2019:50) notes that in Denmark, migrants are often caught between two worlds; on the one end, they are considered not Danish if they do not integrate into the society and speak the language; on the other end, even if they speak the language, they are still seen as “not-not quiet real Dane”. As a result, whether having reservations about or feeling Danish, for both groups, there are boundaries drawn between second-generation migrants and ethnic Danes; hence, the second group constantly has to justify their belonging. Simsonen (2018:131) asserts that, “by motivating their Danishness in contrast to being Muslim and not looking Danish, the...interviewees reproduce the conception of a rigid and bright boundary, leaving very little...room to manoeuvre in order to be included among the insiders”. With reference to these boundaries, determinations are made on who truly *belongs* or *does not belong* (Simsonen, 2018:118). This suggests that a boundary demarcation linked to an ideal national identity should be considered an added element in understanding the integration of second-generation migrants into their receiving countries.

The perceived need for an ideal and exclusive national identity necessitates a return to classical assimilation theory because in Denmark, second-generation migrants seemingly must not only be able to integrate culturally and structurally, but also biologically. The biological or ‘racial’ integration of second-generation migrants is particularly problematic because in Europe and the rest of the Global North, migration policies and discourses are presently impacted by ‘racist’ right-wing nationalist discourses (Fekete, 2018:3; Walia, 2021:28). Arguably, the same applies to other contexts in the Global South. These discourses appear to imply that only migrants who resemble the country’s natives should be integrated. Walia (2021:25-26) posits that:

Even as explicitly racist prohibitions on people of certain races or national origins have been removed from most states’ immigration policies in an era of alleged “color blindness,” mobility continues to be restricted and contained along color, class, and caste lines ... Borders and notions of belonging they engender are not simply demarcated by towering walls experienced equally by all; they rely on and reproduce racism within the spaces they establish.

Linking the present ‘racial’ nationalist right-wing discourses around migration with the Danish context, it can be concluded that initially admirable concepts like integration have been changed to fit within the present negative global narratives. As a result, concepts such as

integration are losing their meaning, and further facilitating the marking of ‘racial’ boundaries for second-generation migrants who do not resemble natives. In the ensuing discussion, the spectre of biological assimilation appears in other contexts.

Boundaries that delineate who are *outsiders* and *insiders* exist between second-generation migrants and natives not only in Denmark but also in other European countries (Simsonen, 2018:118) and globally. These boundaries are a tool used to mark the bodies of children of migrants as *outsiders*, thus excluding them from their host communities (Simsonen, 2018:118). As highlighted by Simsonen (2018:118) above, “these boundaries translate into experiences of not belonging...”. Another European example is Germany, where second-generation migrant youths “...triggered a debate about the existence of a *Gesellschaft* of two million Turks living in a parallel world detached from the wider German society” (Crul & Schneider, 2013:1). Because the boundaries have already been demarcated and are viewed as not belonging, those on the other side of the boundary (citizens) link societal ills such as “gangs, teenage pregnancy and crime” to such groups of second-generation migrant youths. It can be concluded that the *outsider* or the *Other* is excluded and subjected to “stereotypes” (see Young, 1990:41). The second-generation migrant, as the *Other* who does not belong, is relegated to the societal margins and stereotypically marked as the “deviant outsider” bent on perpetuating societal ills. This point is further explored as the ensuing discussion unfolds.

Literature from Europe reported that the identity of second-generation migrants relates to that of the first-generation, meaning that the second-generation migrants’ experiences of integration are linked to the first-generation migrants. Borgna (2016:181) notes that the intergenerational impact of the migrants’ identity is connected to the context in which it occurs. Borgna (2016:181) contends that the contextual and institutional conditions determine the differences, for example, in educational attainment. Borgna’s (2016:182) review of literature in Europe reveals that in terms of educational attainment, “second-generation immigrants critically lag behind their native peers”. Regarding access to employment opportunities after school, Midbøten (2017:1658) states that in Norway, “the labour market disadvantages experienced by immigrants are transferred to their children”. Midbøten (2017:1658) alternatively reveals that here, second-generation migrants are a unique group that faces problems not experienced by other groups and concludes that whether regular or irregular, they continue to experience limited access to opportunities in their respective countries of residence, yet these exclusions were found to be less severe than for their parents’ generation.

There also exists a considerable body of empirical literature on second-generation migrants in Australia, where authors explore similar themes as those researched in Europe. One of them relates to boundary demarcation, resulting in *belonging* and *not belonging* of second-generation migrants. In line with this theme, O’Keeffe and Nipperess (2021:102) emphasise the importance of refugee youths *belonging to a place*, and ultimately to a *space*. O’Keeffe and Nipperess (2021:104) explain that belonging to a space has an emotional meaning; they have a feeling of home. In a place, there are those who have “the power” or the “... capacity to grant belonging (insiders)” and, also, there are those “people who are making a claim to belonging (outsiders)” (O’Keeffe & Nipperess, 2021:105). They go on to explain that a place and space are not void entities, but are socially constructed (O’Keeffe & Nipperess, 2021:101). Therefore, O’Keeffe and Nipperess (2021:100) state that “place belonging ... is affected by structural, societal, and political processes, particularly related to the construction of insiders and outsiders within a society, and within a space”. They further state that the identities of refugee youth are developed in relation to the “connection” they have to a place (O’Keeffe & Nipperess, 2021:102). Consequently, when those who hold power in a society intentionally or unintentionally historically (Sandberg, 2018:479), religiously, “racially” and linguistically mark the bodies of second-generation migrants (Simsonen, 2018:12) – when refugee youths are othered, controlled, disciplined, excluded, and policed within a space because they are deemed “illegitimate users”, not only is the development of a positive identity in relation to a space is undermined (O’Keeffe & Nipperess, 2021:102), but also their integration into the receiving country.

In Australia, youths of South Sudanese refugee origin who are constructed around discourses of ‘othering’ are vulnerable to falling into gang activities (Robinson, 2021:37). Some members of the Australian public ascribe criminal activities such as “violence, theft and disturbance” to these gangs (Robinson, 2021:45). As a result of the ‘supposed’ connection to criminal activities, they mark South Sudanese refugee youths as the “criminal and deviant Other” (Robinson, 2021:45), subjecting them to heavy-handed policing (Majavu, 2018:28). It must be noted that from the two texts, the themes of ‘racial’ othering, marking second-generation migrants as not belonging to a place and as perpetrators of societal ills identified in Europe, also appear in Australia. Therefore, in totality, the failure to connect to a place and space emanating from being viewed as not belonging can lead to the development of negative identities or other identities and is ultimately bound to further complicate integration processes within the society in which second-generation migrants live.

A review of Australian literature further reveals that issues relating to the migrant identity being passed on intergenerationally are part and parcel of the experiences of second-generation migrants. Similar to the European context, the exclusions that come with the migrant identity are usually passed on from the first-generation to the second-generation through the acculturation process. Renzaho et al. (2017:5) in a study conducted with migrant youths and migrant parents from different national backgrounds residing in Australia explored differences in acculturation between the first-generation and second-generation migrants. Renzaho et al. (2017:5) found that migrant youths acculturated to Australian society better than their parents. This acculturation was “facilitated” by their school attendance, where they were able to engage with their host country’s environment and culture through their peers (Renzaho et al., 2017:8). Thus, parents still had lasting ties to the country of origin.

When acculturating, migrant youths tended to favour the receiving country’s culture, which is said to be individualistic – compared to the cultures of their countries of origin which are said to be communal (Renzaho et al., 2017:3). Their cultural preference caused intergenerational conflicts between them and their parents because the parents felt that their culture and position was being undermined (Renzaho et al., 2017:10). The tensions were not only reported by the parents, but also within the children themselves (Renzaho et al., 2017:8). The children’s better acculturation did not only act as a source of tension but was also a resource used by parents to navigate the receiving environment (Renzaho et al., 2017:13-14). In this instance, it is worth noting that, as highlighted by Berry (1997:9), the acculturation process involves one culture being dominated by another culture. Be that as it may, Renzaho et al. (2017:13) note that though better acculturated because of the migrant identity, second-generation migrants, like their parents, still face some sort of discrimination such as ‘racism’ and anti-migrant sentiments in the school and community environments, as they are still viewed as the *Other*. Yet, it must be noted that their experience of acculturation is better compared to that of the first-generation.

The intergenerational inheritability of the migrants’ negative identities and statuses is even more apparent when it comes to irregular migrants. Walia (2021:101), who writes from an American context, highlights that with irregular migrants:

... the border is elastic, and the magical line can exist anywhere. Crossing the border does not end the struggle for undocumented people, because the border is mobile and can be enforced anywhere within the nation-state. Internal bordering differentiates those within the nation state who are citizens from those who are not.

Linked to internal bordering is the irregular migrant status and limited rights attached to it, which have been found to be passed on from the first generation to the next in the USA (Zhou & Lee, 2007:191). A recent example is when young children were separated from their irregular migrant parents and locked up in detention camps on the USA-Mexican border (Walia, 2021:41). This means that the exclusions that accompany the migrant identity are even more inescapable for irregular second-generation migrants.

Few geopolitical contexts illustrate this more clearly than the case of the Rohingya minority in Myanmar, among whom the irregular migrant status of the first generation has been inherited by consecutive generations, resulting in pervasive statelessness over time (Kyaw, 2017:269). Rohingyas became migrants after the Myanmar Government forfeited their citizenship, claiming that they were originally migrants (Kyaw, 2017:269). In 2012, there was a “clash” between Rakhine Buddhists and Rohingyas, and that resulted in at least 140 000 people being uprooted from their homes in the Rakhine State (Kyaw, 2017:269-270). Kyaw (2017:269) states that thus, from the 1970s until present day, the exclusions that come with an irregular migrant status have been carried on and exacerbated intergenerationally. The heritability of the migrant identity may vary according to the migrant’s context and status, in the case of irregular migrant children, it is connected to their status and has the most adverse effects.

In conclusion, assimilation, integration, and acculturation are used theoretically to explain the incorporation of second-generation migrants into the receiving country. Second-generation migrants’ experiences of assimilation, integration, and acculturation cut across different geopolitical contexts. The three terms evidently overlap in the context of the experiences of young people. Of particular interest to this study is that the concept of integration is used in policy frameworks to facilitate the stay of migrants in their receiving countries. Integration, which is an originally admirable concept, has been infiltrated by ‘racist’ discourses around migration and the demarcation of boundaries. For these reasons, the concept of integration has been changed and redefined to fit the discriminatory migration contexts. The researcher observes that in some instances, integration appears to replicate assimilation in practice, as instead of communities working together to integrate second-generation migrants, the latter are expected to fit into predefined conditions. It also seems that change is happening solely to migrants. As highlighted above, it is for all these reasons that Castles (2011:25) emphasises the existence of “a crisis in integration”. Still, the researcher maintains that, although not ideally implemented, all second-generation migrants require a measure of integration policies in order

to live in their receiving societies, with all actors playing an equal role in the integration process. Moving from the mostly Global North to the Global South, specifically South Africa, literature on the second-generation migrants' experiences of assimilation, integration and acculturation are explored further.

2.4. The experiences of second-generation migrants in South Africa

South African publications on this topic have so far focused on questions concerning the integration and acculturation of second-generation migrants into their receiving countries (Onukogu, 2018; Chiyangwa & Rugunanan, 2022), and parenting under migratory conditions and exclusions faced by child migrants (Crush & Tawodzera, 2011; Mpofu, 2018). Onukogu (2022:153) states that a few studies have directly focused on second-generation migrants in South Africa. Chiyangwa and Rugunanan (2022:170) add that second-generation migrants are a “neglected research area” in the field of migration, which implies limited knowledge on the topic in the country. Furthermore, Onukogu (2022:153) notes that research on second-generation migrants in the Global South draws mostly on the Global North’s “understanding” of and theories on the topic.

Noteworthy from this body of research is Onukogu’s (2018:viii) study involving eleven to fourteen-year-old descendants of Nigerian migrants in Johannesburg, both regular and irregular, which found that the concept of acculturation was not entirely relevant, particularly because they did not follow the traditional acculturation strategies of assimilation, separation, integration, or marginalisation (see Berry, 1997:9). That is, rather than identifying either as South African, Nigerian, both or neither, the participants who partook in this study tended to adopt a ‘global’ identity with reference to their Canadian and American role models (Onukogu, 2018:169). Nigerian second-generation migrants chose the “global identity” because they felt they fit neither into the South African nor Nigerian contexts (Onukogu, 2018:170). This suggests that there are additional dynamics and complexities around the concepts of assimilation, integration and acculturation that have not yet been captured internationally and these are worth exploring further, as will be the case in this study: Second-generation migrant experiences of assimilation, integration, and acculturation were explored in this study using concepts of oppression.

Moving away from the traditional use of assimilation, integration, and acculturation as the main framework fostering an understanding of the experiences of second-generation migrants,

Chiyangwa and Rugunanan (2022:169) conducted another study specifically on Mozambican second-generation migrant experiences in the Bushbuckridge District in the Mpumalanga Province, near the South African and Mozambican border. Chiyangwa and Rugunanan (2022:169) state that the majority of second-generation Mozambican migrants in this area were born in South Africa. Regardless of where they were born, Chiyangwa and Rugunanan (2022:169) report that second-generation migrants experienced xenophobia in their day-to-day lives. Chiyangwa and Rugunanan (2022:169) further state that they also faced “discrimination and exclusions” when accessing services, particularly educational services. Thus, like their counterparts in the Global North, as discussed in Section 2.3, and as a group of migrants, they were considered the ‘other,’ irrespective of their place of birth.

Although the reviewed literature reveals that there are limited studies on the topic in South Africa, some research studies have been conducted on parenting migrant children, accompanied and unaccompanied minors and migrant children (Crush & Tawodzera; Hlatshwayo & Vally, 2014; 2011; Mpofu, 2018; Opfermann, 2015). An earlier study conducted by Crush and Tawodzera (2011:2) in Johannesburg and Cape Town with mostly irregular Zimbabwean migrant parents, and another study by Mpofu (2018:83) with formerly irregular Zimbabwean migrant parents in Johannesburg and Durban, reveal that the participants struggle to access education, health, and social services for their children because of their irregular migrant status. Similar observations were made by Hlatshwayo and Vally (2014:267) and Opfermann (2015:233), who found that child migrants, both accompanied and unaccompanied, faced difficulties accessing schools due to their status in the country. Maistry (2019) also reported that 39 children, mostly of foreign nationals, whose ages ranged from six to seventeen years, were denied access to school because they were undocumented. In this particular case, the relevant High Court ruled that even though they had the right to basic education, irregular migrant children could not be allowed to attend school because they had broken the country’s migration laws through existing there irregularly (Gaum & Esterhuizen, 2019). By the time that case was successfully appealed (*Centre of Child Law & others v Minister of Basic Education & others*, 2019), some of the concerned children had been out of school for as long as five years.

Onukogu (2022:155) highlights that research studies conducted in South Africa also look at “structural discrimination” faced by the children of migrants, which manifests “in the form of arrest, detention, abuse, denial of school enrolment and proper documentation”. The issue of

the detention of the children of migrants was explored by Mpofu (2021:21) and Palmary (2019:7) who write about a case of Zimbabwean migrant children who were intercepted and detained by the police for entering South Africa irregularly. The children were held for three months at a location unknown to their parents and thereafter they were deported to Zimbabwe (Mpofu, 2021:2; Palmary, 2019:7). During the three-month period that the children were detained in South Africa, all parental responsibilities and rights were suspended and given to the state using laws, the courts, and arguably social workers (Mpofu, 2021:22). Mpofu (2021:30) argues that in this instance “... the South African state combined the provisions of children’s rights and migration laws to exclude parents from basic decision making in matters relating to their children, and to deny a voice, speaking instead on their behalf”. Due to a lack of proper documentation, and the state’s use of powerful institutions, the children were detained and denied rights such as parental care. In sum, the prevailing structural discrimination shows the pervasive nature of institutional oppression, that is, how law and the courts can be used in the everyday oppression of second-generation migrants.

Besides second-generation migrants’ negative experiences of the different forms of structural discrimination, especially relating to access to services like education, some authors report that in South Africa children of migrants experience xenophobia in their school and home environments (Crush & Tawodzera, 2011:16; Hlatshwayo & Vally, 2014:271; Mpofu, 2018:89; Onukogu, 2022:162). Hlatshwayo and Vally (2014:270) have stated that “xenophobia ... is another form of violence which is both physical and psychological. It tends to leave scars on families and children in particular”. One of the migrant children in Hlatshwayo and Vally’s (2014:271) study shared that they were called a “Grigamba” by another learner. A *grigamba* is “a derogatory term for a migrant” (Hlatshwayo & Vally, 2014:271). Onukogu (2022:162) reported on similar experiences, referring to them as bullying, noting that the second-generation migrants themselves categorised this bullying into physical and mental. Onukogu (2022:162) highlights that migrant children experienced mental bullying at school when their peers constantly brought up their Nigerian background in negative terms. Parents also directly witnessed such discrimination when they found their children excluded by their peers in the playground (Onukogu, 2018:xviii).

Thus, Onukogu (2022:162) notes that “...irrespective of where one is born or group, a second generation is always identified by the parent’s nationality. As such, acquiring a country’s citizenship may not stop their peers from treating them differently”. As a result of such

experiences, parents, especially mothers, tended to worry about their children (Hlatshwayo & Vally, 2014:270). The reviewed literature also reveals that it appears the reverse also applies, that is, children are also worried about their parents being victims of xenophobic violence; however, for them it did not end there, as they also observed how their parents responded to instances of xenophobia (Hlatshwayo & Vally, 2014; Mpofu, 2018:80). It can be concluded that it also seems that the migrant identity discussed in Section 3.3 is inescapable for second-generation migrants who also reside in the South African context. It can further be concluded that xenophobia is also a form of systematic violence, which according to Young (1990:61-62) and Mullaly (2010), affects the social and psychological functioning of the oppressed individual. This form of violence is inescapable, as the oppressed group lives in constant fear of it occurring.

In spite of the difficulties faced by migrant children when accessing schools and being excluded in their communities, migrant children and their families share accounts of resilience, hope, inclusivity, and solidarity. Hlatshwayo and Vally (2014:273) and Mpofu (2018:99) insist that the high levels of resilience shown by regular and irregular migrant children and their parents under adverse circumstances must be acknowledged. In their study, Hlatshwayo and Vally (2014:273) found that going to school was a source of hope and resilience for migrant children, noting that “despite general humiliation and adversity, migrants’ desire to continue with education remains paramount”. Similarly, Mpofu’s (2018:99) former irregular migrant parent participants, who had since regularised their stay in South Africa, shared the view that despite the prevailing lack of documentation and financial difficulties, they still succeeded by taking their children to school. Onukogu (2022:162) adds that second-generation migrant children also have positive experiences of school, stating that some “loved their school” and their teachers were inclusive and non-discriminatory. Beyond the school environment, Hlatshwayo and Vally (2014:723) reported on community solidarity that migrant families and migrant children received from ordinary South African community members, fellow migrants, and civil society organisations. In sum, even under difficult conditions, not all communities and schools were hostile towards migrant children, as they offered them solidarity and hope.

To conclude, this section requires returning to the assimilation, integration and acculturation concepts as discussed in this chapter. Although the experiences of second-generation migrants in the South African literature tend not to be discussed in relation to these three concepts, there are instances where they relate to them. Firstly, this context has a certain culture that second-

generation migrants can acculturate to; however, dominant groups guard their acculturation – this leads to marginalisation from the country they live in and their migrant culture. Secondly, society’s structural elements, such as laws which are discussed under integration, play a large part in the exclusion of second-generation migrants in South Africa. Finally, there is compelling evidence showing that in the South African context, irregular migrant children are indeed assimilated into the irregular migrant community. In this segment of society, it is evident that they are marginalised and excluded from accessing rights and making basic social justice claims. Such instances of social injustice are important to attend to because this study is framed within an anti-oppressive framework, therefore, the examples of social injustice will help in developing the theory, particularly theorising in relation to the field of migration.

2.5. Conclusion

This chapter defined and explored the concepts of assimilation, integration and acculturation in relation to the experiences of second-generation migrants. The three concepts are intertwined, as the concepts of assimilation and integration are linked because the latter evolved to address the shortcomings of the former, with acculturation forming part of both concepts. From the three concepts, integration appears to be the most ideal and alternative way of incorporating and settling second-generation migrants. In practice, however, it seems that the original meaning of integration has been lost, as the so-called ‘integration policies’ have been put in place to make migrants conform to the host countries’ socio-cultural conditions. The conformity requirements also appear in the empirical literature on second-generation migrants from all geopolitical contexts. A paradox arises even more for those second-generation migrants who conform to the host country’s socio-cultural conditions, yet they are still not fully integrated into the receiving country because of their ‘race’ and religion. One of the tough challenges for research in this field is that instead of moving towards a kind of integration where all are seen as responsible for creating a cohesive society, a step is being taken back, where it is again seen as the sole responsibility of the migrant to fall into the line and assimilate.

There are other important points raised in this chapter relating to the marking of borders of *belonging and not belonging*, not only on the bodies of children of migrants but also on the lands or places they exist and live in. This has led to some second-generation migrants forming identities that are parallel to those of the communities in which they live. These parallel identities, of course, undermine the integration process, which in this instance, is supposed to be an equal responsibility of receiving countries and second-generation migrants. Furthermore,

such identities are used as a tool to mark the bodies of the children of migrants as deviants, further perpetuating the boundaries. These boundaries are further extended to economic and political dimensions of the environment of second-generation migrants and are even more complex when it comes to the integration of irregular second-generation migrants.

Finally, the following gaps have been identified from this review of literature: i) there is limited literature relating to second-generation migrants in the Global South; ii) the existing studies do not take into account of the border being marked on the bodies of migrant children, the land on which they exist and determining their belonging and; iii) the border being used as a tool to perpetuate oppression in its different forms and social injustice, ultimately undermining the possibility of integration. The manner in which the integration of second-generation migrants is impacted by social work within different contexts is the subject forming the preoccupations of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3: SOCIAL WORK IN THE FIELD OF MIGRATION

3.1. Introduction

The question of assimilating, integrating and acculturating second-generation migrants into the receiving country, whether based on socio-cultural identity, legal status or any other economic or political factors is relevant to social work in the field of migration. This question is particularly relevant because social workers, as human service professionals, have first-hand experiences in dealing with second-generation migrants, as they are on the front line facilitating their assimilation, integration and acculturation into their receiving countries. Thus, practitioners working in the field of migration are aware of the social, political and economic challenges and opportunities experienced by second-generation migrants during these assimilation, integration and acculturation processes. The social workers themselves also experience some of these challenges and opportunities alongside their second-generation migrant service users. Additionally, social workers participate in the formulation of social policies that affect the migrants' lives. Therefore, due to the centrality of social work practitioners in the assimilation, integration and acculturation processes, this chapter reviews literature on social work's ethical commitments, roles and responsibilities in the field of migration.

This chapter is divided into three sections. *Section 4.2: Social work principles and ethical commitments*, looks at the obligations the profession has towards second-generation migrants. This section focuses on two interconnected principles of human rights and social justice. *Section 4.3: Social work's practical roles and responsibilities in migration*, describes the experiences and encounters of practitioners when delivering social services to migrants and refugees in the Global North. Finally, because this study is done in the South African context, *Section 4.4: Developmental social work and second-generation migrants*, discusses how this approach to social welfare has been used to provide services to second-generation migrants, as a result, taking a step in the direction of aiding their integration into receiving communities. In line with the developmental approach, which is based on human rights and social justice, social work responsibilities in this field of practice are linked to the Children's Act 38 of 2005 and the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 discussed in Chapter 1 (see Section 1.1).

In the three sections, it is revealed that the field of social work with migrants is a complex and contested area of practice. Consequently, it is marred with ethical dilemmas, ranging from *dual*

loyalty, the *paradox between care and control* and *competing demands for limited resources*. Drawing from the literature on ethical dilemmas in this field of study and on social work ethics, more generally, ethical dilemmas are defined and discussed at the end of each of the three sections. Following the discussions in the three sections, this chapter concludes that the concept of the border being used as a boundary that demarcates between those who *belong* and *do not belong* extends far beyond the communities that second-generation migrants live in, to daily social work service delivery. In this context, it is argued that social workers are pressured into taking up the role of the *border guard*. In addition, this chapter concludes that in a contested and complex area of practice like migration, where institutions such as the state are invested in using the practice of social work as a means of migration control, an anti-oppressive, social justice-oriented and decolonial approach to social work is required to aid the integration of second-generation migrants into their receiving communities.

3.2. Social work principles and ethical commitments

Before discussing empirical literature on social work practice with migrants in both the Global North and Global South contexts, the researcher notes that it is important to first discuss social work's ethical commitments to second-generation migrants. This is important because several existing studies conducted in the field of social work with migrants frame the profession's roles and responsibilities vis-a-vis its ethical principles (see Briskman & Doe, 2016:78; Browne, Glass & Holyoak, 2016:161; Evans et al., 2021:67; Field et al., 2020:3; Furman, Ackerman, Loya, Jones & Negi, 2012:170; Hermansson, Lundberg, Gruber, Jolly, Lind, Righard & Scott, 2022:679; Hölscher, 2016; Maylea & Hirsch, 2018:164; Mpofu, 2021:23; Popescu & Libal, 2018:v; Wroe, Larkin & Maglijlic, 2019:21). In this literature, the focus is more on the two principles of social justice and human rights. This section thus begins by defining social work ethics and principles. Thereafter, the section outlines the reasons social workers are called upon to adhere to the profession's principles when intervening in the lives of second-generation migrants. Subsequent to that, selected principles of social justice and human rights are discussed in relation to second-generation migrants. In the final part, the ethical dilemma of *dual loyalty* is explored.

In defining ethics in social work, Banks (2006:4) notes that the meaning of ethics can be derived from two viewpoints. Firstly, ethics refer to the "moral philosophy", which is a "... branch of philosophy concerned with the study of "morality, moral problems and moral judgements". It must be noted that 'ethics' as a study of moral philosophy is a singular term

(Banks, 2006:4). Secondly, ‘ethics’ can be viewed in the plural, and in this context, they refer to “... the norms and standards of behaviour people follow concerning what is regarded as good or bad, right or wrong” (Banks, 2006:5; see also McAuliffe, 2014:38; Pullen-Sansfaçon & Cowden, 2013:29). Here, ethics can be described using a variety of terms, including norms, standards, rules, principles, and character traits (Banks, 2006:5). These terms denote the disparate traditions of social work ethics, in this study, the researcher is foregrounding principle and virtue ethics. According to Banks (2006:5), ethics are viewed as “internally developed by the moral agent”, that is, the human being is assumed to have the inherent ability to distinguish right from wrong or good from bad. However, ethics can also be “externally imposed by an outside authority” (Banks, 2006:5). In social work, ethics are self-imposed, meaning that ethical commitments are outlined by international and national social work codes of ethics developed by the social workers themselves (Banks, 2006:5). Moreover, the international social work code of ethics acknowledges that further interpretation is required to ensure its alignment with different contexts (IFSW, 2018). Social work codes of ethics are “regarded as a set of principles, standards or rules of conduct for ethical practice” (Banks, 2006:5). This effectively means that principles underpinning social work are standards or rules guiding good or bad, or right or wrong practice. Principles in social work codes of ethics apply to practice with second-generation migrants in particular and migrants in general.

In the statement: *Social work responding to the political crisis forcing people into displacement and refugee status*, the International Federation of Social Workers (IFSW, 2016) reiterates that social work practitioners have a responsibility to assist differently placed groups of migrants in their receiving countries. This is their responsibility because “the calling of social work requires that each serve to protect the human rights, dignity, and integrity of migrants and of refugees to work for a society in which the right to human mobility is unchallenged” (IFSW, 2020). Briskman and Doe (2016:78) recommend that when intervening in the lives of migrants or asylum-seekers, social workers should always be guided by principles of social justice and human rights. This is very important because “social workers and human services practitioners work with displaced people ... in contexts that are often antithetical to the values of these professions” (Hölscher & Nipperess, 2021:2).

The profession’s ethical commitments in this field of migration, like all fields of practice, stem from the Global Definition of Social Work, which states that:

Social work is a practice-based profession and an academic discipline that promotes social change and development, social cohesion, and the empowerment and liberation of people. Principles of social justice, human rights, collective responsibility and respect for diversity are central to social work. Underpinned by theories of social work, social sciences, humanities and indigenous knowledge, social work engages people and structures to address life challenges and enhance wellbeing (IFSW/IASSW, 2014).

Drawing on the Global Definition, in the Global Social Work Statement of Ethical Principles, the IFSW (2018) and IASSW (2018:1) state that social workers have an ethical responsibility “to uphold the core values and principles” when working with different client groups of clients. Moreover, remembering that social work ethical principles are mainly about doing “what is right or wrong” or “good or bad” (Banks, 2006:4; McAuliffe, 2014:38; Pullen-Sansfaçon & Cowden, 2013:29). Thus, practitioners are morally obligated to work within them when intervening in the lives of second-generation migrants who are often marginalised and viewed as *outsiders*. This obligation is assumed to apply regardless of the complexity of their working conditions. Nonetheless, the outlined social work principles can prove to be difficult because in all service provisioning, social workers are bound to encounter challenges that lead to ethical dilemmas (Banks, 2006; McAuliffe, 2014; Pullen-Sansfaçon & Cowden, 2013:38). It is argued in this section, in Sections 4.3 and 4.4 that it is particularly difficult to follow social work principles in the field of migration.

It has been noted that the IFSW & IASSW (2014), IFSW (2018) and IASSW (2018:2) have stated that both the Global Definition of Social Work and the Global Statement of Ethical Principles are not ‘cast in stone,’ but should be applied according to context. Banks (2006:2) adds that “... while it is possible for the International Federation of Social Workers (IFSW) to produce a definition of social work that is designed to be applicable worldwide, it is a very general statement and purpose and principle”. Accordingly, “it is acknowledged that the priorities of social work will vary between countries and time periods, depending on cultural, historical and socio-economic conditions” (Banks, 2006:3). Regardless of the above, the Global Definition of Social Work remains a “good” or “common starting point” (Banks, 2006:3). Acknowledging the contextual applicability of the Global Definition and the Global Statement of Ethical Principles is important for the researcher who is writing about social justice and human rights in the context of the Global South and from a decolonial point of view.

This study thus focuses on the two social work principles of human rights and social justice, not because other principles have been rendered invalid, but because they intersect with each other. Additionally, human rights and social justice are cited in literature on social work

migration more often than other principles (see Briskman & Doe, 2016:78; Furman et al., 2012). Also, human rights are viewed as central to social work “values” in the Global Definition of Social Work (Harms-Smith & Martinez-Herro, 2019:6). The same can be said to apply to social justice. That being said, the following questions arise: What are human rights? What constitutes social justice? And: Why are human rights and social justice important to social work in the field of migrants? The researcher addresses these questions in the following paragraphs.

Nipperess (2023:289) notes that “... social work is a human rights profession”, as practitioners are expected to “promote the fundamental rights” of all people (IFSW, 2018). The most recent definition provided by the United Nations Commissioner of Human Rights (UNCOHR, n.d.) notes that “human rights are the rights we have simply because we exist as human beings – they are not granted by any state”. This definition of human rights embodies the principle of respect for human dignity and worth because in promoting this underlying principle, human rights are bound to flourish (IFWS, 2018). Consequently, the Global Statement of Ethical Principles outlines that social workers should “recognize the inherent dignity and worth of human beings” (IFSW, 2018). From these definitions and understandings of human rights, it can be concluded, first, that every human has inalienable rights. Second, human rights apply to everyone regardless of their place of residence or origin, meaning they also apply to second-generation migrants residing in South Africa.

Human rights predate both the United Nations, which was formed in 1945, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which was promulgated in 1948 (Nipperess, 2023:291). Nipperess (2023:291) has noted that “the origins of human rights can be found in numerous historical documents, in various religions and philosophies, and in social movements throughout the ages”, a point with which McAuliffe (2014) agrees with. Be that as it may, Nipperess (2023:291) points out that the modern understanding of human rights can be traced to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which came into effect after the Second World War and in “recognition of the atrocities committed by the Nazis in Europe”. The researcher acknowledges these different origins of the principle of human rights. However, the researcher will like many social work authors draw mainly on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights makes provision “for freedom, dignity and rights” of human beings (Pullen-Sansfacon & Cowden, 2013:36). Article 1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights highlights that “all humans beings are born free and equal in

dignity” (The United Nations [UN] General Assembly, 1948). Article 2 of the same document states that:

Everyone is entitled to all rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration without distinction of any kind ... Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation to sovereignty.

The provisions made in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights relate to the definitions and discussion of human rights presented above. However, beyond the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, social workers investigating the profession’s commitments in the field of migration also refer to other UN documents and relevant treaties (Nipperess, 2023:293). Authors examining social work practitioners’ human rights-related responsibilities regarding child migrants refer specifically to the UNCRC (see Evans et al., 2021:69; Mathe, 2018:10; Mpofu, 2018:5; Robinson & Gifford, 2019:261). Harms-Smith and Martinez-Herrero (2019:4) highlight the fact that the UN treaties are “legally binding”, but also note that signatory states can apply these conventions and treaties as and when they see them fit. This implies that states are not forced to incorporate these conventions and treaties in their domestic laws and policies (Harms-Smith & Martinez-Herrero, 2019:4). For example, the UNCRC is not incorporated into the Australian legislation (Robinson & Gifford, 2019:261). Additionally, UN documents are often said to be westernised; hence, social workers rely on other treaties and conventions that are used in specific contexts (Harms-Smith & Martinez-Herrero, 2019). In the African context, authors writing about child migrants also make reference to the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of a Child of 1990 (ACRWC) (Mathe, 2018:27; Mpofu, 2018:5). In South Africa, the preamble of the Children’s Act 38 of 2005 acknowledges the importance of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, UNCRC and ACRWC in matters relating to all children living in South Africa. The UNCRC and ACRWC are discussed in Chapter 1 of this thesis and in relation to second-generation migrants.

Lastly, human rights prevail in a society that is socially just; the reverse can also be said to be true. As presented in Chapter 4 of this thesis, this study drew on Fraser’s (2009:16) understanding of social justice as; equal participation, which entails, among other dimensions, an equal *distribution* of resources, services and opportunities; *recognition* of people by different societal institutions; and finally, having political *representation* (see Section 4.4). With reference to this understanding of social justice, practitioners in their different lines of

work should always “strive” to “promote social justice” (IFSW, 2018). The SACSSP (n.d:6) adds that social workers should not only “promote” social justice but should also “challenge” injustice on behalf of their clients. This can be achieved, firstly, when social workers “challenge discrimination and institutional oppression” being experienced by their clients (IFSW/IASSW, 2018). As discussed in Section 2.3, institutional discrimination and oppression are prevalent in the lives of second-generation migrants in South Africa.

Secondly, social justice can be promoted in line with individuals’ “race”, ethnicity, national origin, sexual orientation, disability, and socioeconomic status. These grounds were listed within the precincts of the underlying principle of respect of human dignity and worth of persons (SACCSP, n.d.:6). Thirdly, social work practitioners are to encourage “...strengthening inclusive communities that respect the ethnic and cultural diversity of societies, taking account of individual, family, group, and community differences” (IFSW, 2018). Fourthly, social workers must ensure that there is an equal distribution of resources and wealth (IFSW, 2018) and that everyone’s voice is heard (SACCSP, n.d:6). Lastly, social work practitioners have the responsibility to alert employers, policy makers, politicians, and community members when there are limited resources and unjust policies (IFSW, 2018). The IFSW (2018) emphasises that speaking up against social injustice should not put social workers in a harmful position. The five points relate to the concept of integrating second-generation migrants, as they often exist in marginalised parts of their communities, have access to limited resources and are at the receiving end of unjust policies. In sum, compelling evidence shows that the social work profession is based on principles that view people as deserving of worth and dignity and, as a result, are entitled to human rights. Another conclusion that can be made is that social workers should seek to promote social justice and challenge social injustice.

Notwithstanding this ethical base, it is important to acknowledge that practitioners also work within the requirements of national laws and policies, thus the social work practice is additionally governed by the nation-state (Bjorngren Cuadra, 2015:304; Baines, 2011:15). An anti-oppressive social work theorist, Baines (2011:15), elaborates that “...social workers are employed in the large state apparatus and by implication work *for* the state; many also organise lobby briefs, policy analysis, activist groups, and protests *against* the state, while others rally in *support* of government policies and direction”. A literature review conducted by Field et al. (2020:6) on asylum seekers and refugees in the Global North revealed that national migration policies and laws greatly influence social work practice. Browne et al. (2016:158), Furman et

al. (2012:178) and Mpofu (2021:23) note that in the field of migration, there is a need for social work practitioners to adhere to professional ethics, as well as laws and policies, which is a double commitment. It is in this dichotomy of double responsibilities that many ethical dilemmas emerge.

Pullen-Sanfaçon and Cowden (2013:38), in their text on social work ethics, highlight the various ways in which ethical dilemmas happen in practice. Firstly, ethical dilemmas occur when professional values or principles come into “conflict” with each other (Furman et al., 2012:177; Pullen-Sanfaçon & Cowden, 2013:38). Here, following one principle or value violates another principle or value, meaning that “there is more than one clear permissible ethical response” (Furman et al., 2012:177), choosing one between them always comes at a cost. Secondly, ethical dilemmas occur when state laws and professional principles come into conflict, that is, what is ethical can prove to be illegal (Furman et al., 2012:178; Pullen-Sanfaçon & Cowden, 2013:38). Thirdly, ethical dilemmas happen in the context of action and law, that is, the action taken on behalf of a client can prove to be illegal (Pullen-Sanfaçon & Cowden, 2013:38). Fourthly, ethical dilemmas arise when there are conflicting stakeholder interests, that is, when the needs and interests of the clients and organisations prove to be “incompatible” (Pullen-Sanfaçon & Cowden, 2013:39). Finally, ethical dilemmas originate from methodology ethics; this relates to the social worker achieving something on behalf of a client through “questionable” means (Pullen-Sanfaçon & Cowden, 2013:39).

The second type of ethical dilemma is particularly relevant to the field of social work with migrants because there is a conflict between the law and ethics. Furman et al. (2012:178) refer to this dilemma as obeying the law versus adhering to professional values. Meanwhile, Briskman and Doe (2016:77) term this dilemma as “dual loyalty”, where “the essence of the conflict is the question of duty and priority: to the employing organisation and the state or to the person that the worker has professional obligations toward” (see also Banks, 2006:125). For the purposes of the current study, this dilemma is referred to as *dual loyalty*. Furman et al. (2012:178) stated that dual loyalty is prevalent in the provision of social services to irregular migrants who, because of their status, are limited from accessing services. As a consequence, social workers have to balance their duty to the state’s migration laws and the ethical commitments they have to their clients (Furman et al., 2012:178). They additionally have to worry about their safety as employees, should they choose not to follow the laws (Furman et al., 2012:178; see also Briskman & Doe, 2016:76).

In this context, migration laws often violate social work ethics. For example, in Briskman and Doe (2016:76), social workers were obligated to work under secretive asylum laws that violated the human rights of asylum seekers in Australian offshore detention centres. In the case of second-generation migrants, the dilemma of “dual loyalty” deepens, because in addition to the conflict that exists between migration laws and social work ethics, migration laws are in contradiction to child protection laws (Farmer, 2017; Jolly, 2018:2; Mpofu, 2021). Robinson and Gifford (2019:268) elaborate that “internationally children often fall between two conflicting areas of law of child protection and migration”. In an ideal situation, social workers should be loyal to the service user, however, there are also concerns about the employer and job security that make it difficult to choose the client. Therefore, because of the dilemma of dual loyalty, a wide range of authors, writing from an equally wide range of Global North and Global South contexts, such as Australia, United Kingdom (UK), Norway, USA and South Africa, have reported that in spite of commitments to uphold the principles of social work, the profession finds itself struggling to meet the needs of migrants (Briskman & Doe, 2016:75; Browne et al., 2016:160; Bjornsgren Cuadra, 2015:303; Farmer, 2019:97; Field et al., 2020:7; Furman et al., 2012:178; Hölscher, 2016:54; Mpofu, 2021:23). The ethical dilemma of dual loyalty has a bearing on other dilemmas that are discussed in the next sections.

In the final analysis, there are four important points that can be deduced from this section. Firstly, the social work profession is built on a strong ethical base provided for by international and national professional and legislative bodies, such as the IFSW, IASSW, UN and SACCSW. Secondly, social work principles emphasise that human beings are deserving of rights, respect, and dignity; and where these have been undermined, the profession has the responsibility to challenge injustice and promote social justice. Thirdly, although the profession has such clearly articulated ethics, social workers are also governed by the state’s laws; thus, they are equally committed to the nation-state and their clients. Yet, in the context of migration, the demands of the nation-state often outweigh the clients’ needs. The state is more important than the clients’ needs because it is a major role player that is invested in controlling migration through social work service provision. The vested interest of the nation-state in controlling migration through social work service provision is the subject of the next section.

3.3. Social work’s practical roles and responsibilities in migration

Numerous studies have documented social work service provisioning to different categories of migrants, and most of this research has been conducted in the Global North (see Briskman &

Doe, 2016; Briskman, 2020; Browne et al., 2016; Bjorngren Cuadra, 2015; Farmer, 2019; Furman et al., 2012; Hölscher, 2016; Jolly, 2018; Masje, 2022; Mpofu 2021; O’Keeffe & Nipperess, 2021; Pospecu & Libal, 2018). Although many studies have been conducted to date, research focusing on the children of migrants remains limited (see Evans et al., 2018; Farmer, 2019; Jolly, 2018; Teasley et al., 2017). As far as the researcher knows, limited research has been done on the roles and responsibilities of social work in the integration of second-generation migrants. A literature search on social work and integration of second-generation migrants revealed a few studies that do not directly link with the subject. Nonetheless, there is literature on social work with children of refugees who can arguably be considered second-generation migrants, see for example, (O’Keeffe & Nipperess, 2021). Additionally, some studies have focused on social work with unaccompanied migrant children (Evans et al., 2021; Robinson & Gifford, 2019). This section reviews these four sets of literature. The researcher contends that interventions with children of migrants, children of refugees, and unaccompanied minors all constitute social work practice with child migrants.

The reviewed literature reveals the ethical dilemmas that social workers face when rendering services to migrants. These ethical dilemmas and tensions experienced in practice are further exacerbated by the presence of irregular migrants (Furman et al., 2012:170). Migrants are often asked questions like: “Are you here legally, or are you, illegal?” and “What conditions are there on your leave?” (Farmer, 2019: 96). The answer to questions on the migrants’ residence status ultimately determines whether or not a migrant can access services (Farmer, 2019:96). Alternatively, in Fraser’s (2009:16) view of social justice, a decision is made as to which claims by migrants, as non-citizens, are considered legitimate, and which are not. This section explores how different migrant statuses are used as a frame for accessing social work services. This literature review uses three examples of social work practice from the USA, Australia and the United Kingdom (UK). Similar to Chapter Two, the contexts were selected because Zimbabweans migrate there. The section ends with a discussion of the ethical dilemma relating to the *paradox between care versus control*, which is linked to the five types of dilemmas that were discussed in Section 4.2.

Social work practice with migrants is not new to the profession (Boccagni & Righard, 2020:376; Furman et al., 2012:170). The founders of the profession in the then recently colonised USA worked with people who were migrating from the countryside to industrialised cities and migrants coming in from Europe (Boccagni & Righard, 2020:376). During that time,

social work “pioneers” helped these migrants deal with the effects of urbanisation and industrialisation (Boccagni & Righard, 2020:376). Noyoo and Sobantu (2022:2) refer to this time as a period of traditional social work, noting that practice occurred in local and national levels. The study contends that what followed from the nineteenth century to the twenty-first century is an evolution of the migration field into a contested area of practice, in which according to Browne et al. (2016:158), social work practice is influenced by the prevailing social, political and economic conditions related to migration. Currently, practice has been influenced by global migration-related events – like the Syrian refugee crisis (Boccagni & Righard, 2022:375; Popescu & Libal, 2018:i); gruesome images of African migrants drowning while crossing the Mediterranean Sea (Noyoo & Sobantu, 2022:208); COVID-19 (Hölscher & Nipperess, 2021:1); the Ukrainian refugee crisis; and politicisation and criminalisation of irregular migration (Briskman 2020:102; Furman et al., 2012:170). Because of the changes in global migration from the nineteenth to the twenty-first century, there is consensus in the literature that social work with migrants is practiced under increasingly difficult conditions.

Social work with refugees is a unique area of practice in the field of migration because historically, refugees were considered one of the most protected groups within the many categories of migrants (Field et al., 2020:2). This high level of protection stems from the categorisations and definitions that present refugees as distinctly vulnerable migrants, who due to circumstances beyond their control, like war, are *forced* to migrate and other migrants as those people who *choose* to migrate mostly because of unfavourable economic conditions in their countries (Hölscher, 2016:58). Thus, unlike the latter, the former group is viewed as deserving of rights and protection (Hölscher, 2016:58). Noteworthy is the fact that there are debates around the categorisations migrants, appropriateness of terms and who is a refugee (Boccagni & Righard, 2020:378). Hölscher and Nipperess (2021:2) problematise these categorisations, arguing that as “... so-called economic migrants, migrants who move for family reunion purposes and refugees and other displaced people often have similar reasons for leaving their country, the distinction between voluntary and forced migration is increasingly viewed as unsustainable”. Of relevance to this discussion is that refugees, because of their status, are viewed as more deserving of social work services.

In their study conducted in Utah, USA, Browne et al. (2016:158) considered that often the legitimacy and survival of migrant social service agencies is dependent on having clients that are eligible and deserving of services. Browne et al. (2016:158) note that “while their mission

is often to address the needs of vulnerable populations, the legitimacy of service agencies often depends on meeting public demands of fairness, coordinating with other public and private agencies, and abiding by legal and policy restrictions that set limits on service provision”. In other words, for a migrant social service agency to be viewed as legitimate, it must adhere to the following criteria: firstly, the USA federal and migration laws and policies must outline if their clients based on their migration statuses are eligible to access their services (Browne et al., 2016:157). Secondly, the perceptions of community members where the agency is located must be taken into consideration (Browne et al., 2016:158). Thirdly, the services rendered, and migrant clients, have to be similar to other migrant agencies in this environment. Also, with “limited spending” by the state on social welfare, matters of eligibility and deservingness are further exacerbated (Browne et al., 2016:157). Federal and migration laws state that refugees and documented migrants are eligible to access services (Browne et al., 2016:166). Additionally, because they are considered vulnerable, members of the public view refugees as more deserving of services than other groups (Browne et al., 2016:166). As a result, since they require funding and legitimacy from the state, communities and other social service agencies, agencies are coerced into providing services to refugees only.

Beyond the specific refugee social service agencies discussed by Browne et al. (2016:158), social work in this area of practice is also performed in other settings, for example, in schools. Teasley, Nevarez and Frost (2017:195) write about school social-based work practice with irregular children of migrants in the USA. The authors note that the majority of irregular migrant children in the USA are of Latino descent (Teasley, 2017:195; Evans et al., 2021:68). Teasley et al. (2017:195) outline some of the important issues that school social workers need to be wary of when it comes to these children; firstly, children sometimes experience the arrest and deportation of their parents and other family members and, when parents are arrested and deported, the family unit is negatively affected (Teasley et al., 2017:195:197). Secondly, social workers should be aware of the fact that schools are a representation of the communities in which children live (Teasley, 2017:195). In other words, “... schools are a microcosm of our society”, meaning that the negative perceptions and attitudes about irregular migrants are extended from communities to the school environment (Teasley et al., 2017:195). Furthermore, the language barriers, and pre-existing “racial”, ethnic, and religious differences in the wider communities expose children to bullying and xenophobia attitudes at schools (Teasley et al., 2017:196). Therefore, the authors conclude that school social work interventions should target

communities, schools, and individuals to help them tackle these challenges (Teasley et al., 2017:196).

Contrary to Teasley et al. (2017:195) who recommend micro and meso social work interventions with irregular children of migrants, Evans et al. (2021:67), in an article on unaccompanied migrant children, specify that interventions should also occur at a macro level. Such interventions should concentrate on students of social work and social workers, together with communities advocating for the human rights of unaccompanied migrant children (Evans et al., 2021:67). According to Evans et al. (2021:68), an unaccompanied migrant child, “is a child under the age of 18 who does not have lawful immigration status at the time of arrival to the USA and who is unaccompanied by their parent or legal guardian”. While staying in the USA, unaccompanied migrant children encounter challenges linked to “being held in detention for long periods of time” (Evans et al., 2021:69). It is important to realise that in this context, detention is not only experienced by unaccompanied migrant children, but also by those children coming into the country with their irregular migrant parents (Pospescu & Libal, 2018:v). Unaccompanied migrant children are also; i) “denied” access to school, health care, and mental health care; ii) medicated with psychotropic medication, and; iii) struggling to fit into receiving communities (Evans et al., 2021:69).

Evans et al. (2021:71) recommend three macro level social work interventions for the identified challenges. The first intervention is capacity building; here, “social workers as advocates of human rights should be pursuing anti-racist work and challenging underlying assumptions in their daily practices” in relation to unaccompanied migrant children (Evans et al., 2021:71). Capacity building programmes should be developed with community members that live with unaccompanied migrant children. Secondly, policy courses should be incorporated into social work training, so as to allow practitioners an “opportunity to influence” social welfare policy in terms of migrants’ human rights (Evans et al., 2021:72). Macro level practice can be finally achieved through conducting research with migrant social service agencies, where social work students engage in research relating to their services (Evans et al., 2021:73). The authors note that through research, social work can influence policy and practice (Evans et al., 2021:72). In sum, micro, meso and macro level practice are all relevant to social work with child migrants.

Literature reviewed from the USA demonstrates that challenges related to documentation and migration statuses are found in the experiences of social work agencies, children of migrants and unaccompanied minors. Nevertheless, on a positive note, a conclusion can be reached that

documented migrants and refugees are at least provisioned to access social work services. On another positive note, it appears in this context that children are eligible for social work services regardless of their migrant status. This is indeed in line with the UNCRC, which makes provisions for all children's rights. Meanwhile, in Teasley et al. (2017:195) and Evans et al. (2021:69), a lack of documentation is not shown to directly influence social work practice; this is in comparison with Browne et al. (2016:158) where documentation determines social work practice. However, though not directly influencing social work practice, being undocumented negatively affects the irregular child migrants in their communities and schools. It is discussed below that in other contexts, documentation affects how social work services to child migrants are rendered.

As noted in Chapter 1, Section 1.1, and Chapter 2, Section 2.3, in recent years in the Global North there has been a paradigm shift towards increasingly hostile migration regimes. In comparison with their predecessors, governments no longer hold the same views about refugees (Feld et al., 2020:3). This means that refugees have moved from being “welcome to exclusion” (Field et al., 2020:2). Popescu and Libal (2018:ii) contend that, “within this global migration context, many national governments revised migration policies – but instead of aiming to increase protection for the forced migrants, they added layers of restrictions”. As a result, there has been a reduction in the number of people being granted refugee status at the same time as there has been a rise in the number of asylum seekers in the Global North (Fekete, 2018:75). An asylum seeker is defined by the International Organisation of Migration (IOM, 2019:14) “as an individual who is seeking international protection” and this person “whose claim has not yet been finally decided on by the country in which he or she submitted it”, therefore, “not every asylum seeker will ultimately be recognized as a refugee, but every recognized refugee is initially an asylum seeker”. The asylum seeker status, as an undetermined refugee status, also influences how social work services are provisioned.

Moving from the USA social service context with migrants, children of migrants and unaccompanied minors, asylum seekers are one of the migrant groups that practitioners render services to, and internationally social work has shown a growing interest in this group of clients (Field et al., 2020:3). Social work interventions with asylum seekers in Australia are of particular interest to the researcher because of the complexities and ethical dilemmas arising from this context. In the Global North, Australia presents an example of how social workers render services to this group of clients, and the way these services are provided is subject to

criticisms and debates. The Australian asylum system ensures that migrants who arrive in the country by boat should be kept in offshore detention centres (Briskman & Doe, 2016:73). The Refugee Council of Australia (RCA, 2024) refers to this detention system as offshore processing in a “third country” (see also UNHCR, 2022:5). Upon irregular arrival at Australian shores by boats, “through the discourse of illegality and criminality”, asylum seekers are “apprehended, transported and contained” in detention centres (Briskman & Doe, 2016:73; see also RCA, 2024). The two main offshore detention sites are Nauru and Manus Papua New Guinea (Briskman & Doe, 2016:74; Maylea & Hirsch, 2018:161; RCA, 2020; Robinson & Gifford, 2019:260). In offshore detention centres the basic rights of men, women, and children that were supposed to be observed in line with international conventions and statutes were violated (Briskman & Doe, 2016:73). This asylum detention system is thus described by Maylea and Hirsch (2018:160-161) as a form of “systematic abuse” because instead of caring for the asylum seeker, it is meant to deter migrants who come to Australia by boats.

The hostile conditions of social work practice compromise social work ethics. Social workers in offshore detention centres are mostly employed by Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) (Briskman & Doe, 2016:74). Although the NGOs are said to have a track record of good social work practice and working conditions for employees, Doe, a social worker who was employed at one of the detention centres, found the conditions to be contrary (Briskman & Doe, 2016:74). The “tenets” of social work, such as confidentiality, trauma-based practice, and empowerment are violated (Briskman & Doe, 2016:75). For example, confidentiality, which is the cornerstone to the protection of a client’s privacy in social work, is interpreted in problematic ways (Briskman & Doe, 2016:75). It seems “... in offshore sites, the notion of confidentiality has been misappropriated to include unprecedented levels of secrecy that are unrelated to client confidentiality” (Briskman & Doe, 2016:75).

The authors argue that instead of confidentiality being used to protect the client, it is used to perpetuate social injustice and human rights violations, in turn, violating the Australian social work code of ethics (Briskman & Doe, 2016:75). Accordingly, Maylea and Hirsch (2018:164) note that because practitioners are bound by the social work profession’s ethics, such as human rights and social justice, “the role of social work within this [asylum system] should be closely examined”. Yet still, it must be noted that social workers’ powerless positioning in the asylum system makes it hard to “resist the status quo” because they would be “risking unemployment, public shaming, and imprisonment” (Maylea & Hirsch, 2018:160; see also Briskman & Doe,

2016:75). However, Maylea and Hirsch (2018:160) argue that they have to find ways of stopping participation in abusive migration systems to avoid being labelled collaborators because, regardless of the complexities, social work has roles, responsibilities and ethical commitments to be fulfilled towards groups that are kept in the centres.

It must be noted that in Australia the policy on the detention of child migrants arriving by boat changed after September 2017, and they are now allowed to live in communities (Robinson & Gifford, 2019:260-261). However, Robinson and Gifford (2019:257) denote that still, “Australia’s policies towards asylum seekers arriving unauthorised by boat have a particularly harmful impact on unaccompanied children”. Also, according to Robinson and Gifford (2019:258):

A further factor impacting UAMs [unaccompanied minors] in Australia is that they receive different entitlements and kind of care depending on when and how they arrived (by boat or plane), the ‘stream’ through which they are ‘processed’, the type and quality of the detention they are kept in while awaiting their status determination (community, closed or offshore), and the lottery of fragmented service provision they receive should they be allowed to live in the community.

This is seen in the four cases of unaccompanied Afghan children of Hazara ethnic origin. The children were respectively referred to as Young men 1; 2; 3 and 4. In the first case, Young man 1, who formed part of the Australian offshore humanitarian programme, was granted a humanitarian visa in advance, allowing him to fly into Australia (Robinson & Gifford, 2019:259). He was later granted permanent residence, thus making him “eligible for a range of settlement services”, and access to secondary and tertiary education (Robinson & Gifford, 2019:259). Young Man 2, 3 and 4 who arrived in Australia by boat, were thus kept “in mandatory closed detention” (Robinson & Gifford, 2019:259). Young man 2, who had arrived in Australia before August 2012, accessed a lawyer and that allowed him to access a permanent protection visa, and as a result, he accessed secondary and tertiary education. Young man 3 arrived after August 2012. It seems “he initially believed that he could have applied through other migration streams, but retrospective legislation introduced in December 2014 has denied permanent settlement to *anyone* arriving by boat” (Robinson & Gifford, 2019:259). Finally, Young man 4, who arrived after December 2014 after the amendment of Australian migration laws, was prohibited from settling in Australia, as the law “prohibits any asylum seeker travelling to Australia by boat from ever being granted resettlement in Australia” (Robinson & Gifford, 2019:259). Young man 4’s future remains uncertain, as it is dependent on a third

country granting him asylum. To conclude, it appears that the stream and time of arrival in Australia determined the type of social work services the four young men received.

Moving from the Australian asylum seeker receiving context, there is a wide range of literature on social work practice focusing on regular and irregular migrants in Europe, and some of this literature is found in the UK (Farmer, 2017, 2019; Hayes, 2019; Jolly, 2018; Hermansson et al., 2022). Relevant to this study are studies examining the effects of the No Recourse to Public Funds (NRPF) regulations on irregular migrant families and social work practice (Farmer, 2017; Jolly, 2018; Hermansson et al., 2022:679). A comprehensive description of the NRPF rules and the role of practitioners therein is found in Farmer (2017), Jolly (2018) and Hermansson et al. (2022:679). Farmer (2017:360) points out that the NRPF regulations are “discriminatory legislation” because, according to Jolly (2018:1), “... provision [is made] in the Immigration Rules restricting some migrants from entitlement to most mainstream social security benefits” such as “public housing and local authority homelessness assistance”.

This means that migrants who fall under the NRPF rules like irregular migrant families are eliminated from “accessing” public funds (Farmer, 2017:359). Also, in addition to the exclusionary NRPF rules, under other migration law requirements, irregular migrants are prohibited from accessing employment, renting accommodation, having bank accounts and acquiring driver’s licences (Jolly, 2018:1). Jolly (2018:1) asserts that the main aim of regulations like the NRPF and additional exclusionary migration requirements “is to create ‘a hostile’, or more recently ‘compliant’ environment for undocumented migrants so that they leave the UK, with a threat of destitution as an incentive” (see also Farmer, 2017:258). It is in such exclusionary contexts that social workers find themselves rendering services to irregular migrant families.

In this context, social workers find themselves taking up a gatekeeping role, excluding irregular migrant families from accessing social and public funded services (Farmer, 2017:360; Jolly, 2018:190). However, “a few welfare entitlements” are made available to irregular migrant children through child welfare laws (Jolly, 2018:1-2). Nevertheless, for the provided services relating to irregular migrant children, there are limitations in terms of how they should be practically provided (Jolly, 2018:2). Farmer (2017:358) adds that “the current migration system is complicated and can facilitate much confusion in various areas such as policy, law and practice”. Consequently, irregular migrant children are excluded from services which they are “entitled to” (Jolly, 2018:191; Farmer, 2017). Exclusionary social work practices, particularly

those targeting irregular migrants, leave children and their families “destitute” (Farmer, 2017:361).

Most irregular migrant families “discussed not having adequate food, clothing or shelter” as the main challenges they had been facing (Jolly, 2018:3). Also, “when destitute families were referred to children’s services, but support wasn’t provided, a process of attrition developed between referring agencies and social workers, with families being repeatedly referred and refused before support was provided” (Jolly, 2018:4). This resulted in children being neglected because both the state and parents could not look after them (Jolly, 2018:5-6). Furthermore, the fact that parents were unable to provide for their children or find assistance negatively affected them psychologically (Jolly, 2018:5-6). However, instead of blaming the social work services for the neglect, some parents apportioned the blame to the NRPF regulations (Jolly, 2018:6). Therefore, it seems social workers, like their clients, found themselves caught up in an oppressive system. It can be argued that when working within the requirements of the law and in such an oppressive system, the responsibility of social work in terms of protecting irregular migrant children becomes even more important but difficult as well because the caring role is often overruled by the requirement to control migration.

Bringing together the reviewed literature from USA, Australia and UK, it appears that social workers are working under restrictive legal systems regulating migration, where they have to strictly follow migration laws, resulting in their care commitments to migrants, particularly children of migrants, being neglected. From the three practice contexts, an ethical dilemma identified by Briskman and Doe (2016:77) as the *paradox between care versus control* emerges (see also Furman et al., 2012:178). The paradox between care versus control links with the ethical dilemma of *dual loyalty* discussed in Section 4.2. McAuliffe (2014:90) explains that care and control come into conflict with each other because social service practitioners in “their daily work are governed by regulatory and legal processes and employer policies and protocols”. The author further explains that agencies are invested in the practitioner’s compliance with legal and statutory requirements (McAuliffe, 2014:90). Therefore, literature attests to an “erosion of professional autonomy, as the complexity of social problems has pushed duty-of-care obligation to the surface and subjected them to mandatory controls” (McAuliffe, 2014:90). Under such a scenario, social workers end up prioritising their responsibilities to agencies’ regulations, protocols and policies at the expense of the provision of care to their clients.

Writing from the British context, Hayes (2019:7) reflects on the relationship between migration control and social welfare, which had been happening in the late 1990s. Hayes (2019:7) contends that this relationship has now become even more complex and firmly “established” within social work practice. Farmer (2017:357) problematises the role of social work in the NRPF, contending that migration control is prioritised to the detriment of child welfare. The same can be said about asylum seekers residing in Australia and migrants living in the USA. Hayes (2019:8) expresses concern about how deeply entrenched social workers and welfare agencies are in this “role” of control. Farmer (2017:361) argues that the role of social work in migration control is one of a “border guard”. On that account, Hayes (2019:8) poses the question: “Is it possible then that the profession of social work might extricate itself from the depressing weight of logic that we just have to do things the way we do?”

In Australia, there are different responses to this ethical dilemma: some social workers comply with the status quo, while others have been involved in “minor acts of subversion”, with yet another section only speaking out after resignation (Briskman & Doe, 2016:78). Hermansson et al. (2022:681) gave another response, suggesting that some sort of protection should be put in place, thus drawing a line between migration control and social service provisioning. The authors propose the concept of “firewalls” which should be put in place as a means of protecting undocumented migrants (Hermansson et al., 2022:679). Although not named or labelled as such, firewalls have been used in migration contexts (Hermansson et al., 2022:681). “Firewalls,” according to Hermansson et al. (2022:679), imply that social service agencies should keep migrant information confidential to “limit the ability ... to conduct immigration control inside or within the vicinity of social rights providers’ facilities”. The authors further emphasise that firewalls protect irregular migrants by clearly drawing a line between what constitutes border policing and social service provision, so as to ring-fence and maintain the real role of social work in society (Hermansson et al., 2022:679-680).

Hermansson et al. (2022:686) recommend that informal and formal “firewall” measures be put in place in social work service delivery. Informally, social workers can exclude the addresses of irregular migrant clients when capturing their data. Formally, firewalls can be made part of organisations’ policies (Hermansson et al., 2022:686). In addition, child protection laws that are in effect firewalls can be used formally to protect child migrants (Hermansson et al., 2022:686). It must be noted that minor acts of subversion and speaking out against oppressive migrant systems and the placement of firewalls are good ways of resolving the dilemma of the

paradox of care and control. Firewalls are particularly important because they represent a more structural response to the dilemma. Building on these firewalls, the researcher acknowledges the importance of developing other structural responses that are needed to curb control that hampers the provision of social work service to children of migrants.

In summary, this section began by briefly discussing the history of social work and migration, noting that this field has evolved over the years into a contested area of social work practice. Drawing on examples from the USA, Australia and the UK, it seems agencies are pressured into complying with migration laws to maintain their legitimacy. Social workers are coerced into compliance to keep their jobs and in some cases to evade arrest. Also, social workers follow what migration laws outline when rendering services because they are obliged to do so. Since social workers have to adhere to the migration laws, they find themselves caught between the paradox of care and control. In spite of the complex position, social workers have come up with responses meant to address this dilemma; however, more work still needs to be done structurally. Developmental social welfare can be viewed as a pathway developed to serve second-generation migrants, as it is based on human rights and social justice; however, it still might be limited by the ethical dilemmas that have been identified in this section and Section 4.2. Developmental social welfare is discussed in the next section.

3.4. Developmental social welfare and second-generation migrants

The conditions underpinning social work practice with second-generation migrants in the Global South are not detached from contexts in the Global North. However, compared to migrant-receiving countries located in the Global North, in the Global South, there are contextual issues that social workers encounter in the field of migration. Also, in comparison with the Global North, there is a limited but growing body of literature on social work conducted with migrants. This is evident in South Africa, a major migrant-receiving country in Africa and the Global South at large. In South Africa, most of the literature on social work interventions developed to assist child migrants focuses on unaccompanied minors and refugee children (Mathe, 2018:11). It is envisaged that this study will contribute to this growing body of literature, especially in relation to second-generation migrants.

This section thus presents a review of literature on social work with migrants in South Africa. The literature is discussed with reference to developmental social welfare because social work services to migrants in this context should be provided within this approach (Schenck &

Triegaardt, 2018:198; Mathe, 2018:54). The next discussion focuses on what developmental social welfare entails and how the confirmed social work services should be provided to second-generation migrants as guided by this approach. Since the study is concerned with the challenges and opportunities experienced by second-generation migrants when integrating into South African society, questions are posed on how developmental social welfare can be used to foster the integration of second-generation migrants into the South African context. Finally, like the two preceding sections, this section concludes with an ethical dilemma of *competing for limited resources* experienced by social workers in the context of South Africa. This dilemma is linked to dual loyalty and the paradox between care and control.

Noteworthy, from the onset, is that developmental social welfare in its main policy document, the White Paper for Social Welfare, 1997 - makes no mention of international migrants (Schenck & Triegaardt, 2018:194). The Department of Social Development (DSD, 2016:71) explains that the reason for this is that during the drawing of the policy document, the numbers of international migrants were not increasing tremendously as they are currently. This point is supported by Hölscher (2016:54) who highlights that “... the end of apartheid South Africa has attracted cross-border migration at an unprecedented scale”. Responding to the rising numbers of migrants and refugees in South Africa, in 2016, the DSD addressed this policy gap in the *Comprehensive Report on the Review of the White Paper for Social Welfare 1997* (Schenck & Triegaardt, 2018:194). In this report, DSD (2016:71) characterises registered “asylum seekers and refugees” as “eligible” to access social services similar to those provided to permanent residents and citizens (DSD, 2016:71). Also, service provisioning “does not apply to undocumented economic migrants” (DSD, 2016:71). Furthermore, “children, from whatever category [of migrants], must be provided with protection and other services” (DSD, 2016:71). Nevertheless, DSD (2016:71) notes that this provision comes with its own challenges that relate to the issuing of identity documents, particularly because the Department of Home Affairs (DHA) is struggling to address matters pertaining to the documentation of child migrants.

Thus, four important points need to be noted. Firstly, according to DSD (2016:71), the focus of social work service provisioning to migrants in South Africa is on asylum seekers, refugees, and permanent residents. Secondly, regardless of migration status, social workers are compelled to provide services to all migrant children. Thirdly, like in the Global North, the same services do not apply to irregular migrant adults. Fourthly, social work interventions hinge on the documentation of migrant children by DHA. In this regard, this study argues that

like in the Global North, social work practitioners are bound to encounter challenges when rendering services to second-generation migrants, a point that is further explored below. This study also contends that regardless of its shortcomings, developmental social welfare, through the White Paper for Social Welfare, 1997, and in combination with a migration policy provision that favours community integration of refugees, and arguably of migrants, can be ideally used to address and aid the integration of second-generation migrants into South Africa's socio-economic and political life.

Developmental social welfare in South Africa can be said to be unique because, according to Patel (2016:100), it is located in history and, at the same time, it is meant to respond to the country's present "contextual conditions". Lombard (2009:293) explains that developmental social welfare in South Africa originated from the post-apartheid developmental state, which sought to redress the social injustices of the apartheid state and other prior colonial governments. This redress was indeed necessary because the post-apartheid state inherited a highly unequal country. Patel (2016:107) notes that during this period there was "... a desire to build a new nation based on democracy, social justice, social integration or cohesion, peace and social and economic development". As a result, developmental social welfare was based on the premise that South Africa's "socio-economic development cannot be separated from the country's political economy" (Lombard, 2009:293). Put across in another way, social development is tied to economic development (Patel, 2016:107). Noteworthy is the notion that twenty years after the introduction of developmental social welfare, South Africa is still socio-economically unequal, and the gap between the rich and the poor keeps widening. The unequal socio-economic conditions can prove to be problematic, particularly when social work helps integrate other vulnerable population groups like second-generation migrants into an already fragmented society.

Describing the character of developmental social welfare, Patel (2016:108) contends that its *goal* is to "promote social and economic development; participation of socially excluded persons in development efforts; achieve tangible improvements in the quality of life of the people; promote human development and social well-being". It is guided by *principles* of "social and economic justice; empowerment; collective action to promote public benefit; distributive and liberatory values" and access is *universal* to "all poor and vulnerable people" (Patel, 2016:108). Also, like all the other approaches to and models of social work, "developmental social work is underpinned by values such as respect, social justice and human

rights” (Schenck & Triegaardt, 2018:195). Additionally, developmental social welfare is built on the principles of the Bill of Rights enshrined in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 (Lombard, 2009:294; Schenck & Triegaardt, 2018:294). In all these points, it is indeed evident that human rights and social justice are at the centre of this approach to social welfare.

Therefore, where the White Paper for Social Welfare, 1997 is limited in addressing the rights of migrants, the Constitution can be directly used (Schenck & Triegaardt, 2018:194). In Sections 27 and 29 the Constitution makes provisions that protect the rights of all people in South Africa. Section 27 (1) states that “everyone” in South Africa “has the right to health care services, including reproductive health care; sufficient food and water; and social security, including, if they are unable to support themselves and their dependents, appropriate social assistance”. Section 29 (1) provides for access to education and states that everyone has the right to basic education. In matters relating to children, Section 28 (1) of the Constitution outlines that:

Every child has the right to a name and a nationality from birth; to family care or parental care, or appropriate alternative care when removed from the family environment; to basic nutrition, shelter, basic health care services and social services; to be protected from maltreatment, neglect, abuse or degradation; to be protected from exploitative practices; not to be required or permitted to perform work or provide services that – are inappropriate for a person of that child’s age; and not to be detained except as a measure of last resort.

Section 28 (2) of the Constitution and Section 7 of the Children’s Act 38 of 2005 (as amended) make provisions that standardise the best interest of the child. Section 28 (2) of the Constitution states that in matters relating to children, the best interest of the child is of “paramount importance”. Relating these constitutional provisions to migrant children, Schenck and Triegaardt (2018:210) reiterate that: “It needs to be further emphasised that all children who live in South Africa – no matter who are their parents (migrants, refugees, displaced people, etc.) – are constitutionally entitled to access education, health care, and any other protective services that they require”. In sum, all the rights provided for in the Constitution apply to all people residing in South Africa, including regular and irregular second-generation migrants. However, the protection of these rights does not fully apply in practice.

Lombard (2009:301) states that the Children’s Act 38 of 2005 was promulgated as a legislative framework meant to protect children’s rights under the White Paper for Social Welfare, 1997. Accordingly, the principles of developmental social welfare are enshrined in this piece of

legislation, thus, they “apply when rendering services to children and their families” (Mathe, 2018:54). The Children’s Act ensures that social work services and social grants are provided to “vulnerable children and their families more effectively” (Lombard, 2009:301). This point is supported by Mathe (2018:5) who states that social work services to all children should be provided in accordance with the Children’s Act, and this includes migrant children. Because of the provisions made for practitioners in the Children’s Act, social work can be said to be the best-placed profession to assist child migrants in South Africa (Mathe, 2018:51). Together with the Constitution and social work principles and ethics place social work practitioners in such a good position to intervene when second-generation migrants are integrating into their receiving environments.

The social work services that are well provisioned for migrants and refugees in policy and legislation, according to Hölscher (2016:52), are largely rendered by UNHCR-funded NGOs. These services are also provided by the government and faith-based organisations (Schenck & Triegaardt, 2018:185). These organisations include Save the Children; Scalabrini Centre Cape Town; Jesuit Refugee Services; Future Families; DSD; and Child Welfare. The scope of the services provided by these organisations covers mostly unaccompanied minors and refugee children, providing them with “... assistance with documentation, food, health, shelter, trauma counselling, psychosocial support, and access to social security/protection and insurance” (Schenck & Trieggardt, 2018:185). These organisations are doing a commendable job, considering the current difficult social welfare and migrant conditions in South Africa, which seem not to be conducive. Nonetheless, Mathe (2018:51) notes that this responsibility does not come without challenges. It can be argued that the challenges are even more complex with second-generation migrants who are another separate category of child migrants.

As stated by DSD (2016:71) and noted by Mathe (2018:51), Mpofu (2021:32) and Schenck and Triegaardt (2018:179), even though they are mandated to provide services to all categories of migrant children, practitioners have been found to struggle to meet these responsibilities within the requirements of the laws of South Africa. They are also arguably unable to fully meet their responsibilities within the principles of developmental social welfare because of the challenges relating to the documentation of child migrants. This is so because identifying documentation such as a birth certificate determines whether or not a child migrant can access the most basic services, and without it, social workers are limited in their ability to help. Writing about unaccompanied minors, Mathe (2018:7) contends that “it would seem that the

rights of migrant children in South Africa are not an urgent priority and social workers feel too overwhelmed to promote the rights of foreign born children in the face of the unsympathetic Department of Home Affairs (DHA)". Therefore, it can be concluded that similar to the Global North, issues of documentation originating from the migrant status are used as a means to legally misrecognise child migrants, consequently eliminating them from all forms of social justice they are entitled.

Beyond their ability to render services being curtailed by documentation challenges, social workers in South Africa, like their counterparts in the Global North, have been found to participate in questionable practices, for example, the detention of child migrants. Mathe (2018:7) points out that most of South African social work literature on unaccompanied minors reports on detention, noting that detaining child migrants is in direct contravention of Section 28 (1) of the Constitution (Mathe, 2018:6). The participation of social workers in questionable practices has been found to be also true in the case of the children of migrants (Mpofu, 2021:32). In the case of Zimbabwean migrant children who were held for three months by DSD, without their parents knowing about their whereabouts (Mpofu, 2021:22). The state, through DSD social workers, Children's Court and provisions of the Children's Act stripped parents of their parental responsibilities and transferred them to the government (Mpofu, 2021:22). Additionally, upon their repatriation, parental rights and responsibilities were transferred to the Zimbabwean Ministry of Health and Child Care (Mpofu, 2021:22). It must be noted that all these actions were in contravention of the best interest of the child (Mpofu, 2021:22). Notwithstanding the fact that social workers have questionably dealt with migrant children, Mathe (2018:7-8) notes that in trying to meet their commitments, practitioners are "confronted and defeated by the challenges that exist within the South African ... system". Thus, while it is important for practitioners to adhere to their commitments, it is noteworthy that social workers are often employees of powerful state organisations and are frequently positioned at the bottom of the hierarchy, making it difficult to challenge the system (Mpofu, 2021:29). Therefore, they cannot help but co-opt.

However, on the positive side, social work services being rendered to migrants have other characteristics that are unique to the South African context. That is, compared to other migrant-receiving countries, both in the Global North and Global South, the South African state has a migration policy that does not provide for the encampment of refugees or documentation of migrants (Schenck & Triegaardt, 2018:195, see also DHA, 2017:64). The South African state

favours the integration of refugees and documented migrants into the receiving communities with the entire citizenry (Schenck & Triegaardt, 2018:195). The DHA policy is in line with developmental social welfare, as it is assumed that migrants and refugees are better off looking after themselves in their receiving communities, in turn, also “contributing” to the country’s economy (Schenck & Triegaardt, 2018:195). Migrants coming into South Africa prefer living in cities to rural areas because of the opportunities associated with the former (Hölscher, 2016:54). Living in cities does indeed present a lot of opportunities, though it also has its own challenges. The opportunities and challenges the cities present can be advantageous and disadvantageous when social workers aid the integration of second-generation migrants.

Hölscher (2016:54) states that South African cities are “... characterised by inter alia escalating levels of poverty and degradation and local authorities trying to meet their governance mandates within considerable budgetary constraints”. Therefore, the services rendered in cities “have been found to be far from adequate” (Hölscher, 2016:54). Also, social work services being rendered in South Africa are provisioned against the backdrop of a struggling social welfare system (Gray & Lombard, 2022:2). In their evaluation of developmental social welfare in South Africa, Gray and Lombard (2022:2) point out that the “two major professions”, namely “social work and child youth care work” are “in disarray”. Additionally, the authors state that in South Africa the working conditions are “oppressive” as, currently, there is an inadequately employed number of practitioners, which contrasts sharply with the available number of graduates and availability to match the demand for social workers. As a result, social workers are grappling with large numbers of clients and are overwhelmed with large caseloads (Gray & Lombard, 2022:2-4). This situation is also exacerbated by consistent “brain drain”, as some social workers are leaving the country for greener pastures, while others leave the profession to take up new careers (Gray & Lombard, 2022:4; Mathe, 2018:52). Social workers are also employed in largely “under-resourced” contexts (Gray & Lombard, 2022:4). All in all, the current state of social welfare, together with the country’s unequal socio-economic conditions, are bound to negatively impact the quality of service being rendered to different groups of migrants.

Hölscher (2016:64) notes that in South Africa “poor people find themselves pitted against each other as they compete for resources that need not be scarce ...”. It is under such conditions that a unique ethical dilemma arises. Since this dilemma rarely appears in literature on social work ethics, the researcher shall name it *competing demands for limited resources*. The ethical

dilemma is linked to other dilemmas discussed in Sections 4.2 and 4.3. *Dual loyalty* to social work ethics and migration laws results in the paradox between caring for migrants and controlling migration through social work services. Controlling migration using services ultimately leads to competing demands for limited resources between citizens and migrants, as boundaries would have been drawn regarding deserving or undeserving individuals. In addition, competing demands for limited resources relates to the ethical dilemma of competing stakeholder interests highlighted by Pullen-Sanfaçon and Cowden (2013:39). However, instead of competing stakeholder interests in terms of organisations and service users, it becomes an issue of migrants versus citizens.

However, in this context, the ethical dilemma goes beyond issues of eligibility based on migrants versus citizens or documented versus undocumented migrants and the paradox of care versus control, but to social workers sharing out resources to poor vulnerable citizens and migrants in an under-resourced environment. Social service practitioners have a responsibility to facilitate resource and service distribution (McAuliffe, 2014:55). They also have to find ways of equitably sharing what is available to different vulnerable groups (McAuliffe, 2014:55-56). In resource sharing, according to Hölscher (2016:64), "... in this context cross-border migrants find themselves additionally disadvantaged". The fact that migrants, due to their status, find themselves at a disadvantage is a cause for concern for social work.

The researcher thus poses two questions: is the nation-state, as identified by Fraser (2009:12), the correct frame to share the available resources to competing groups? This question is especially significant, considering that within this frame, only citizens can make social justice claims to their fellow citizens and the state (Fraser, 2009:12). A further question is: Is the nation-state frame the correct resolution to the dilemma of competing demands for limited resources, considering that the rights provided by the Constitution and Children's Act apply to every child in South Africa? Also, noting that human worth and dignity and human rights provided by international and national codes of ethics apply regardless of the migrant children's national origin. The researcher proposes that a possible solution to the dilemma of competing demands for limited resources lies in an anti-oppressive social work and decolonial approach that were used as a theoretical framework for this study. The resolution to the ethical dilemma is further discussed in Chapter 4.

In sum, social work service provisioning meant to benefit various categories of migrants in South Africa was discussed in this section. This section highlighted that social work services

should be guided by the developmental social welfare approach. Similar to the Global North, social welfare and migration policy specify whom amongst migrants services should be rendered to. Also, like in the Global North, social workers are required to provide services to all migrant children, as contextually guided by the Constitution and Children's Act. Although social work services apply to all children in South Africa, the current social welfare system is struggling to cater for the needs of all children in the country because resources were found to be limited. It is under such conditions that a dilemma unique to the South African context has been found to be the competing demands for limited resources between citizens and migrants. The dilemma of competing demands for limited resources is linked to dual loyalty and the paradox of care versus control because social workers are bound to neglect their care responsibilities and follow agency and state requirements in the distribution of resources.

3.5. Conclusion

The social work profession is built on a normative base that commits practitioners to assist differently placed groups of migrants. Social workers are committed to the promotion of human rights and social justice. Therefore, in light of the reviewed literature, it is conceivable that by merely being humans, migrants are worthy of human rights, respect and dignity. Linked to the normative base, South African social work should be framed within what is supposed to be an inclusive, human rights and social justice-oriented developmental social welfare, which uniquely addresses the needs of all vulnerable populations by weaving together the past and present. The developmental social welfare approach, when used to serve children, is guided by the Constitution and Children's Act, which state that all children in South Africa are equal in terms of rights.

Although migrants are ideally provisioned through the principles of human rights and social justice, both internationally and nationally, a closer look at the literature on social work with migrants reveals a number of shortcomings. The reviewed literature reveals that although they are committed to the protection and promotion of human rights and social justice, social workers are limited in their abilities because of the exclusion experienced by the children of migrants and the oppression of social workers. This is linked to the migration-related legislative and policy systems that are highly exclusionary. The reviewed literature has revealed that on the one hand, child protection laws and social work principles recognise child migrants as worthy of human rights and protection. On the other hidden hand, through migration laws, these entitlements are limited.

This makes the nation-state in the field of social work with migrants such a powerful institution. It can, with one stroke, disempower both the service provider and the service receiver. Social workers, because of the nation-state's position on migration, are caught between *dual loyalties*, that is, having to legislatively serve the state and ethically serving the migrant client. Social workers also find themselves caught between the paradox *between care and control*, thus, adhering to migration laws, which may come at the expense of the care of the migrant client. Social workers also deal with poor people *competing for limited resources*, and the nation-state frame that excludes people because they are from the other side of the border is used as a guide to share resources to poor people. The reviewed literature reveals that in all contexts and ethical dilemmas, the nation-state ultimately decides whether or not migrants can access social work services.

Because of the role of the nation-state in service provisioning, social work with migrants is a complex field of practice. Therefore, a number of questions remain unanswered: How does social work separate itself from the nation-state framework in service provisioning? How can social workers maintain their ethical commitments in the field of migration? Who really is entitled to social work services within the nation-state? And in the Global South: Is the colonial border the correct framework for social justice claims of second-generation migrants in South Africa? The chapter on the study's theoretical framework responds to some of these questions. The next chapter discusses a social justice-oriented, anti-oppressive, and decolonial approach that further illuminates the structural barriers faced by social workers in service provisioning, and by children of migrants when integrating into receiving societies.

CHAPTER 4: ANTI-OPPRESSIVE SOCIAL WORK AS A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

4.1. Introduction

This chapter outlines Anti-oppressive Social Work Practice (AOP) as the theoretical framework underpinning this study. The theoretical framework influenced the conceptualisation of Chapters 2 and 3. Chapter 2 presented a review of literature on second-generation migrants from various geopolitical contexts; the literature specifically related to the concepts of assimilation, integration, and acculturation as experienced by second-generation migrants in their receiving countries. Chapter 2 concluded that second-generation migrants struggled to fit into their receiving countries, and this was mostly on account of discrimination and exclusions along social, political and economic lines. The exclusion and discrimination of second-generation migrants in their receiving countries in the processes of assimilation, integration, and acculturation are essentially social justice concerns, and accordingly, they are important to anti-oppressive social work.

It was demonstrated in Chapter 3 that social workers are ethically committed to assisting second-generation migrants to integrate into their receiving countries. In the South African context, social workers are ethically committed to assisting second-generation migrants from the developmental social welfare approach. Although practitioners are bound by ethical principles governing social work, it was also highlighted in Chapter 3 that migration is a complex field of social work practice. The complexities characterising this field are linked to the different migrant statutes, thus, social workers are found complicit in the exclusion of second-generation migrants from accessing basic social work and other human services. Social workers also participate in the drawing of boundaries between “who” deserves and does not deserve human services. Determining who is “worthy” and “unworthy” of services is in line with Baines and Clark’s (2022:1) recent observation that in different fields of practice, social workers have been found participating in cases of “institutionalised oppression”.

The exclusionary and discriminatory experiences and practices noted in the preceding chapters on second-generation migrants and social work’s ethical commitments to migrants are as problematic as they are socially unjust. Exclusionary practices are particularly concerning for the social work practice because they support the underlying societal structures that perpetuate

migrant service user oppression and, arguably, worker oppression. It is for these reasons that the researcher adopted anti-oppressive social work as the study's overarching theory. This chapter explicates this framework further, making specific reference to Iris Marion Young's (1990:41) conceptualisation of oppression. It is further extended by linking it with the concepts of misframing (Fraser, 2009:19) and coloniality (Quijano, 2000a:533; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013a:128). Although the concepts of misframing and coloniality were not originally part of anti-oppressive social work theorising, they are essential for the analysis of the study's findings in relation to its particular concerns and context.

This chapter is divided into four parts; the first section briefly outlines anti-oppressive social work as the theory that was used to frame the study. The second section first defines the concept of oppression using the five faces of oppression. This section also discusses the different ways in which oppression occurs, and how these lead to internalised oppression. The term 'misframing' is then discussed, that is, with reference being made to framing social justice claims within the nation-state. The section additionally critiques the nation-state frame in which people make their social justice claims. In the last section, the term 'coloniality' is discussed. Under this section, coloniality conceptualises and problematises the nation-state frame in the Global South, in turn, explaining that colonially drawn borders are a source of social injustice.

4.2. Anti-oppressive social work

Anti-oppressive social work originates in the Global North contexts, such as the United Kingdom (UK) and Canada (Baines, 2011:5; Dominelli, 2002:1; Hölscher & Chiumbu, 2020:2; Mullaly, 2010; Zhang, 2018:125). In these contexts, anti-oppressive social work was born from the limitations of traditional social work theories and practices which, according to Baines (2011:2), addressed clients' social problems by "placing leaky band aids". Baines (2011:2) further notes that in many of the traditional social work theories and practices, service users tend to be "pathologised" and "held responsible" for their presenting social problems. As a result, social work interventions are more focused on psychosocial counselling, with clients being helped to "change their behaviour". Social workers also hand out food, blankets, and clothes to poor people "who" they deem as "deserving" of assistance (Baines & Clark, 2022:3). This does not suggest that some of these interventions are irrelevant to social work; however, historically, social workers have tended to deal with clients' presenting social problems without challenging and addressing their underlying structural causes, thus exonerating their oppressive living conditions (Baines, 2011:2). It is for these reasons that anti-oppressive theorists assert

that the majority of the social problems faced by social work service users are embedded in everyday oppressive social, political, and economic structures (Baines, 2011:2; Clifford & Burke, 2009; Dominelli, 2002:9; Mullaly, 2010:61). Anti-oppressive theorists thus call on social workers to address the structural causes of clients' social problems (Baines, 2011:2-3).

Hölscher and Chiumbu (2020:3) highlight that “a central aim of anti-oppressive practice is to help service users and service user communities understand the conditions that oppress them, as well as the processes by which this occurs”. Consequently, Dominelli (2002:4) further states that:

Social workers have a responsibility to challenge this grotesque image of poor people and, besides bringing to public notice the strengths of those who battle to transcend social exclusion, to work to empower those who are engulfed by the weight of which they are embedded. This is done with the aim to show where oppressive social problems can be challenged or changed. And, moreover, they as social workers maybe oppressed themselves whilst both oppressing and attempting to empower people at the same time.

This then makes the concept of oppression in its different forms central to anti-oppressive social work. Authors writing in the anti-oppressive tradition note that oppression occurs in two ways, that is, tyrannically and structurally (Dominelli, 2002:7-8; Clifford, 2013; Hölscher & Chiumbu, 2020:2; Mullaly, 2010:53). This understanding of oppression is founded on Young's (1990) work and is explored further in Section 4.3. Anti-oppressive social work also highlights the three levels of human interaction or “social relations” that “generate oppression” Baines & Clark, 2022:6; see also Goodman, 2015:4; Mullaly, 2010:61). These are the micro, meso, and macro levels (Baines & Clark, 2022:6). This means that oppression is found at intra-personal, group, community, organisational and structural levels of the environment, and thus it makes sense for anti-oppressive social work interventions to occur at the society's micro, meso, and macro-level (Hölscher & Chiumbu, 2020:2). The researcher notes that even in migration, oppression is found at all the three levels of the environment, but it is mostly generated at the macro level.

Additionally, AOP has its foundation in critical social work theories (Hölscher & Chiumbu, 2020:2; Mullaly, 2007). In line with the characteristics of this critical tradition, anti-oppressive social work is described by Baines (2011:4) as “... an umbrella term for a number of social justice-oriented approaches to social work, including feminist, Marxist, postmodernist, Indigenous, poststructuralist, critical constructionist, anti-colonial, and anti-racist”. In other words, anti-oppressive social work is one of the traditions that place social justice concerns at

their centre. In addition, anti-oppressive social work is rooted in various movements (Baines, 2011:4; Dominelli, 2002:1). According to Baines and Clark (2022:17), anti-oppressive social work is to be additionally advantageous because it is connected to social movements, thus it is constantly changing and responding to new social issues. Responding to recent social movements, for example, in the Global South, anti-oppressive social work has begun to draw on decolonial theories (Baines & Clark, 2022; Holscher & Chiumbu, 2019). It is for these reasons that this theory, in conjunction with selected concepts of misframing and coloniality developed by political philosophers and theorists (Fraser, 2009:18; Quijano, 2000a:533; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013:128a), provided a most suitable framework to aid the interpretation of this study's empirical findings.

Anti-oppressive social work has notable characteristics, that is, it is connected to the ever-evolving social movements; it acknowledges that social problems emanate from the social, political and economic societal structures, and these problems should be holistically addressed at all levels of the environment. Even though these characteristics are essential, acknowledging the relationship between social workers and the state is one of its most important characteristics, especially considering the centrality of the nation-state in the lives of migrants and its influence on social work practice. Baines and Clark (2022:20) note "social work's complicated and contradictory relationship to the state". Moreover, according to Baines (2011:15), the nation-state plays three central roles in social work, which are: it makes policies and laws that guide social work practice; it is also the main funder of state social service organisations and NGOs; and some social work governing bodies are located within the state, for example, the South African Council for Social Service Professionals (SACSSP).

Thus, Baines (2011:17) denotes that "rather than being neutral or non-aligned, the state reflects an unsteady equilibrium of struggles between those who benefit from inequity and those who strive to eradicate or reduce it". Additionally, because of this contradictory relationship, social workers in the past and present have been found taking up state roles such as policing (Baines & Clark, 2022). In the field of migration, social workers take up the role not only performed by the police but also by migration officials, as seen in the literature review chapter on social work with migrants (see Chapter 3). As argued in Chapter 3, social work demonstrates itself in the field of migration not only as a value-laden and principle-driven profession that is separate from the nation-state, but it is also sometimes seen by migration officials as an extension of the state, particularly in migration control. The researcher contends that in this study, the state is

central to the service user (second-generation migrant) and service provider (social worker) because, through its power and laws, it can silence and render both oppressed.

Beyond noting the complex and contradictory relationship between the nation-state and social work, some authors have critiqued anti-oppressive social work and questioned its appropriateness to everyday practice. One such author, Zhang (2018:126), argues that “... AOP as a particular mode of production of knowledge has rarely been held up to scrutiny and its implementation is seen as self-evident”. Zhang (2018:126) further asserts that “it seems AOP has become the *raison d’être* of social work education and practice, carrying with it promises of liberation from oppressive forces in society and of actions towards social transformation”. This appears to champion anti-oppressive social work as an ideal go-to social justice theory for structurally related social problems. Addressing the first criticism, AOP can be used successfully at the micro, meso, and macro levels of social work practice (Hölscher & Chiumbu, 2020; Ramsundarsingh & Shier, 2023). Also, there are instances where the theory is the best in terms of making sense of the structurally embedded experiences of service users, as in the context of this study. Addressing the second criticism, Baines (2011:4) highlights that “AOP does not claim to be an exclusive and authoritative model” capable of solving all social problems. Instead, it is constantly refining and responding to the service users’ social needs and oppressive conditions. To further address these criticisms, it is important to understand oppression because anti-oppressive social work is incomplete without delving into an in-depth discussion of oppression. The concept of oppression is explored in detail in the next section.

4.3. Oppression

Based on the conceptualisation of anti-oppressive social work in the introduction of this chapter, it was important for this study to first understand the meaning of oppression, how it is perpetuated, and how it relates to matters of social justice in the field of social work with migrants. This study does not provide an exclusive or ideal definition or conceptualisation of oppression. Instead, like many authors writing within the anti-oppressive tradition, the researcher primarily drew on the view of the feminist scholar, Young’s (1990:40-41) understanding of oppression (Clifford, 2013:36; Hölscher & Chiumbu, 2020:2; Mullaly, 2010:44; Ramsundarsingh & Shier, 2023:2). This view is discussed below.

4.3.1. Oppression and its various forms

The meaning of oppression can be conceptualised from Young's (1990:48-63) five faces of oppression (see also Mullaly, 2010:55; Ramsundarsingh & Shier, 2023:31). Thus, oppression can be viewed as a "condition" of, namely: exploitation, marginalisation, powerlessness, cultural imperialism, and violence (Ramsundarsingh & Shier, 2023:3). These five faces of oppression do not exist in isolation, as they are interlinked and interrelated (Mullaly, 2010:55). For example, an exploited group is bound to have been marginalised to societal peripheries, where individuals are rendered powerless, and are thus subjected to cultural imperialism and violence (Mpofu, 2018:9). The five faces mentioned above are explained in detail below.

Exploitation can be best understood using the lenses of the Marxist theory of class structures (Young, 1990:48). Young (1990:48) compares slave and feudal societies to the capitalist society, noting that in the first two, there were clear class distinctions, as a line was marked between superior and inferior groups. Comparatively, in a capitalist society people are assumed to "freely" sell their labour at a price negotiated between the employer and the employee, thus, the class structures that existed before were formally removed (Young, 1990:48). Yet, these class structures are continuing in the so-called free society (Young, 1990:48). Young (1990:48) explains that this continuity owes a great deal to the fact that in a capitalist society wealth and profits are appropriated to perpetuate the existing class structures. Consequently, it has been observed that "the injustice of a capitalist society consists in the fact that some people exercise their capacities under control, according to the purposes, and for the benefit of other people" (Young, 1990:49). The researcher, like Young (1990:49-50), does not wish to delve deeper into the economics of worker and employer relations, as it falls beyond the scope of this study, but the key takeaway point is that "exploitation enacts a structural relation between social groups" and the transference of power from one social group to another (see also Mullaly, 2010:55).

Young (1990:53) derives the meaning of *marginalisation* from exploitation occurring in a capitalist society. According to Young (1990:53), "marginals are people the system of labour cannot or will not use". Interpreting this statement broadly enables the inclusion of other oppressed groups other than workers; therefore, marginals are people who exist in the fringes or peripheries of society and are seen as not of use, as well as not belonging. Mullaly (2010:56) lists the following people as examples of marginals: people of colour, old and young persons, single mothers and their children, physically and mentally disabled people, unskilled workers, and Aboriginal people. It is for this reason that Young (1990:53) asserts that:

Marginalization is perhaps the most dangerous form of oppression. A whole category of people is expelled from useful participation in social life and thus potentially subjected to severe material deprivation and even extermination. The material deprivation marginalization often causes is certainly unjust ...

Moreover, it is argued that marginalisation cannot be solely addressed by material redistribution, because it “does not cease to be oppressive when one has shelter and food” (Young, 1990:55). Therefore, oppressed groups occupying societal margins are not only materially deprived but are also rendered invisible and eliminated from making even other most basic social justice claims. Marginalisation encompasses the economic, cultural, and political dimensions of society that render groups oppressed; hence, these need to be equally addressed (Young, 1990:55).

Linking exploitation and marginalisation to *powerlessness*, Young (1990:56) notes that quite often, workers and citizens do not participate in the formulation of policies that affect their daily lives; thus, they are expected to abide by policies made by others, and “in this sense most people lack significant power”. There are some people who try to mediate on behalf of themselves and others (Young, 1990:56), for example, professionals (Mullaly, 2010:57). Although they cannot directly influence policy and its outcomes, they have some sort of power (Young, 1990:60). Concurrently, the powerless “are those who lack authority or power in the mediated sense, those over whom power is exercised without their exercising it” (Young, 1990:56). Consequently, “the powerless are situated that they must take orders and rarely have a right to give them” (Young, 1990:56). Additionally, the powerless “do not command respect” (Young, 1990:57). Young (1990:57) argues that one cannot help but describe powerlessness in negative terms, as the powerless neither have “authority” nor “status”.

Status is central to the next face of oppression. Unlike exploitation, marginalisation, and powerlessness, which Young (1990:58) characterises as directly resulting from the capitalist economy, *cultural imperialism* seemingly stands out on its own (see also Mullaly, 2010:59). Noteworthy cultural imperialism is the most prevalent of the five faces of oppression in the empirical literature reviewed on second-generation migrants (see Chapter 2, Section 2. 3). Cultural imperialism is also linked to Fraser’s (2009:16) social justice dimension of (mis)recognition of people along cultural and legal lines. According to Young (1990:59), “cultural imperialism involves the universalization of a dominant group’s experience and culture, and its establishment as the norm”. Therefore, as per Young (1990:58-59) “to experience cultural imperialism means to experience how the dominant meanings of a society

render the particular perspective of one's own group as invisible at the same time as they stereotype one's group and mark it out as the Other". When the culturally dominated groups interpret the world using their own culture, or when they deviate from the universalised culture, they are stereotyped and othered (Young, 1990:59; see also Mullaly, 2010:59). They are also "rendered invisible" and marginalised as well (Young, 1990:59). Thus, in order to survive in such a world, culturally dominated groups develop a "double conscience", understanding themselves through the cultures of both the dominant and dominated groups (Young, 1990:60; see also Mullaly, 2010:59). However, it must be noted that regardless of efforts to understand and view the world from the cultures of both the dominated and dominant groups, culturally dominated groups are expected to occupy lower places in society. Also noted in the section on acculturation presented in Chapter 2 is that, ultimately, the dominant culture prevails (see Section 2.2.3).

Exploitation, powerlessness, marginalisation, and cultural imperialism ultimately result in *violence*. According to Young (1990:61), "members of some [oppressed] groups live with the knowledge that they must fear random, unprovoked attacks on their persons or property, which have no motive but to damage, humiliate, or destroy a person". Oppressed groups are also aware that should they be attacked, the perpetrators of violence, if apprehended, will either go unpunished or alternatively a token punishment is handed to them for their crimes (Young, 1990:62; Mullaly, 2010:60). Physical violence on its own is not oppressive; however, the intent and social conditions that condone these acts qualify violence as a face of oppression (Young, 1990:61-62). The systematic social conditions and "rationale" of allowing certain groups to be targeted make violence oppressive (Young, 1990:61-62). Drawing on Mullaly's (2010) work on the psychology of oppression, living in fear and in the knowledge that one is likely to be attacked makes violence physical, social and psychological in nature (see also Young, 1990:62). Young (1990:61) adds that acts of "harassment, intimidation and ridicule" with the intent of "degrading, humiliating, or stigmatizing group members" are violence. Therefore, "institutions and social practices that encourage, tolerate, or enable the perpetration of violence against members of specific groups, those institutions and practices are unjust and should be reformed" (Young, 1990:63). The next section focuses on social institutions and their role in tyrannical and structural oppression.

4.3.2. Tyrannical, structural, and internal and external forms of oppression

Young's (1990:48) five faces of oppression are linked and related to how oppression is perpetuated through both tyrannical and structural, as well as external and internal means. Young (1990:41) explains that oppression mainly occurs in two ways. That means oppression happens, firstly, *intentionally* and secondly, *unintentionally*. The first type of oppression occurs through the intentional "exercise of tyranny by a ruling group" over a lesser or dominated or subordinate group (Young, 1990:40). The intentional exercise of tyranny, in many instances, is associated with the "traditional" understanding of oppression (Young, 1990:40). Furthermore, when oppression is intentionally exercised, for example, in colonialism or colonial domination, there is a possibility that an oppressed group gains independence from the oppressor (Young, 1990:41). Taking into consideration when Young (1990) wrote this text, the researcher notes that there are instances where independence is not completely gained from intentional oppression, and this argument is advanced by decolonial theorists in relation to colonialism (see Grosfoguel, 2007:219; Quijano, 2000a:214; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013a:3; Mignolo, 2021; Tamale, 2020:28). This view is further elaborated below in the discussion on the colonial matrix of power and colonality (see Section 4.5). Nonetheless, Young (1990:41) emphasises that viewing oppression as being intentionally perpetuated does not fully account for the everyday oppressive social, economic, and political conditions under which oppressed people live.

Young's (1990:41) second type of oppression occurs unintentionally "... because of the everyday practices of a well-intentioned liberal society". This unintentional oppression is "unconsciously" facilitated by "well-meaning" human beings in their everyday lives when they apply or adopt societal norms, rules, stereotypes, habits, values, and symbols (Young, 1990:41). This second type of oppression is structural in the sense that it is "embedded" in society's everyday social, political, and economic structures (Young, 1990:41). Mullaly (2010:54) adds that structural oppression is more prevalent than tyrannical oppression because it forms part of everyday human life. Nonetheless, Mullaly (2010:54) asserts that this does not exonerate people who tyrannically oppress others.

Additionally, unlike tyrannical oppression, structural oppression cannot be eliminated by seeking independence from the oppressor, neither can this kind of oppression be removed by enacting new rules and laws, as this simply does not go far enough (Young, 1990:41). Similarly, Mullaly (2010) contends that ultimately, structural oppression can possibly be

resolved by having a complete overhaul of the society's social, political and economic dimensions. This point is further developed in Section 4.4. However, it must be noted that addressing these deeply rooted structures of oppression is likely to be met with resistance by the dominant, privileged groups (Goodman, 2015:11). Thus, Goodman (2015:1) asserts that when addressing structural oppression, privilege should be taken into consideration because "... oppression and privilege are described as two systems of inequality, both are important to understand and address to achieve greater equity". Both tyrannical and structural oppression apply to the experiences of second-generation migrants who participated in this study and, arguably, to the experiences of social work practitioners. However, structural oppression can be said to be more prevalent than tyrannical oppression in the experiences of second-generation migrants, which are determined by the societal structures they encounter on a daily basis.

Baines (2011:4) adds to this study's conceptualisation of oppression, thus strengthening the prevalent link between structural oppression and second-generation migrants' experiences. In particular, Baines (2011:4) deepens Young's (1990:40-41) understanding of structural oppression by elaborating that oppression is *external* when it is coming from the outside, whether through intentional or unintentional means. Nonetheless, Baines (2011:4) notes that there are instances when oppression is *internal*, that is, coming from within the oppressed person, for example, the second-generation migrant. Mullaly's (2010:159) work on the "psychology of oppression" further explores the idea of internal or internalised oppression. According to Mullaly (2010:159), to fully comprehend internalised oppression, one must understand the psyche of the oppressed persons in conjunction with their environment. In other words, being subjected to the five faces of oppression and oppressive political, social and economic environmental conditions negatively affects the physiological functioning of the oppressed, resulting in their internalisation of oppression.

Internalised oppression happens when oppressed groups accept oppression and view themselves and their position as per societal structures and oppressing groups' definitions, and, instead of challenging their oppression, adopt harmful ways that maintain their oppression and, as a result, perpetuating their inferior position (Goodman, 2015:5; Mullaly, 2010:162). For example, with mistrust, people doubt not only their "thinking and intelligence" but also the mental capability of their fellow group members, as a result, giving precedence to the ideas of dominant groups; this, in turn, divides the oppressed groups (Mullaly, 2010:162). In another

example, some members of oppressed groups “learn to behave in ways that do not provoke retaliation or draw attention” from the oppressor (Mullaly, 2010:162).

Other members of oppressed groups concentrate on critiquing their leaders, yet when it comes to supporting them, they hardly show up, seemingly because “they are expecting much but not supporting them” (Mullaly, 2010:163). Also, instead of challenging the oppressive system, some “oppressed oppress other groups to feel better about themselves” (Mullaly, 2010:163; see also Goodman, 2015:5). Additionally, Dominelli (2002:11) identifies other responses to oppression like acceptance, where they “internalise the dominant norms and values” without questioning them. Dominelli (2002:11) notes that there are also those groups who are termed accommodationists, thus, a “balance” is struck between “mild critique” and keeping good relations with those who hold power. Accommodating behaviour maintains the oppressive status quo. Understanding internalised oppression is important in the field of social work with migrants because the UN (2014:1) found that migrants tend to lead an invisible life, hiding from detection, as well as internalising their second-class citizenship.

To conclude this section, understanding the concept of oppression is central to anti-oppressive social work. The five faces of oppression, which are: exploitation, marginalisation, powerlessness, cultural imperialism, and violence exist alongside each other and, as a result, reinforce each other. The five faces of oppression are linked to intentional and unintentional, as well as external and internal, oppression. Oppression in all its forms and faces is prevalent in the lives of second-generation migrants. It can be thus argued that the oppression of groups such as second-generation migrants is a form of injustice. The meaning of social justice in the context of migration is the subject of the next section.

4.4. “Misframing: social justice, nation-state and second-generation migrants”

The central concern arising from Young’s (1990:40-41) view of oppression is that oppressed groups are prevented from “develop[ing] their ability and exercise their capacities and express their needs, thoughts and feelings” (see also Mullaly, 2010:40). Consequently, oppressed people are inhibited from functioning as full members of society, and such an inhibition is in itself a social injustice. Furthermore, their oppression cannot simply be addressed by equal distribution of resources and opportunities, as the social injustices they experience originate from larger social, political, and economic structures of society. Based on the conclusions

drawn on the concept of oppression and the resulting economic, social and political injustices, this section conceptualises Nancy Fraser's (2009:16) understanding of social justice. Fraser's (2009:16) work on social justice is particularly relevant in the field of social work with migrants and anti-oppressive social work, and more importantly to social work's commitment to the propagation of the principle of social justice as applied in the context of the nation-state frame. Hölscher (2014:20) also makes constructive remarks regarding the potential contribution that Fraser (2009:16) has on the furtherance of social work's ethical commitments to the principle of social justice.

In any discussion of Fraser's (2009:16) work, it is important to first provide a definition of justice and an explanation of what it constitutes. Justice is defined by Fraser (2009:16) as "parity in participation". Fraser elaborated that such participatory parity can only occur when there are just social arrangements (Bozalek, 2012:147). Accordingly, Fraser emphasises that:

.... social arrangements are just if, and only if, they institutionalise the possibility for people to participate on a par with one another in all aspects of social life. That means that social arrangements are unjust if they entrench obstacles that prevent the people from the possibility of parity of participation ... (Bozalek 2012:147).

Therefore, in defining justice as "parity of participation", that is, equal participation, Fraser (2009:16) implies that in any society, the extent to which social justice prevails, can be further advanced by identifying all enabling factors and by removing all impediments to equal participation from the social, political, and economic dimensions and most recently the physical or natural environment (Fraser, 2022). Linking this definition of social justice with the above discussion of oppression (see section 4.4), it appears that, as with Young (1990), the cultural, economic, and political dimensions of society are at the centre of Fraser's (2009:16) view of social justice.

Fraser's (2009:16) understanding of social justice reveals three important layers to be considered: firstly, there is the question of "what" is at stake in terms of social justice; secondly, there is an issue regarding "who" can make social justice claims; and thirdly, there is the "how" of social justice, that is, the decision-making rules by which it is decided as to "who" can make such claims to "whom". On the question of "what" constitutes social justice, adopting a three-dimensional view, Fraser (2009:16) elaborates that justice entails equitable distribution of economic resources and opportunities, recognition of cultural and legal hierarchies, and just political representation. Fraser (2009:16) notes that there are injustices associated with each of these dimensions. In the first dimension, when economic structures prevent equal access to

resources and opportunities, claimants suffer the injustice of maldistribution (Fraser, 2009:16). In the second dimension, exclusionary cultural and legal hierarchies that create a “status order” expose social justice subjects to misrecognition (Fraser, 2009:16). With the third dimension of political representation, there are three levels of injustice (Fraser, 2009:18-19). At the first level, political processes such as voting that elevate the voices of majority winners at the expense of the so-called minority losers result in “ordinary political misrepresentation” (Fraser, 2009:19). Put together, distribution, recognition, and ordinary political representation require a frame determining who can access social justice (Fraser, 2009:18).

This brings the discussion to the second level of the political dimension (Fraser, 2009:17). At this level, political boundaries are drawn around a community, thus “... determining who counts as a member” (Fraser, 2009:17). Furthermore, Fraser (2009:17) notes that at this level “... the political dimension: it tells us who is included in, and who is excluded from, the circle of those entitled to a just distribution and reciprocal recognition”, and to ordinary political representation. Fraser (2009:19) refers to the drawn political boundaries delaminating individuals’ belonging in a community, determining who can make social justice claims as *framing*. Consequently, Fraser (2009:19) remarks that:

Here the injustice that arises when the community boundaries are drawn in such a way to wrongly exclude some people from a chance to participate at all in its authorized contests over justice. In such cases, misrepresentation takes a deeper form, which I shall call misframing.

In addition to the ordinary misrepresentation and misframing, which are levels one and two; at the third level, the political dimension incorporates the decision-making rules, outlining the ways in which claimants’ contests for social justice are decided upon, also determining to whom they can make these claims, particularly regarding those people who are established as not belonging to a specific community (Fraser, 2009:17). Applying Fraser’s (2009:19) concept of misframing to this study, the social injustices encountered by second-generation migrants when accessing social work, educational and health care services, and at points of assimilation, acculturation and integration into migrant-receiving countries are related to the drawing of exclusionary community boundaries. This means that Fraser’s (2009:19) concept of misframing in this study refers to non-citizens’ lack of opportunities to make legitimate claims in terms of distribution, recognition and representation in their receiving societies.

In this regard, Fraser (2009:12) observes that social justice is linked to and has been historically framed within the Keynesian-Westphalian state, a term originally used to denote people in a

nation-state making claims for fair access to resources and opportunities. In this instance, the assumption is that the nation-state is a sovereign entity, in which all its subjects can equally make social justice claims (Fraser, 2009:13). In addition, there is a clear demarcation between the “domestic” sovereign space and the “international space” because the two are viewed as not connected (Fraser, 2009:12). Therefore, social justice contests can and should only occur within the Keynesian-Westphalian state (Fraser, 2009:12). Yet, Fraser (2009:1) observes that within the nation-state “... disadvantaged people cry out for justice as if addressing an impartial judge, even though they know full well that none exists and that the standards by which they will be judged are stacked against them”. This means that there are problems with the current nation-state as a social justice frame.

The fact that the Keynesian-Westphalian state is the only site where social justice claims can be submitted exclusively by citizens is “under dispute” in the current globalised world (Fraser, 2009:12). The rise of globalisation through transnational cooperations, transnational governance, and transnational social movements operating beyond nation-state borders “is changing the way we argue about social justice” (Fraser, 2009:12; see Furman et al., 2012:172). Furthermore, as noted in Chapter 1, Section 1.1, people are increasingly moving across borders due to wars, economic problems and natural environment disasters have also had adverse economic, cultural and legal, as well as political implications for the framing of social justice claims in migrant-receiving countries. The problem of misframing makes it apparent that the Keynesian-Westphalian frame can no longer be assumed to be the correct frame for social justice claims, especially in the context of this study where people are moving across borders, and where the status of migrants can be inherited by subsequent generations.

Misframing also reveals that in the Keynesian-Westphalian frame, the state is appointed the *de facto* overseer and rule maker for who can access just distribution, be recognised, and have ordinary political representation (Fraser, 2009:17). Accordingly, Fraser (2009:20) contends that “the Keynesian Westphalian frame is now considered by many as a vehicle of injustice”. Misframing, in this case, touches on this study because in the processes of integration, assimilation, and acculturation and social work service provision, the state makes all laws and as the law maker and adjudicator of claims, has indeed been used as a “vehicle for social injustice”, to an extent that social workers find themselves caught in numerous and unresolvable ethical dilemmas because they are working within the laws of the state (see Section 4.3).

In conclusion, this study was conducted in the context of social work in which social justice is one of its key principles, thus the most important contribution Fraser (2009:19) makes to the profession is that social justice is not only about opportunities and resources being equally distributed, but it also includes people being legally and culturally recognised and politically represented. In addition, social justice encompasses the frame, which determines who is considered a legitimate claimant for access to distribution, recognition, and representation, and how this will be adjudicated, especially for service users who may fall outside the politically established frame, in this instance, second-generation migrants. It must be noted that social work texts and codes of ethics emphasise challenging social injustices and promoting social justice; therefore, it goes without saying that this is an important responsibility, and it should be addressed in all its dimensions. Hence, the researcher argued in Chapter 3 that the border cannot be used as the only frame for social work service delivery. Misframing that results in the border becoming a vehicle for social injustice is explored further in the context of the Global South.

4.5. The “border” frame as a form of “coloniality”

In this section, anti-oppressive social work is conceptualised in the context of the nation-state in the Global South. First and foremost, it is worth noting that Baines (2011; 2022), Dominelli (2002), Mullaly (2007, 2010) and Young (1990) write about oppression and anti-oppressive theory and practice from the perspective of the Global North. Fraser (2009:12) critiques the appropriateness of the Keynesian-Westphalian state as a frame for social justice contests, in a globalising world and from a similar context. The social injustices emerging from the Keynesian-Westphalian frame, with regard to globalisation, are indeed relevant to people located in the Global South. The point of departure, however, is that the Keynesian-Westphalian state has additional injustices it presents to people in the Global South. This study contends that in the Global South, the Keynesian-Westphalian state has additional social injustices that are linked to oppression emanating from colonial borders. The researcher, like other authors writing from a decolonial point of view, makes reference to the works of African and Latin American decolonial theorists to advance this argument.

Like the decolonial scholar, Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013a:5, 2018), the researcher first reads Mignolo's (1999:236-238) concept of the locus of enunciation, where the author highlights that “loci of enunciation are constituted at the intersection of epistemology and the politics of location”. In other words, “I am where I think” (Mignolo, 1999:23). Similarly, the locus of

enunciation, according to Grosfoguel (2007:213), refers to who speaks and their social, epistemic, and physical location (see Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013a:5, 2018). Grosfoguel (2007:213) and Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013a:5, 2018) have noted that the “locus of enunciation” is central and important to decolonial scholarship. This is because “...we always speak from a particular location of power structures”, and “nobody escapes the class, sexual, linguistic, geographical, and racial hierarchies of the modern/colonial/capitalist/patriarchal world-system” (Grosfoguel, 2007:213; see also Mignolo, 2000:xiv; Ndlovu-Gatsheni; 2018). Nonetheless, it must be noted that one can be socially and physically located in a particular place, for example, the Global South, but still hold oppressive epistemic ideals in relation to that space (Grosfoguel, 2007:213; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013a:5, 2018; Mignolo, 2021). It can thus be argued that epistemic location overrides social and physical location (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013a:5). The researcher adds one’s professional discipline as part of the locus of enunciation (see Mignolo, 2000:xvi). In the context of this study, social work is the researcher’s profession, and it forms part of the locus of enunciation.

Mignolo (2021:95) observes that in the colonial matrix of power, disciplines can be used to coerce a researcher into following a certain epistemological tradition. Mignolo (2021:95) notes that “disciplines in the colonial matrix of power can be like surrogates for religious and ethnic identities”. Yet, disciplines like social work acknowledge the influence of colonialism on people of the Global South (see Baines & Clark, 2022; IFSW, 2018; Harms-Smith & Nathane, 2018:2; Hölscher & Chiumbu, 2020:3). In critical social work (Harms-Smith & Nathane, 2018), more specifically anti-oppressive social work, a growing number of authors write from a decolonial point of view (see Hölscher & Chiumbu, 2020:3; Sewpaul & Hendrikson, 2019:1469). Hölscher and Chiumbu (2020:3) highlight that “on the level of everyday practice, a decolonial approach can enrich anti-oppressive social work by acknowledging that there may be forms of oppression which are distinct to the Global South, and which require equally distinct approaches”, as in the case of this research study, which was conducted in the Global South, specifically in Southern Africa. Like African decolonial scholars, the researcher writes about the nation-state and migration decades after Africa gained independence from European colonial governments. This study problematises the conditions under which the borders were drawn in Africa, consequently setting apart the experiences of *misframing* of people located in the Global South from those in the Global North.

To fully understand the depth of *miframing* and the oppressive nature of colonial borders in the Global South, specifically in Africa, it is essential to develop an understanding of the colonial matrix of power and coloniality. Various decolonial scholars from Africa and Latin America denote that decades after gaining independence from colonialism in the Global South, people continue to live under the “colonial matrix of power” (Grosfoguel, 2007:219; Quijano, 2000a; Mignolo, 2021; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013a:3; Tamale, 2020). Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013a:5) states that:

... the global neocolonial snares, otherwise known as colonial matrix of power were a complete package with social, economic, cultural, ideological, aesthetic and epistemological contours that combined to reduce, silence, dominate, oppress, exploit and overshadow the non-Western world.

Grosfoguel (2007:219) thus posits that:

One of the most powerful myths of the twentieth century was the notion that the elimination of colonial administrations amounted to decolonization of the world. This led to the myth of a “postcolonial” world.

Grosfoguel (2007:219) further argues that:

The heterogeneous and multiple global structures put in place over a period of 450 years did not evaporate with the juridical-political decolonization of the periphery over the past 50 years. We continue to live under the same “colonial power matrix” (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013b)

The concept of the colonial matrix of power has its origins in the seminal works of a Peruvian sociologist and decolonial scholar, Anibal Quijano (Grosfoguel, 2007:219; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013a:7). The concept came about with the establishment of colonisation (Quijano, 2000b:214; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013b:128), and it is embedded in every aspect of what it means to be human in the Global South (Grosfoguel, 2007:219). This means that formerly colonised people continue to exist under conditions of coloniality.

The concept of coloniality was coined by Quijano (2000a:533), and according to Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013a:128), it:

... is a reference to long-standing patterns of power that emerged as a result of colonialism and continue to define the culture, labour, intersubjective relations ... well beyond the strict limits of colonial administrations.

In other words, Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013b:xi) states that:

... peoples of the Global South in general continue to live under coloniality and as modern subjects, they breathe coloniality on a daily basis.

Tamale (2020:27-28) further connects coloniality to colonialism, explaining that during colonialism, administrative governments were “physically” enacted to run colonised territories. In Africa, these colonised territories gained independence from such governance “through nationalist and Pan-African Movements” (Tamale, 2020:27). After the fall of colonial administrative states, colonial powers still saw a need to keep former territories under the colonial matrix of power (Tamale, 2020:27). Thus, compared to colonialism, coloniality is abstract control because former colonising powers are externally and indirectly controlling their former colonies (Tamale, 2020:27). In this way, although free from colonial governance, people in the Global South still live under coloniality, which is an “indirect type of colonization” and it is “...no means less effective than the first” (Tamale, 2020:28).

The researcher denotes that in this study the colonially drawn borders that exist in Africa today are a form of coloniality because they were imposed upon people during colonialism (see Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013:2; Tamale, 2020:4; wa Thiong’o, 2009:5). Plausibly, these borders are coloniality, and consequently, a *misframe* for social justice contests in Africa today, as they continue to be used as a frame for the adjudication of social justice way past colonialism. The national borders that demarcate the continent today are a *misframe* because they were drawn at the Berlin Conference held between 1884 and 1885 (Ndlovu-Gatsheni & Mhlanga, 2013:2; wa Thiong’o, 2009:5; Tamale, 2020:30). Hence, Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Mhlanga (2013:2) argue that:

The popular argument on the subject of African borders is that they are artificial and arbitrary. This is said to be so because the borders were drawn by European men sitting at the Berlin Conference of 1884 to 1885 in Germany who did not take into account the ethnographic, demographic, and other African realities. This argument is very useful in so far as it helps us understand that borders were and are by their nature creations and constructions rather than the natural order of things.

This simply means that today’s borders are “not original to Africa”, as they were drawn to benefit colonial powers (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013:2). As a result, borders in Africa were drawn cutting across people’s lands, thus ignoring the continent’s contextual uniqueness (Ndlovu-Gatsheni & Mhlanga, 2013:2). For example, through colonial borders, the colonists split up language and kinship groups, cutting migratory routes, and grouping disparate groups into nations that were not existence before. On the account of the above, Tamale (2020:4) contends that “the continent was forced into a Eurocentric Westphalian world order ill-fitting to the

diverse political realities and interests of the continent” (see also Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013a:6). The problem of the colonial borders manifests today, with some ethnic groups desiring and seeking freedom from them and establishing their own nations in alignment with their own understanding of their identity (Ndlovu-Gatsheni & Mhlanga, 2013:16). Amongst many examples, Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Mhlanga (2013:16) note the case of the split Sudan, and the Igbo and the Ndebele people in Nigeria and Zimbabwe, respectively.

Political power was central to the drawing of borders and construction of the nation-state in Africa, for “... any given society is a power structure, and power is what makes diverse and dispersed forms of social existence into a single, partially or totally, an imposition of someone or some group upon others” (Quijano, 2000b:222). Alternatively, Fanon (1963:36) argues that violence was central to the establishment of the colonial nation-state. Drawing from the classical assimilation theory discussed in Chapter 2 (Section 2.2.1), it can be further said that people of the Global South were forcefully assimilated into a single national identity and other constructed sub-identities. Consequent to this assimilation, hierarchies were established within the homogenised sub-identities, with “race” being the ultimate determiner of who stands at the top of the hierarchy (Mignolo, 2021:190; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2018). Resultantly, in Africa where there were many tribes such as Yoruba, Zulu, and Ashanti, there were now superior and inferior groupings, which were placed according to race (Ndlovu-Gatsheni & Mhlanga, 2013:6). Of significance to this study is the notion that the native tribes, who are “black”, were put at the bottom of the “racial” hierarchy. The same applied to Latin America where there were now superior Spanish or Portuguese and inferior “Negroes” and “Mestizos” (Quijano, 2000b:216).

Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013a:8, 2018) refers to the hierarchising of identities according to “race” as the “coloniality of being” (see also Mignolo, 1999). During colonisation, this had endemic implications, for example, Fanon (1963:39) compared the different living conditions between the coloniser, who was well off, and the colonised that lived under poor conditions. In addition, social and economic advancements, and belonging or not belonging was dependent on “race” (Fanon, 1963:40). It is for these reasons that Mignolo (2012:66) contends that colonial borders are both “physical and metaphorical”, that is, they are physically marked on the land, and at the same time they are also demarcated in terms of the experiences of belonging versus not belonging. Mignolo (2012:66) argues that at the heart of belonging versus not belonging lies othering, which is based on Fanon’s (1964:39) and Quijano’s (2000a:540) coloniser and colonised identities, or Said’s (1979) oriental and occidental identities.

The colonising individual was basically viewed as a superior being with all the rights and entitlements, while the colonised individual as an inferior being with a lesser humanity (Quijano, 2000a:540). Borrowing from the writings of the anti-oppressive theorists, it can be further observed that this created boundaries between the dominant *Us* and dominated *Them*, which should be constantly guarded against. Emanating from this type of othering, in migration literature both globally and South Africa, bodies which were originally viewed as *Them* are constantly marked as not belonging, and as a result, they are at the receiving end of xenophobic sentiments and attacks from the *Us* who are deemed a belonging group. Othering and superiority versus inferiority between citizens and migrants are also prevalent in the empirical literature on second-generation migrants (see Chapter 2, Section 2.3).

In sum, it was stated in this section that the locus of enunciation is central to decolonial scholarship and for people located in the Global South. This section advanced the argument that people in the Global South contexts continue to live under the colonial matrix of power, ultimately living under conditions of coloniality, a condition perpetuated by the use of colonial drawn borders. Based on the points discussed in this section, the researcher concludes that in the formerly colonised Africa, as a form of coloniality, borders are arguably an inappropriate frame for making social justice claims for Zimbabwean second-generation migrants living in South Africa and in the Global South at large. The researcher further argues that borders in the Global South are doubly a *misframe* in social work service delivery because they are problematised in the context of a globalising world and imposed entities.

4.6. Conclusion

The experiences of assimilation, integration, and acculturation of second-generation migrants and social work service delivery targeting children of migrants are framed within an overarching theoretical framework of anti-oppressive social work. As a social justice-oriented framework based on the works of social movements, it is the most suitable framework for this study, as it draws from theories of oppression, social justice, and decolonisation. The chapter advanced the argument that anti-oppressive theorists regard the nation-state as the most central institution in social work service delivery and, arguably, in the lives of second-generation migrants. This perspective places the oppression emanating from societal structures, such as the state, at the centre of social work service users' social problems. In this context, structural oppression is embedded in the second-generation migrants' experiences of their integration into their receiving countries.

This chapter also raised questions regarding whether second-generation migrants can be viewed as an oppressed group. Their oppression can be interpreted using the five faces of oppression, which are: exploitation, marginalisation, powerlessness, cultural imperialism, and violence. These five faces of oppression are interlinked and reinforce one another. The five faces of oppression are tyrannically and structurally perpetuated, that is, intentionally and unintentionally. Additionally, oppressed groups experience oppression internally and externally, in instances where they are oppressed by other groups intentionally and unintentionally, and where internal oppression occurs within themselves. Internalised oppression leads to harmful behaviours, such as doubting one's and fellow group members' intelligence, learning to behave in ways that do not provoke the oppressor, oppressing other oppressed groups, acceptance, and accommodation of oppression. It is worth noting that instead of lessening their oppression, these dispositions and attitudes perpetuate it.

This chapter further advanced the argument that the main source of the oppression of second-generation migrants and, to some extent, social workers as migrant service providers, is the border or the nation-state or the Keynesian-Westphalian state. The Keynesian-Westphalian state has been used as a frame to determine “who” is entitled to social justice, “how” these claims can be made and to “whom” should they be made. Social justice has been defined in this chapter as equality in individuals' participation in social, political, and economic aspects of life. Social justice entails the economic, social, and political dimensions, which result in injustices of maldistribution and ordinary political representation. The political dimension has two injustices of ordinary political representation and misframing. Misframing occurs when political boundaries are drawn around a community in such a way that they exclude other community members. The Keynesian-Westphalian is a misframe in a globalised world because social justice contests occur beyond the nation-state.

In this study, the Keynesian-Westphalian state frame for social justice is disputed at two levels. Firstly, it is disputed as a frame for social justice claims for second-generation migrants living in a globalised world. Secondly, it is disputed as a frame for social justice in the formerly colonised Global South. This chapter argued that the current borders are not original to Africa because they were drawn during colonisation. As such, the Global South borders are a form of coloniality. Borders, as a form of coloniality, are physically marked on the land and metaphorically on the human body. Borders ultimately mark those who belong along dominant and dominated identities. Because borders are not original to Africa, it is problematic that they

are used as a social justice framework for second-generation migrants living in the Global South contexts. It can be further concluded that a study on the second-generation migrants' experiences of integration into their receiving communities would be well-guided, theoretically, by a framework that combines the contributions made by the different scholars cited in this chapter. This theoretical framework influenced the methodology of this study, which is discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

5.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the qualitative interpretive research methodology that was used in executing the entire study. The methodology is presented in the following order: *The research approach* broadly defines the qualitative interpretive paradigm. The *type of research* explains the nature of the study, that is, it was both basic and applied. Under *the research design*, the case study research design that was utilised when conducting the study is presented. The section on *research methods* outlines the purposive, snowball, and convenience sampling methods utilised to select and recruit the participants for the research study. This section also discusses the semi-structured individual interviews and thematic content analysis, which were consecutively used to collect and analyse data. Additionally, it discusses the pilot study that was conducted prior to this study and trustworthiness of the research is also explained. Following that, *research ethical considerations* are explained, including how autonomy and respect of the dignity of persons, non-maleficence, beneficence, and justice were applied in the study. Lastly, the researcher outlines *the limitations of the study* encountered during the execution of the study.

5.2. Research approach

This study was conducted using a qualitative interpretive research paradigm. Babbie (2016:32) defines a research paradigm as “a model or frame of reference through which to observe and understand”. Likewise, Creswell and Poth (2018:16) refer to a paradigm as “... abstract ideas and beliefs that inform our research”. The choice of a research paradigm often influences how the researcher sees the reality underlying the phenomenon being studied, the relationship between that reality and the researcher, and the “procedures” through which this reality is understood (Creswell & Poth, 2018:50).

According to Creswell (2013:44), the qualitative research paradigm:

... begins with the assumption and use of interpretive/theoretical frameworks that inform the study of research problems addressing the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem. To study this problem, qualitative researchers use an emerging qualitative approach to inquiry, the collection of data in a natural setting sensitive to people and places under study, and data analysis that is both inductive and deductive and establishes patterns or themes. The final written report or presentation

includes the voices of participants, the reflexivity of the researcher, a complex description and interpretation of the problem, and its contribution to the literature or a call for change.

Therefore, the reality being studied in qualitative interpretive research centres on studying people's subjective experiences of their daily lives in view of the environments they live in (Shaw & Holland, 2014:6; Marshall, Rossman & Blanco, 2022:2). The environment where research is being conducted is alternatively referred to as the research context, and it is inclusive of the "geographic location", "period of time" and "a particular organisation" (Patten & Newhart, 2018:114). People's subjective experiences, together with their contexts, are studied from an epistemological approach that is "interactive and intersubjective" (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 2006:7), where "the researcher is essentially the main instrument in the study", empathically engaging with participants (Shaw & Holland, 2014:5; see also Creswell & Creswell, 2023:193). The relationship between the researcher and the participants makes data collection and analysis processes the sole responsibility of the researcher (Creswell & Creswell, 2023:193). Thus, a researcher has the responsibility to reflexively think about their position as they engage with the study (Marshall et al., 2022:2-3). As far as the research methodology is concerned, it is fluid and open to change, as it is influenced by the conditions in the field during sampling, as well as data collection and analysis processes (Creswell & Poth, 2018:55). Therefore, due to the subjective, interactive and flexible nature of qualitative research, Marshall et al. (2022:2) conclude that "...qualitative research is pragmatic, interpretive, and grounded in the lived experiences of people".

The qualitative interpretive research paradigm was appropriate for this study because the researcher engaged with Zimbabwean second-generation migrants in order to understand their first-hand experiences of the challenges and opportunities they encountered during their integration into the South African society. This research paradigm allowed for a similar engagement to discuss the observations of key informants in different lines of work, in relation to second-generation migrants' experiences of their integration into their environments. The qualitative interpretive research paradigm chosen for this study further required the researcher to reflexively engage with, for example, her position as a Zimbabwean national and social worker and determined whether it aided or hindered the study. The paradigm's flexible methodology additionally allowed the researcher to make minor adjustments to the sampling and data collection methods.

The final point to consider in this section is that the qualitative interpretive research paradigm was aligned with the anti-oppressive, decolonial, and social justice-oriented framework that was developed to conceptualise this study and analyse its findings. Marshall et al. (2022:1) commend the inclusivity in the qualitative research entails, noting that it has proven that it is capable of integrating ideas from feminist and post-colonial approaches. Tuhiwai Smith (2021:9), in a book on decolonial methodologies used with Indigenous communities in the Global North, adds that:

Feminism and the application of more critical approaches to research have greatly influenced the social sciences. Significant spaces have been opened up within the academy and within some disciplines to talk more creatively about research with particular groups and communities – women, the economically oppressed, ethnic minorities and Indigenous peoples. These discussions have been informed as much by the politics of groups outside the academy as by engagement with the problems which research with real, living, breathing, thinking people actually involves.

The critical type of research used with Indigenous communities can be applied to other vulnerable populations like second-generation migrants in both the Global North and Global South contexts. Qualitative interpretive research specifically fitted in with the theory frame because decolonial scholars like Grosfoguel (2007:213), Mignolo (2021:94), and Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013) are in support of the subjective ways of knowing the truth, and for them there are many truths. Indeed, Creswell and Poth (2018:20) note that in qualitative research “multiple truths exist, rather than one monolithic truth”. Beyond subjectivity and multiple ways of knowing the truth, the positionality of the researcher and location of research, seen as the locus of enunciation by Grosfoguel (2007:213), are important to decolonial scholarship. Thus, in alignment with the qualitative interpretive research paradigm, the researcher in this chapter occasionally draws on the theoretical framework. The next section looks at whether this study was basic or applied.

5.3. Type of research

Research can either be applied or basic in nature, that is, it can be used for “understanding and application” (Babbie, 2010:26). Basic research is about “gaining knowledge for knowledge’s sake” (Babbie, 2010:26). On the other hand, in applied research, the generated knowledge is used to determine practical differences in participants’ lives (Babbie, 2010:26), both directly and indirectly (Hugman, 2010:149). In human service professions like social work, applied research is expected to influence the development and furthering of theory, practice,

institutions, policies and laws, in turn, influencing a positive tangible difference in participants' lives (Hugman, 2010:149).

This study was both basic and applied in nature. It contributed to basic research by examining the first-hand experiences of Zimbabwean second-generation migrants (on their integration across the political, legal, social and economic dimensions) and insights from key informants in various professional fields who worked with them. The research also contributed to new academic knowledge on the intergenerational complexities found in the integration process, with particular emphasis being put on second-generation migrants. Additionally, theoretically framing the study within the concepts of coloniality (Quijano, 2000a:533; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013:128), oppression (Young, 1990:48), and misframing (Fraser, 2009:18) helped enhance an understanding of the experiences of Zimbabwean second-generation migrants and contributed novel insights into anti-oppressive social work.

In terms of the study's applied nature, the researcher anticipates that the furthering of anti-oppressive social work as a social justice-oriented theory and advancing knowledge on second-generation migrants integration will influence social work practice in the field of migration. In other words, basic research built foundational knowledge on second-generation migrants, while applied research uses that knowledge to address the practical challenges they face. Knowledge on the challenges and opportunities encountered by second-generation migrants in the economic, social, legal and political dimensions of their lives in South Africa was sought. The recommendations emanating from the knowledge produced (see Chapter 7, Section 7.5) is expected not only to make a significant contribution to academic knowledge in social work and migration but also to inform social work practice with children of migrants and to be of interest to policymakers in the fields of migration, social welfare and education. The basic and applied nature of the study influenced the case study research design that was chosen for the study.

5.4. Research design

Research designs should fit in with the research paradigm and the type of research being conducted. In the context of this study, the design fitted in with both the qualitative interpretive research paradigm as well as the applied and basic nature of the study. Creswell and Poth (2018:89) define a research design as a "plan" which, according to Babbie (2021:89), outlines "how" and why a study should be done (see also Marshall et al., 2022:115). A case study research design was chosen for this study.

A case has been defined by Babbie (2021:305) as an “in-depth examination of some social phenomenon”. Patten and Newhart (2018:174) explain that “a case can be an individual, or it could be a group of varying sizes, such as a family, village, or organisation”. A case is also inclusive of “a specific time period or an event” (Patten & Newhart, 2018:174). Therefore, the social phenomenon under research can involve a certain group of people, individuals, programme, time period or event (Babbie, 2021:305; Baxter & Jack, 2010:544; Patten & Newhart, 2018:174). A researcher using a case study design is responsible for demarcating the boundaries in terms of the people involved as well as place and time of the case (Martens, 2010:169). In other words, there has to be a clear delimitation that states “where” the case “starts and ends” (Patten & Newhart, 2018:174). Marking the boundaries is essential because the researcher would be investigating the “functioning of the case” within its context, making the case and context inseparable (Yin, 2019). The case study research design was seen as appropriate for this study, as it explored the challenges and opportunities characterising the integration of Zimbabwean second-generation migrants (the case), which needed to be understood in a pool of other cases of second-generation migrants of different nationalities residing in South Africa, and within the country’s everyday legal, social, political, and economic context. These second-generation migrants were selected from Ndebele and Shona-speaking families; they were both female and male; their ages ranged from 14 to 21; they were supposed to be born in South Africa and others migrated before enrolling to primary school; and resided either in Johannesburg or Pretoria (see Section 5.5.1). Additionally, key informants had experience working with Zimbabwean second-generation migrants in the legal, educational, sport and social welfare fields.

The case study design was chosen for the advantages it presents. Firstly, case study research is sometimes descriptive in nature (Babbie, 2021:305), meaning that it fits in with the qualitative interpretive research paradigm. Another advantage of the case study design is that it allows for the use of different data collection methods such as observation, surveys, and interviews (Martens, 2010:169; Patten & Newhart, 2018:174). For this study, data for second-generation migrants and key informants was collected using semi-structured individual interviews. There are, however, numerous disadvantages that come with using a case study design. Baxter and Jack (2008:556) note one disadvantage, that is, a case is often difficult to report such that it is transferable to the reader (see also Martens, 2010:17). To address this shortcoming, Baxter and Jack (2008:556) recommend a detailed description of the case, allowing the reader in their mind

to transfer it to another context. The researcher gave detailed descriptions of the sampling and data collection processes to aid the reader to mentally transfer this case to another context.

A researcher using the case study research design has to choose “the type of case study” that is used (Baxter & Jack, 2008:547-549). Case studies can be exploratory, explanatory and descriptive (Hancock & Algozzine, 2006:31). An exploratory and descriptive case study was seen as appropriate for this study. Creswell (2013:47) notes that “we conduct qualitative research because a problem or issue needs to be *explored*. This exploration is needed, in turn, because of a need to study a group or population ... that cannot easily be measured ...”. Babbie (2010) adds that exploratory research designs are used to study new and under-researched topics. Meanwhile, Creswell and Creswell (2023:213-214) highlight that qualitative researchers “use a rich, thick description to convey the findings. Thick descriptions may transport readers to the setting and give the discussion an element of shared experiences”. The exploratory and descriptive case study design was utilised in this study because it looked at the lived, subjective experiences of Zimbabwean second-generation migrants and how differently positioned service providers perceive them, and this new subject. The case study research design influenced how the study was conducted, and the methods chosen.

5.5. Research methods

The sections below discuss how purposive and snowball sampling, semi-structured individual interviews, and thematic content analysis were applied in this study.

5.5.1. Study population and sampling

Sampling is the selection of research subjects from a representative population (Babbie, 2010:188). Qualitative researchers “identify purposefully selected sites or individuals” (Creswell & Creswell, 2023:198). Therefore, sampling involves the researcher looking for both a site and population because “some research questions are site specific” (Marshall et al., 2022:123). The two sampling populations were Zimbabwean second-generation migrants and key informants from the fields of social work, sport, education, and law. Zimbabweans constitute one of the largest migrant populations in South Africa and, as a result, there is a considerable number of Zimbabwean second-generation migrants in the country (see Chapter 1, Section 1.1). Second-generation migrants were drawn from Pretoria and Johannesburg because most Zimbabwean migrants reside in the Gauteng Province (see Chapter, Section 1.1.)

Key informants were also accessed from Pretoria and Johannesburg because the second-generation migrants came from these two cities and key informants worked with them in these areas.

5.5.1.1. Purposive sampling

Both Zimbabwean second-generation migrants and key informants were selected using purposive sampling strategies. Purposive sampling falls under non-probability sampling methods, which are often used by qualitative researchers (Patten & Newhart, 2018:10). Patten and Newhart (2018:100) explain that “nonprobability samples do not guarantee that each person or element in the population has an equal chance of being selected”. Instead, researchers intentionally select subjects who are capable of answering to the purpose of a study (Babbie, 2010:192). Here, the researcher uses their discretion to select participants who will provide information that is related to the subject under research (Creswell & Creswell, 2023:198; Pattern & Newhart, 2018:100). Accordingly, Babbie (2010:193) highlights that a purposive sample should relate to the purpose of the study and comprise a clearly articulated set of sampling criteria. The sampling criteria for both second-generation migrants and key informants are outlined in Table 5.1 below.

The intended sample size for second-generation migrants was between 20 and 25 participants. However, due to difficulties encountered during data the collection process, the researcher managed to recruit 16 participants and data was also found to be saturated at this number. The planned purposive sampling criteria for the second-generation migrants, firstly, included participants regularly and irregularly brought from Zimbabwe before enrolling in primary school. From the 16 second-generation migrant participants, five were born in South Africa. The other 11 young people migrated to South Africa; their ages of migration ranged from 1 to 14 years. The researcher surmises that 31.25% of the participants were born in South Africa and the other 68.75% had migrated. Secondly, the purposive sample comprised second-generation migrants who were born and raised regularly and irregularly in South Africa. The researcher was unable to access information about the participants being born and raised in South Africa, both regularly and irregularly. This was so because questions touching on the regularity and irregularity as well as the current documentation status of the second-generation migrants were viewed by their parents as sensitive and at times threatening. The difficulties encountered when accessing the sample and documentation status are explained further under the snowball sampling technique (see section 5.5.1.2).

Thirdly, the second-generation migrants' ages ranged from 14 to 18 years. They were also required to be enrolled at secondary school. These sampling criteria were chosen because from the age of 14, a second-generation migrant can comprehend and articulate their everyday experiences. Additionally, identity formation occurs during adolescence and at this stage, identities are formed in relation to families, communities, and the larger society (Berk, 2010). This means that second-generation migrants born and raised in South Africa are likely to identify with both the host country and their migrant families. Although, the researcher had articulated age ranges in the sampling criteria, one of the parents suggested that their 21-year-old daughter be interviewed, as she was still living at home. Moreover, these sampling criteria aligned with the definition of second-generation migrants provided for the study (see Chapter 1, Section 1.2).

Fourthly, the participants born of both Ndebele and Shona-speaking parents were selected. It was highlighted at the beginning of this section that a researcher sometimes uses their knowledge of the population to purposely select participants. In this case, because the researcher had knowledge about the Zimbabwean population, second-generation migrants with Shona and Ndebele-speaking parents were chosen. This should not be misconstrued to mean that there are no other languages in Zimbabwe; however, Ndebele and Shona are the main languages spoken in Zimbabwe. Ndebele is also spoken in South Africa, and is close to other Nguni languages like Zulu, Xhosa, and Swati (Noyoo & Sobantu, 2021; Siziba, 2016:122). On the other hand, Shona is exclusively a Zimbabwean language; therefore, Zimbabwean nationals' experiences of inclusion or exclusion in South Africa may vary on the basis of language (Siziba, 2016:122). From the sixteen second-generation migrants, ten had Shona-speaking parents, two had one Shona-speaking and one Ndebele-speaking parent, while four had Ndebele-speaking parents. Lastly, the participants were selected according to their gender, that is, males and females as defined by the participants. This sampling criterion was chosen because, besides being born in South Africa, age of migration, migration status and language, experiences of integration may differ according to the gender of the participants. Out of the sixteen participants, seven children of the migrants identified as female and nine identified as male.

One way of supplementing data from the main participants is to select key informants (Babbie, 2010:195). According to Babbie (2010:195), an informant "is someone who is well versed in the social phenomenon that you wish to study and who is willing to tell you what he or she

knows about it”. Babbie (2010:195) cautions that key informants should not be mistaken for the main subjects because they constitute the secondary sample, while the main subjects constitute the primary sample. In this study, Zimbabwean second-generation migrants represented the primary sample, with professionals from different fields of work representing the secondary sample.

The sampling criteria for the ten key informants, firstly, were having encountered second-generation irregular and regular Zimbabwean migrants in their line of work. Secondly, professionals were supposed to be inclusive of social workers, health care personnel, educators, and law-and-order personnel. Professionals from different fields of work were selected to gain varied professional points of view of the primary sample’s experiences. The researcher managed to access five teachers, with one teacher being a student teacher and a soccer coach. The researcher also managed to access a social auxiliary worker, two social workers and two lawyers. Health care personnel were not selected as planned, as the second-generation migrant participants did not share experiences regarding access to health care services. The sample is outlined in Table 5.1 presented below.

Table 5.1: Sampling criteria

Sampling group	Sampling criteria	Demographics of final sample
Zimbabwean second-generation migrants	Second-generation migrant children regularly and irregularly brought from Zimbabwe before enrolling to primary school	Second generation migrants brought before enrolling to primary and brought after enrolling to high school
	Second-generation migrant children irregularly born and raised in South Africa	Second-generation migrants born in South Africa
	Second-generation migrant children between the ages of 14 and 18	Second-generation migrant children between the ages of 14 and 21
	Second generation migrant children with Shona and Ndebele-speaking parents	Second-generation migrants with Shona and Ndebele-speaking parents and a mix of both
	Females, males and as defined by participants	Females and males
Key informants	Having encountered Zimbabwean second-generation migrants in their line of work	Having encountered Zimbabwean second-generation migrants in their line of work
	From fields of social work, health-care personnel, educators, and lawyers	From fields of social work, educators, lawyers, and soccer coach

5.5.1.2. Snowball sampling and convenience sampling

Both samples were recruited through snowball sampling and convenience sampling strategies. The snowball sampling method is ideally used to access invisible, hard-to-find and hard-to-recruit participants, for example, migrants or professionals from different fields of service (Babbie, 2010:193; Patten & Newhart, 2018:102). The recruitment process begins with identifying at least one participant who later refers the researcher to other prospective participants (Babbie, 2010:193; Patten & Newhart, 2018:102). During the sampling process, the researcher has to develop a trusting relationship with the initial participant (Patten & Newhart, 2018:100). When in contact with the first participant, the researcher also has the responsibility to explain the importance of keeping the identities of the participants confidential (Patten & Newhart, 2018:102). Confidentiality must be explained because “this technique is based on trust. If the initial participants trust the researcher, they may also identify other potential participants and convince them to trust the research” (Patten & Newhart, 2018:102).

The researcher asked a social worker from Future Families to refer her to one second-generation migrant who met the purposive sampling criteria. The social worker referred the researcher to a co-worker in the organisation who worked with Zimbabwean second-generation migrants and their families. This co-worker further referred her to two parents who had children fitting in the sampling criteria. With parents being the first point of contact, the researcher explained the study to them, and thereafter their children. Parents gave consent to their children being interviewed. Creswell and Creswell (2023:199) emphasise that where necessary, the researcher is expected to obtain consent from gatekeepers. The authors go on to explain that gatekeepers are “... individuals at the site who provide access to the site and allow or permit research to be done” (Creswell & Creswell, 2023:199). In this instance, it was important to first get the consent of the parents. Seeking their consent helped in building mutual trust. After the interviews, the researcher shared her phone number and email address and asked the parents to share with other parents of prospective participants. Through referrals from the first parent, the researcher was able to access and interview four more second-generation migrants.

The researcher, however, encountered difficulties during the recruitment process, as some parents withheld consent, thus disallowing their children to be interviewed. The difficulties faced by the researcher can be attributed to the sensitive nature of the topic and an ever-evolving and sometimes threatening migration environment. During the data collection process, the Zimbabwe Special Permit (ZEP) discussed in Chapter 1 (see Section 1.1) expired

before being extended for an additional six months. There was public debate about the permit not being renewed and a pending case in the Pretoria High Court regarding its renewal. The pending expiry of the permit and possible chances of deportation instilled fear in many Zimbabwean nationals. There was thus a palpable sense of distrust amongst the parents of prospective participants whom the researcher had contacted. In a particular migrant community in Pretoria, some feared that the researcher might be working for the country's migration department, despite the researcher's efforts to counteract that feeling by explaining her concern as a Zimbabwean and social worker, and other ethical concerns.

The researcher acknowledges the fear the parents had about their children being interviewed, more so because she had the responsibility to engage with people empathically, and within their contexts. In addition, Tuhiwai Smith (2021:5) contends that "... research is not an innocent or distant academic exercise but an activity that has something at stake and that occurs in a set of political and social conditions". Despite the difficulties encountered, in the end, as a member of the Zimbabwean migrant community living in South Africa, the researcher managed to access some participants through her networks. One of the parents within this network referred her to four more parents who agreed to have their children interviewed. Three second-generation migrants were recruited separately, and the last two participants were accessed through one of the key informants.

As far as key informants are concerned, the two social workers from Jesuit Refugee Services and Future Families were supposed to be the initial participants for the key informants. One of the social workers referred the researcher to another social worker, a social auxiliary worker and a lawyer. The remaining participants were recruited through the researcher's social work and Zimbabwean networks. The researcher accessed two teachers separately. After that, one of the teachers referred her to two more teachers. She also accessed a school-based social worker who later introduced to her a student teacher-cum soccer coach. The second lawyer was accessed separately through the researcher's social work networks. The researcher notes that in instances where second-generation migrants and key informants were accessed separately without any linkages, convenience sampling was used. According to Creswell and Creswell (2023:162), in convenience sampling, "respondents are chosen based on their convenience or availability". Patten and Newhart (2018:90) note that convenience samples are "often biased" and "less desirable" (see also Creswell & Creswell, 2023:162). In this study, convenience sampling was necessary because of the difficulties encountered accessing participants and

getting consent from the parents. Moreover, the participants were neither biased nor less desirable as the provided valuable information.

Finally, as already noted above, the sample of second-generation migrants was smaller than the researcher had initially planned. According to Creswell and Creswell (2023:198), a research study's sample size is dependent on the type of the research design chosen for the study and, in this case, it is guided by the case study design, which allows for the selection of smaller samples. Data saturation was reached at sixteen participants, which was a fortunate occurrence because the participant recruitment exercise was not easy. Data saturation occurs "when adding several participants fails to yield new information that leads to the identification of additional themes or categories within a theme, the researcher might conclude that the data collection process has become saturated" (Patten & Newhart, 2018:115-116). When the researcher noticed that information from both second-generation migrants and key informants aligned and did not produce new themes, she stopped the recruitment process.

5.5.2. Data collection

Data collection involves making decisions about how information will be collected; how the information will be recorded; preparation for possible "field issues" and the safe storage of collected data (Creswell & Poth, 2018:213). In qualitative research, interviews are one of the data collection methods (Creswell, 2013) and are mostly conducted in person because "... face to face offers the richest responses in an interview situation" (Patten & Newhart, 2018:162). For this study, the researcher held semi-structured one-on-one interviews with second-generation migrants and key informants.

Semi-structured individual interviews were suitable for this study because they offered privacy, especially considering the sensitivity of the research topic (Kelly, 2006:297). In addition, this type of interview allows for a free and in-depth discussion of the topic under research (Kelly, 2006:298). Semi-structured interviews are guided by an interview schedule containing possible "key topics and perhaps subtopics" (Kelly, 2006:298; see also Patten & Newhart, 2018:161). The interview schedule is advantageous as it serves two purposes. Firstly, it allows the conversation to flow freely (Patten & Newhart, 2018:161). Secondly, it enables the researcher to "guide" the interview, "in order to collect the most useful information" (Patten & Newhart, 2018:161). The interview schedules for both second-generation migrants and key informants

had semi-structured questions and prompts which helped in guiding all the interviews and these are appended to the thesis as Appendices 2 and 3.

Patten and Newhart (2018:161) suggest that in the interview schedule, the “initial interview questions should be designed to establish rapport”. In this study, the researcher started off with broad questions about the communities of second-generation migrants, and the professional backgrounds of key informants. Starting with broad questions indeed proved to be useful, as the participants were helped to ease into the conversation. The researcher then guided the participants to more direct questions relating to second-generation migrants’ experiences of integration into the South African society. Kelly (2006:306) notes that during interviews care should be taken not only to pay attention to verbal communication, but also to non-verbal cues. This point is also supported by Patten and Newhart (2018:162) who state that in-person interviews allow the researcher to identify the body language of the participants, noting if it aligns or opposes what is being said. The researcher noted that during the interviews with second-generation migrants, there were instances where they were nervous. Upon reading their body language, the researcher assured them that there were no right or wrong answers, and that she was there to learn about their experiences.

According to Kelly (2006:298-300), as part of the interviewing process, interviews are recorded with the consent of the interviewees, and these interviews should be at least an hour long. For this study, interviews ranged from 35 minutes to 2 hours long. Patten and Newhart (2018:162) take note of the advantages of recording, stating that “recording allows the interviewer time to be focused on building rapport and active listening instead of trying to take notes and missing opportunities to improve the data”. The interviews with second-generation migrants were recorded with the consent of both the parents and the second-generation migrants. Key informants also gave their consent to the interviews being recorded. There were instances where parents expressed concern about their children being recorded. In such cases, the researcher explained to the parents that the identities of their children would be kept anonymous, and that data would be kept safe at the University of Pretoria for 10 years. Most parents gave consent after the researcher had explained and assured them of anonymity; however, five parents refused to give consent.

As part of the preparations made before the interviews are conducted, the researcher has the responsibility to set up the venue and ensure that the interviews occur in an environment that is free of disturbances (Kelly, 2006:298). The researcher had planned that the interviews be

conducted at Jesuit Refugee Services and Future Families. The participants were also given an option to choose an alternative venue comfortable to them. The parents of 14 second-generation migrants were comfortable with their children being interviewed at their homes. One interview was conducted at a restaurant close to the parents' market stall, and another at the parents' workplace. Creswell (2013:45) observes that in qualitative research, data is ideally collected in the participant's "natural setting". Conducting the interviews in the home environments of second-generation migrants proved to be a useful for the researcher as seeing the different communities that participants came from helped to inform data analysis.

In contravention of the terms of privacy, there were six instances where a parent or family member were in the background during the interviews with the second-generation migrants. The researcher acknowledges that parents were concerned about matters that were discussed with their children in the interviews. However, this created a limitation for the study (see Section 5.7). Key informants were also interviewed in spaces where they felt comfortable, and these were their workplaces. Finally, second-generation migrants were interviewed first, and preliminary themes were developed. The themes were used to develop an interview schedule for the key informants, who were interviewed afterwards. This allowed for an exploration of observations of members of the secondary sample in relation to experiences of the primary sample.

5.5.3. Data analysis

In the process of analysing data, the researcher goes through recordings, interview transcripts, and notes taken during the data collection process (Creswell & Poth, 2018:251). Creswell and Creswell (2023:205) describe qualitative data analysis as "... segmenting and taking apart the data (like peeling back the layers of an onion) and putting it back together". The authors highlight that data analysis in this paradigm is a simultaneous process that can happen during the data collection phase, as well as when writing the findings (Creswell & Creswell, 2023:205; see also Terre Blanche et al., 2006:321). This means that the data analysis process is non-linear (Creswell & Creswell, 2023:205; see also Terre Blanche et al., 2006:321). The researcher started analysing data and developing themes for second-generation migrants before commencing the data analysis stage. It is highlighted above that in this case it was necessary for data collection and data analysis to overlap, as the preliminary themes developed for second-generation migrants informed the development of the interview schedule for key informants (see Section 5.5.2). In all instances, data was analysed using thematic content

analysis which, according to Terre Blanche et al. (2006:322), has five steps: familiarisation and immersion; inducing themes; coding; elaborating and interpreting and checking.

In the first step, which is *familiarisation and immersion*, the researcher familiarises herself with what is contained in the data and where it is located (Terre Blanche et al., 2006:322-323). Familiarisation and immersion occur during the data collection and transcription phases and during the reading of the interview transcripts (Terre Blanche et al., 2006:322-323). According to Creswell and Creswell (2023:207), reading through the data particularly “... provides a general sense of the information and an opportunity to reflect on its overall meaning”. At this stage, the researcher gets to answer questions such as: “What general ideas are participants saying?” and “What is the tone of their ideas?” (Creswell & Creswell, 2023:207). In this study, the researcher familiarised herself with the data during the interviews, and when transcribing and reading interview transcripts. Here, the researcher began to link similarities and contradictions in the data.

Terre Blanche et al. (2006:323) state that in the second step, themes are *induced*, that is, data are classified into themes, and then further to sub-themes. Themes can be induced using “the words of participants” to fully capture their points of view (Patten & Newhart, 2018:100). Themes can additionally be induced using theory and literature, thus, qualitative data analysis is both inductive and deductive (Creswell, 2013:44). Creswell (2013:45) elaborates that:

Qualitative researchers build their patterns, categories, and themes from the “bottom up”, by organizing the data inductively into increasingly more abstract units of information. This inductive process involves researchers working back and forth between the themes and the database until they establish a comprehensive set of themes. ... researchers also use deductive thinking in that they build themes that are constantly being checked against data. The inductive-deductive logic process means that the qualitative researcher uses complex reasoning skills throughout the process of research.

The inductive-deductive logic was applied in inducing the themes. The researcher reached this stage when going through the interview transcripts for second-generation migrants to develop an interview schedule for key informants. At this point, the two dominating themes were; the use of language as a tool for integration mostly by second-generation migrants from Shona-speaking families and teasing experienced at school. The other themes were the psychological implications of teasing, and the centrality of school in second-generation migrants’ lives. Then, two more themes on the need to hide and remain invisible and documentation issues and challenges were developed in relation to some parents refusing to give consent. Lastly, other themes relating to the experiences of second-generation migrants being tied to the parents also

emerged from the interviews with the second-generation migrants. During the data collection process, themes were mostly based on the experiences of participants and the theoretical framework. During the data analysis stage, the researcher went back to the transcripts and induced themes using the words and experiences of the participants.

In the third step, induced themes were then *coded*. Creswell and Creswell (2023:207) note that “coding involves taking a text data, segmented sentences (or paragraphs) ... and labelling those categories, often based in the actual language of the participant (called a *vivo* term)”. Here, lines, words, sentences and paragraphs are coded (Terre Blanche et al., 2006:324-325). In line with the recommendations made by Creswell and Creswell (2023:207) and Terre Blanche et al. (2006:324-325), the researcher extracted words and sentences showing similar experiences from the data to create different codes.

The fourth step was *elaborating*. In this step coded themes are looked at closely checking if they fit together and for possible sub-themes (Terre Blanche et al., 2006:326). The researcher went through different codes and realised that some quotes or phrases fell beyond the themes. This necessitated the need for the researcher to create new codes and, as a result, she created new themes. The final stage is *interpreting and checking*, which pertains to writing the actual data analysis chapter (Terre Blanche et al., 2006:326). Here, the developed themes are now presented narratively (Creswell & Creswell, 2023:209). This narrative can follow “chronological events”, or it can be a discussion of interconnected themes (Creswell & Creswell, 2023:209). The researcher’s main aim at this stage is to answer the research questions. Ten themes were developed for Chapter 6. The narrative in Chapter 6 connects these themes and their sub-themes.

5.5.4 Trustworthiness of data

Trustworthiness looks into the “goodness”, “soundness” and “transparency” of a qualitative study or research (Marshall et al., 2022:47-48). A qualitative study is trustworthy when it ensures the dependability, credibility, transferability, and confirmability of the data (Korstjens & Moser, 2018:121). According to Babbie and Mouton (2001:277), *credibility* refers to “the compatibility between constructed realities that exist in the minds of respondents and those that are attributed to them”. In short, a researcher’s interpretation of the data should represent what was said by participants. There are different ways in which a study’s credibility can be ascertained. Firstly, credibility can be achieved through peer debriefing (Babbie & Mouton,

2001; Creswell & Creswell, 2023:214; Marshall et al., 2022:51). Peer debriefing occurs throughout a study, and the researcher, during this process, shares their experiences acquired during the data collection journey, the collected data and interpretations thereof (Marshall et al., 2022:51). The central aim is that a peer should check if the interpretations by the researcher can be traced back to the data gathered from the participants (Creswell & Creswell, 2023:214; Marshall et al., 2022:51). Therefore, Creswell and Creswell (2023:214) conclude that peer debriefing aims “... to enhance the accuracy of the account”. The researcher had a peer reviewer who was also a doctoral student like her. This peer was the researcher’s sounding board during the data collection phase, and she also shared with her the challenges she experienced. The researcher also shared with her the themes emerging from the data.

Secondly, to ensure credibility, a researcher can do member checks, which are about, “feeding back data, analytical categories, interpretations and conclusions to members of those groups from whom the data was originally obtained” (Korstjens & Moser, 2018:121; see also Babbie & Mouton, 2001). Marshall et al. (2022:52) note that in doing member checks, participants are allowed an opportunity to “correct, edit, confirm, disconfirm your interpretations”. In this study, some key informants were given an opportunity to do member checks by reading the interview transcripts to check if they were correctly captured. Member checks were not done for second-generation migrants, as it would have required the process of seeking additional consent from parents to access their children. Finally, credibility is achieved by triangulating data from different sources (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Creswell & Creswell, 2023:213; Marshall et al., 2022:52). Accordingly, “themes from the data should be built from the “convergence” of different data sources” (Creswell & Creswell, 2023:213). As explained in Section 5.5.1, data was triangulated from second-generation migrants and key informants. In Chapter 6, the data from key informants was mostly used to support the accounts of second-generation migrants.

Transferability gives readers an opportunity to mentally transfer a study’s findings to another context (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Korstjens & Moser, 2018:122). Purposive sampling, thick descriptions of participants’ experiences, and the contexts in which the study was conducted allow for transferability to occur (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Korstjens & Moser, 2018:122). The researcher adds that snowball and convenience sampling strategies since they provided an understanding of the context. Section 5.5.1.1 gave a detailed outline of the purposive sampling criteria used for selecting both second-generation migrants and key informants. Snowball and

convenience sampling strategies were discussed in Section 5.5.1.2. They helped build a picture of how the participants were recruited in their contexts. In addition, in Chapter 1, the geographical contexts of Pretoria and Johannesburg were described (see Section 1.2). Lastly, the data analysis chapter provides thick and detailed descriptions of second-generation migrants' experiences and observations made by the key informants (see Chapter 6).

Dependability means that “an enquiry must ... provide its audience with evidence that if it were to be repeated with the same or similar respondents ... in the same (or similar) context, its findings would be similar” (Babbie & Mouton, 2001:278; see also Creswell & Poth, 2018). Thick descriptions; member checks; purposive sampling; snowball sampling; convenience sampling and triangulation of data contributed to the study being dependable. In addition, the researcher has provided an audit trail containing interview schedules (Appendices 2 & 3); a positionality statement (Appendix 7); informed consent forms for key informants, parents and caregivers; and an assent letter (Appendices 4, 5,6) and permission letters (Appendices, 7, 8,9). All these are appended to the thesis.

Lastly, with **confirmability**, the biases of the researcher are acknowledged, thus, allowing for information reflected, interpretations and recommendations made by the researcher to be traced back to the participants (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Shenton, 2004:72). Thick descriptions and an audit trail assist in ensuring that the represented data is from participants. The researcher is additionally required to state and critically reflect on their positionality. Creswell and Poth (2018:82) explain that with:

Reflexivity: researchers ... convey (i.e., in a method section, in an introduction, or in other places in a study) their background (e.g., work experiences, cultural experiences, history), how it informs their interpretation of the information in a study, and what they gain from the study.

Noting that the researcher is writing from an anti-oppressive social work point of view, she additionally draws on the work of anti-oppressive social work theorists, Clifford and Burke (2009:38), who state that “reflexive thinking” is about:

Taking account of your own social location, powers, values and perspectives, and your membership of social divisions, in relation to the specific others, recognizing the inequalities and diversities of particular social situations in all interaction with others.

In line with points on reflexivity raised by Clifford and Burke (2009:38) and Creswell and Poth (2018:82), the researcher stated her Zimbabwean nationality in Section 5.2; therefore, she is an

insider and close to the topic under research. The researcher's insider position is complex, thus Tuhiwai Smith (2021:5) highlights that:

There are a number of ethical, cultural and personal issues that can present special difficulties for Indigenous researchers who, in their own communities, work partially as insiders, and often employed for this purpose, and partially as outsiders, because of their Western education or because they may work across clan, tribe, linguistic, age and gender institutions boundaries. Simultaneously, they work with their research model, and as outsiders because they are often marginalized and perceived to be representative of either a minority or a rival interest group ...

In this section, the researcher focused on the insider position. While being an insider was a central benefit for the study as it allowed for access to second-generation migrant participants, which would have been arguably more difficult for an outsider, it was also a challenge because the researcher had to constantly guard against her biases. To address possible biases, the researcher kept a reflexive diary throughout the study, and through many discussions with the supervisors, reflected on her positioning in the study. This discussion is further developed in the ethics section (see Section 5.6).

5.5.5. Pilot study

A pilot study is a smaller version of the main study, and it utilises a smaller sample (Kim, 2011:191). It is important to conduct a pilot study before entering and navigating the research field (Sampson, 2004:38), to “test” the “feasibility” of a study's methodology (Kim, 2011:191). A pilot study is not only used to test the research methodology, but also allows for possible changes to be made to the main study, thus making it better (Kim, 2011:191). The following can be tested and refined during and after a pilot study: sampling strategies, research design, data collection methods, and data analysis methods (Kim, 2011:191; Sampson, 2004:383; see also Creswell & Creswell, 2023:166). A pilot study can also be viewed as a tool used to test out the research environment (cultural, social, and political) where a study will be conducted (Kim, 2011:192).

The researcher conducted a pilot study with two second-generation migrants, and two key informants using the case study design, purposive and snowball sampling strategies, and semi-structured individual interviews. In terms of the purposive and snowball sampling strategies, after talking to one parent, the researcher was made aware of some of the impediments that were going to arise when accessing second-generation migrants, especially considering the stigma attached to their identity and the possibility that some families were still living in South

Africa irregularly, which meant living in fear of detection and a need to remain invisible. The first parent posed questions about interviewing children about their migration experiences in relation to documentation. The questions posed by the parent made the researcher to relook into the interview schedule designed for second-generation migrants and not ask questions about the participants' regularity and irregularity, as that might have been considered threatening. The researcher additionally wrote a positionality letter to parents explaining why she chose to do the study.

With regards to snowball sampling, shared anonymity and confidentiality were tested during the pilot study. Fortunately, it appeared that the second parent who referred the researcher to other parents and their children had no concerns regarding shared confidentiality. This parent instructed the researcher to share information to the effect that her child also participated in the study. Lastly, two interviews with the primary sample (second-generation migrants) and another two with the secondary sample (key informants) helped the researcher to test the field, particularly in relation to interviewing. The four piloted interviews were transcribed and shared with the researcher's supervisors who helped refine the researcher's questioning. The two supervisors advised the researcher to explore issues further during the interviews before moving to the next question. In the end, the data from the pilot study were used in the main study.

5.6. Ethical considerations

In social sciences, research is conducted mostly with disadvantaged communities (Marshall et al., 2022; Tuck & Yang, 2014:223). In their studies, researchers "... often collect stories of pain and humiliation in the lives of those being researched" (Tuck & Yang, 2014:223), and participants also share their innermost, personal life experiences (Babbie, 2021:63). Among vulnerable researched communities "the word itself, 'research', is probably one of the dirtiest ..." as it is used not only to take advantage of the participants but also further the power imbalances perpetuated by imperialism and coloniality. Thus, Tuck and Yang (2014:223) denote that "... the same stories of pain and humiliation are part of the collective wisdom that informs the writing of researchers who attempt to position their work as decolonization". This study researched a Zimbabwean migrant community residing in South Africa, which can be viewed from a decolonial perspective as marginalised and "othered". The researcher, in this community, interviewed children of migrants who are deemed vulnerable because of their age

and migrant identity. Additionally, this study engaged with key informants who shared information about their work.

Keeping in mind the migrant identity, age of some second-generation migrants and work vulnerabilities of key informants, the researcher was obligated to conduct the research ethically. Creswell and Poth (2018:79) highlight that ethical concerns are likely to arise at different stages of a study, that is, at the beginning, during data collection, and when analysing and reporting data. Researchers are expected to anticipate and prepare possible solutions to such concerns (Creswell & Poth, 2018:79). As part of the preparation for possible ethical issues, this study was proposed and approved by the Research and Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Humanities, at the University of Pretoria, with ethical clearance number HUM 017/0622 (see Appendix 1). In addition, to protect participants from both samples, the researcher followed closely on four principles of research ethics, which are: autonomy and respect for dignity of persons; non-maleficence; beneficence; and justice, as outlined by Wassenaar (2006:67-68).

The first principle of research ethics the researcher adhered to was *autonomy and respect for dignity of persons*. Marshall et al. (2022:63) point out that “respect for persons captures the notion that we do not use the people who participate in our studies as a means to an end (often our own) and we respect their right to participate-or-not-with their free consent”. Autonomy relates to the ability to freely decide to participate in a study, that is, participate without coercion (Patten & Newhart, 2018:35). Babbie (2021:64) and Wassenaar (2006:67) note that this principle can be adhered to by ensuring voluntary participation, and this requires participants to give informed consent. Informed consent is “grounded in the ideas that agreement to participate as a subject is given explicitly, that agreement can be withdrawn at any time and that it is based on the subject being fully informed about the nature, purposes and procedures of the research” (Hugman, 2010:153). Informed consent can only be given after the researcher has explained the purpose of the study (Creswell & Creswell, 2023:97), that participants are not forced to participate, that they are allowed to withdraw at any stage without incurring any penalties, as well as the possible risks entailed in, and the likely benefits they will get from, participating (Babbie, 2010:66; Patten & Newhart, 2018:35). The researcher verbally explained all the above information to second-generation migrants and their parents and to key informants before they signed the informed consent forms and assent letter.

Additionally, Marshall et al. (2022:78) suggest that extra care should be taken when conducting research involving child participants. The authors explain that “children receive special

consideration because of their relative vulnerability” (Marshall et al., 2022:78). In the case of this study, there was added vulnerability because the participants were migrants. In this study, it was explained to parents and caregivers that they must give consent to their children’s participation and that children had to separately assent. Phelan and Kinsell (2013:82) note that assent should be obtained after a parent has signed the informed consent form in order “... to uphold a child participant’s dignity...” Before children assent, the researcher must explain what the study is all about and what participation entails “using age-appropriate language” (Phelan & Kinsella, 2013:82). A researcher also has the responsibility to clearly explain that although consent has been given by their parents, they can refuse or agree to participate, and if they choose not to consent, there will be no negative consequences from their parents and the researcher (Phelan & Kinsella, 2013:82). The researcher explained the above information to the second-generation migrants, emphasising that they had the right to agree to or refuse participation regardless of their parents having given consent. Furthermore, should they refuse to participate, they will not anger the researcher and their parents. In addition, child participants signed an assent letter similar to the parents’ and caregivers’ letter, but with age-appropriate language (see Appendix 6).

Besides ethical concerns that relate to conducting a study, consent to participation also applies to “what happens to findings” (Wiles, 2013:29). Informed consent is inclusive of the dissemination of findings because data is often published in public spaces, thus, touching on issues of confidentiality and anonymity (Wiles, 2013:29). The parents and caregivers’ informed consent letter, child participants’ assent letter and key informants’ informed consent letter also included information about analysing and reporting of the data, stating that if the data is used again, it will only be for research purposes (see Appendices 4, 5 and 6).

Lastly, according to Dickson-Swift et al. (2008:1), all social science research is sensitive; however, some research studies put participants at potentially more harm than others. According to Dickson-Swift et al. (2008:29), participants in a study “may be vulnerable to their own emotions being stirred by taking part in research”. In the informed consent letters, the researcher indicated that the participants would be referred for counselling, in case they wanted a follow up discussion. Prior to conducting the study, the researcher approached the Jesuit Refugee Services and asked them to assist with follow up discussions with second-generation migrants, and key informants. During the interviews, some participants exhibited signs of distress, as the researcher read verbal cues such as voices breaking and speaking in raised

voices. In addition, after the recorder was turned off, some child participants and key informants shared that the interviews stirred negative emotions. Counselling services were offered to all these participants, but they refused to use them.

In the second principle of *non-maleficence*, the researcher is expected to protect the identities of participants (Wassenaar, 2006:67). Under this principle, the anonymity and confidentiality of participants must be maintained. Anonymity is about “the right to privacy” (Patten & Newhart, 2018:36). Meanwhile, confidentiality touches on “how data is collected, stored and reported” (Patten & Newhart, 2018:36). Patten and Newhart (2018:36-37) outline three ways of maintaining confidentiality, which are; interviews should be conducted in a private space, participants’ information should be safely stored in password-protected systems, and participants’ names should be kept confidential. Accordingly, when writing the report, the researcher “... should not discuss or describe individual characteristics of participants in such a way that the identities can be surmised” (Pattern & Newhart, 2018:37).

Non-maleficence was an important principle particularly because of the current irregular migrant status of some second-generation migrants and the fact that key informants were revealing sensitive information about their work. However, this principle can prove difficult to achieve in instances where there is shared confidentiality; for example, in this study, the researcher used snowball sampling (Oliveira & Vearey, 2019:225). Still, it is possible to some extent to protect the identities of participants even though they may know each other (Creswell & Poth, 2018). In this study, the researcher protected the identities of participants through use of pseudo name-calling. This researcher is the only one who knows about the identities of the participants. Also, the participants were assured that all their recordings and transcribed interviews would be kept safe on password-protected computers. Additionally, data and records would be kept safely at the University of Pretoria for a period of 10 years (see also Section 5.4).

The third principle of *beneficence* “... obliges the researcher to attempt to maximise the benefits that the research will afford to the research participants in the research study” (Wassenaar, 2006:68). According to Wassenaar (2006:68), participants are expected to receive direct or indirect benefits, and in a study, the “benefits of the research [should always] outweigh the risks” (Dickson-Swift et al., 2008:26). However, Babbie (2021) notes that it is difficult to prove how participants will benefit from social science research, but still it is anticipated that they are to benefit indirectly. Key informants expressed the view that the information they shared should

be passed on and influence service delivery at the Department of Home Affairs (DHA) and Department of Education (DoE) in South Africa. In addition to the expectation by key informants, there are benefits presented by participation, and one direct benefit was that at the end of the interviews, there were second-generation migrants who shared that talking about their experiences was cathartic. Additionally, as stated before in Section 5.3, the study might benefit participants indirectly through the knowledge developed, which can possibly influence social work theory and practice, and policy making in the social welfare, migration and education sectors. The study will also possibly influence public discourse on migrants and refugees.

The last principle of research ethics is *justice* which, according to Wassenaar (2006:68), is about treating participants with “fairness” and “equality” throughout the research process. According to Dickson-Swift et al. (2008:26), it is important to ensure that “research strategies are fair and just”. Therefore, justice may be partially achieved by sampling participants using purposive and snowball sampling methods, which are non-convenient (Wassenaar, 2006:86), as in the context of this study. However, this was not without its limitations, and convenience sampling had to be used to recruit participants because of the difficulties encountered in the field. Still, convenience sampling was not utilised to take advantage of participants but to close the gap where participants could not be recruited using the snowball sampling method. Additionally, drawing from this study’s theoretical framework and the social work principle of social justice, fair and equal treatment requires people asserting their voice and being seen. Firstly, in this research, willing key informants were granted a voice when they did member checks.

Secondly, the voice of the participants was heard through the voice of the researcher. However, Tuck and Yang (2014:225) argue against researchers speaking on behalf of their participants, denoting that “one of the major colonial tasks of social science research that has emerged is to pose as voicebox, ventriloquist, interpreter of subaltern voice”. They further ask “... can the subaltern speak in/to the academy?” (Tuck & Yang, 2014:225). In the meantime, Tuhiwai Smith (2021:5) contends that researchers can be insiders and outsiders, and in essence, they are insiders because they originate from the community that is researched and are outsiders because they are students of a Western education system. The researcher acknowledges the oppression perpetuated by speaking on behalf of participants. Yet, the researcher wishes to cautiously express that even though she is educated in the Western education system that perpetuates

oppression, she can speak on behalf of second-generation migrants because she is a part of the Zimbabwean migrant community living in South Africa. At the same time, the researcher wishes to pose a question for research ethics: Can a researcher educated in the Western education system, who is a member of the community being researched, be the voice through which community members speak?

5.7. Limitations of the study

Marshall et al. (2022:101) state that “all ... research projects have limitations; none is perfectly designed”. A study’s limitations can emanate from its design and theoretical framework (Marshall et al., 2022:101). Limitations in research are also found in the methodology, particularly in the sampling strategies (Pattern & Newhart, 2018:303). Creswell and Poth (2018:381) add that a study’s limitations can originate from the population being studied. A study’s limitations can also have implications for the analysis or interpretation of findings (Patten & Newhart, 2018:303).

Three limitations were identified in this study. Firstly, some participants were recruited using the convenience sampling strategy, which can prove to be problematic because it is viewed as unreliable (see Section 5.5.1.2). Although some participants were conveniently sampled, they were not selected on the basis of mere availability, but because they met the purposive sampling criteria and were capable of answering the study’s research questions. The researcher’s use of the purposive sampling criteria, in this context, allowed her to eliminate problems that would arise from the unreliability of the sample. Secondly, the sensitive nature of the research topic and the context in which it was studied was a limitation in itself. Because of the threatening nature of the topic, the trust levels among Zimbabwean migrants were low, such that there were instances where parents or relatives of second-generation migrants were in the background during the interviews, and this is likely to have influenced second-generation migrants’ responses. To address this limitation, the researcher encouraged participants to speak honestly and remember that there were no right or wrong answers and that she was there to learn about their experiences. The second limitation was linked to the sensitive nature of the topic, which explains why some parents refused their children interviewed as they feared the possibility of detection, and this was supposed to affect the richness of the collected data. Even though this presented as a possible limitation, it was highlighted above that data saturation was reached regardless of difficulties encountered in the field when accessing second-generation migrants. The last limitation related to the researcher not having participants from informal areas and

backyard structures. The researcher had difficulties addressing this limitation because she tried to access this group but was unable to do so because of their fears of being identified as migrants in their communities and the researcher being a possible DHA official.

5.7. Conclusion

This study adopted a qualitative interpretive paradigm that looks at people's subjective experiences in relation to their environments. This chapter noted that in this paradigm, the researcher interactively engages with the participants, and the methodology is fluid and dependent on the conditions of the field. The researcher tied qualitative interpretive research to the study's theoretical framework that supports multiple truths, subjective ways of knowing the truth, and an interactive relationship between the researcher and the subject under study. The researcher noted that within the confines of this paradigm, the study was both basic and applied in nature and, as a result, it is expected to contribute to the development of knowledge in the field of social work with migrants and anti-oppressive social work, and this knowledge is expected to make practical differences in the lives of migrants. Also, considering that qualitative research studies people's subjective experiences and their contexts and thick descriptions of their experiences, a case study design was found to be the most suitable, as this study looked at the case of integrating Zimbabwean second-generation migrants into the South African context.

In the methodology section, the study population of second-generation migrants and key informants was selected using purposive sampling. Both groups of participants were recruited using the snowball sampling method however, due to the impediments encountered in the field, some participants were accessed through the convenience sampling strategy. Thereafter, data was then collected utilising semi-structured individual interviews and analysed using thematic content analysis. The trustworthiness of the data was afterwards ensured by seeing to it that the study was credible, dependable, transferable, and confirmable. A pilot study was conducted to test the methods and the entire field. The sensitive nature of the topic touched on most aspects of the methods. For example, after the pilot study, the researcher chose not to ask some questions from the interview schedule.

This chapter additionally discussed the researcher's application of the research ethics principles of autonomy and respect of dignity of persons, non-maleficence, beneficence, and justice. The principle of autonomy and respect of dignity of persons required that all participants' rights to

decision-making be observed. Furthermore, this principle required that participants give informed consent on the purpose, conducting of the study, dissemination of findings, and being made aware of the emotional risks likely to emanate from participating in the study and the remedies thereof. Then, in adhering to the principle of beneficence, the participants were expected to benefit directly and indirectly from knowledge generated by the study. Non-maleficence required the protection of participants' identities. The principle of justice required equal and fair treatment of participants. This further required that them being rendered their own voice in the findings through member checks. Their voice could also be heard through the researcher who, through the lenses of the theoretical framework, sees their experiences as embedded in their social, political and economic contexts. Lastly, in the final section of this chapter, the researcher outlined the study's methodological limitations and the weaknesses associated with studying a sensitive topic. The analysis of the data obtained in the study using this methodology constitutes the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 6: PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

6.1. Introduction

This chapter presents and discusses the data obtained from the twenty-six participants, that is, Zimbabwean second-generation migrants and key informants. Data from both groups of participants is presented collectively because the experiences of second-generation migrants tended to overlap with the observations of key informants. The findings are presented narratively as themes and sub-themes. The main themes and sub-themes are interpreted with the aid of migration and social work literature, and the anti-oppressive framework for this study. The chapter starts by presenting and discussing the profile of the study's participants.

6.2. Profile of second-generation migrants and key informants

This section presents the profiles of Zimbabwean second-generation migrants and key informants who participated in the study. Firstly, a summary of second-generation migrants' biographical details is provided. Secondly, the key informants' biographical information is outlined. The data reveals that second-generation migrants hailed from different communities, linguistic backgrounds, and schools. Among the key informants, the teachers and the soccer coach were working at three schools, engaging with learners from diverse socio-economic backgrounds at individual and family levels. The lawyers and social workers provided services to children of migrants from vulnerable backgrounds and intervened at the individual, family and community levels. The second-generation migrants were facing social, legal, economic, and political exclusions at all three levels of society. Therefore, the experiences of the selected key informants relate to the accounts of second-generation migrants.

6.2.1. Profile of second-generation migrants

Table 6.1.: Summary of second-generation migrants' biographical details

Code name	Sex	Age	Home language	Type of School	Current grade	Age of migration or born in South Africa
P1	Female	21	Shona	Government	Attending university	11 years
P2	Male	18	Shona	Government	11	1 year old
P3	Male	15	Shona	Government	9	Born in South Africa
P4	Female	17	Shona	Private School	11	5 years
P5	Female	17	Shona	Government School	11	2 years
P6	Male	15	Shona	Private School	8	6 years
P7	Female		Shona and Ndebele	Private School	9	Born in South Africa
P8	Male	14	Shona and Ndebele	Government school	9	1 year old
P9	Female	18	Shona and English	Government school	11	4 years
P10	Female	14	Shona and English	Government school	9	Born in South Africa
P11	Male	15	Shona	Private school	9	1 year old
P12	Male	15	Shona	Private school	9	Born in South Africa
P13	Male	15	Ndebele and Zulu	Government School	9	6 years old
P14	Male	16	Ndebele	Government School	11	1 year old
P15	Female	17	Ndebele and Zulu	Private School	12	Born in South Africa
P16	Male	16	Ndebele and Zulu	Private School	11	14 years old

Sixteen second-generation migrants were interviewed for this study. Seven of the participants identified as female, and nine identified as male, and their ages ranged from 14 to 21 years. From the 16 participants, 10 had Shona-speaking parents, while two had one Ndebele-speaking and one Shona-speaking parent. The other four participants had Ndebele-speaking parents. It must be noted that there were more participants from Shona-speaking than Ndebele-speaking families because the researcher was better able to access the former than the latter. Additionally, the data revealed that of the four child participants from Ndebele-speaking families, two also identified isiZulu as their second home language, the most commonly spoken language in South Africa. The connection between isiNdebele and isiZulu is explored in theme two (see Section 6.3.2.1). Additionally, of the 10 second-generation migrants from Shona-speaking families, two named Shona and English as their home languages. This is unsurprising as English is an official language in both South Africa and Zimbabwe.

In terms of schooling, 15 of the second-generation migrants who participated in the study were attending high school, doing Grades 8 to 12, and one young person was attending university. Of the participants that were in high school, nine were attending government schools while eight were in private schools. In addition, the accounts of second-generation migrants and teachers reveal that there are different types of private schools. Firstly, there are inner-city private schools, which are found in the Central Business District (CBD) and other inner-city locations. Secondly, there are private schools located in middle-income areas. Thirdly, there are church-owned private schools. Eight second-generation migrants stated that they were at private schools, with one of them attending a church-owned school. Three attended inner-city private schools and four attended private schools in middle-income areas. The collected data shows that five Zimbabwean second-generation migrants were born in South Africa. Thus, 11 participants had migrated from Zimbabwe to South Africa, and their ages of migration ranged from 1 to 14 years old.

Finally, the ages of the participants ranged between 14 and 21 years. In terms of human development periods, in accordance with the lifespan model, participants whose ages ranged from 14 to 18 years were in the adolescence stage (Berk, 2010:261), while the participants who were aged between 18 and 21 years were in early adulthood (Berk, 2010:431). Each developmental period has its own unique characteristics (Berk, 2010:8). Berk (2010:8) adds that human development in the lifespan model at all life periods is multidimensional, as it is

“affected by an intricate blend of biological, psychological and social forces”. The analysis touches on the life periods of these participants.

6.2.2. Profile of key informants

Table 6.2: Summary of key informants' biographical details

Code Name	Gender	Profession	Types of services rendered	Length of working with the children	Type of organisation
KI 1	Female	Teacher	Educational	10 years	Private
KI 2	Male	Teacher	Educational	16 years	Government
KI 3	Female	Teacher	Educational	11 years	Private
KI4	Female	Teacher	Educational	11 years	Private
KI 5	Female	Social auxiliary worker	Social Welfare	14 years	NGO
KI6	Male	Lawyer	Legal and voluntary community services	5 years	NGO
KI7	Student teacher and soccer coach	Teaching and coaching	Soccer coaching and	9 years	Government
KI8	Female	Social worker	Social Welfare	5 years	Government
KI9	Female	Attorney	Legal	10 years	NGO
KI10	Female	Social worker	Social Welfare	8 years	NGO

Ten key informants participated in this study. Seven of the key informants identified as female, and three identified as male. The key informants' fields of service provision can be summarised as follows; four were in the education sector, three were in social welfare, one was in the sports and two were in the legal sector. They were employed by the state, private schools and NGOs. Three key informants worked at private schools, another three for the government, and four for NGOs. They had provided services to Zimbabwean second-generation migrants for a period ranging from 5 to 11 years. The findings illustrate that working with second-generation migrants for this length of time gave them deep insights into their social, economic and political integration into the South African society. The data revealed that these 10 participants were of three nationalities; however, to protect participants' identities, the nationalities will not be disclosed. As demonstrated across the themes presented and discussed below, beyond having a variety of professional expertise, the key informants' diverse nationalities and associated migration experiences provided additional insight into the second-generation migrants' experiences of their integration into South African society.

6.3. Overview of the themes

Table 6.3: Themes and sub-themes

Theme	Sub-themes
1. Communities that second-generation migrants integrate into in South Africa	1.1. Middle-income areas and townships as communities 1.2. Inner-city migrant communities 1.3. The school as a community
2. Language as the main tool for assimilation, integration, and acculturation	2.1. Language as a tool of instruction at school 2.2. Language is inclusive accent 2.3. Dynamics between South African Nguni languages and Zimbabwe's Ndebele language 2.4. Zimbabweans should learn South African languages 2.5. Identifying with other Zimbabweans using a home language
3. Teasing by friends and schoolmates about Zimbabweans	3.1. Teasing about Zimbabwean migrants shared amongst peers 3.2. Bullying and xenophobia in the school environment
4. Documentation issues and challenges	4.1. Documentation statuses attainable to second-generation migrants 4.2. Documentation determining access to educational, health care, and social services
5. Invisibility and hiding among Zimbabwean migrants	
6. Intergenerational connections and disconnections between the first and second-generation migrants' experiences	6.1. Parent's child view versus child participation 6.2. Experiences of documentation, solidarity, discrimination and acculturation of first and second-generation migrants 6.3. Poverty in migrant families
7. The extent to which second-generation migrants will achieve their set goals, hopes and dreams in South Africa	
8. Positive relationships and service provision experienced by second-generation migrants in South Africa	8.1. Every Zimbabwean has a South African who is to help 8.2. Privileged to be raised in South Africa compared to Zimbabwe 8.3. Good service receiver and service provider relationships
9. Zimbabwean second-generation migrants' identities in South Africa	9.1. Second-generation migrants are Zimbabweans 9.2. Second-generation migrants are South Africans 9.3. Second-generation migrants are both Zimbabweans and South Africans
10. "We are all human": Messages from Zimbabwean second-generation migrants	

This section introduces the themes and sub-themes developed from the collected data. The discussion of the themes will be supported by the voices of participants and, where relevant, cross references will be made to the literature. The first theme pertains to the different contexts that second-generation migrants considered their communities, including the home and school environments. The second theme encapsulates young people's experiences of and key informants' views on how, within these communities, language was used as a tool for assimilation, integration and acculturation. The third theme discusses the teasing, resulting in bullying and xenophobia that the Zimbabwean second-generation migrants encounter in the school environment. The fourth theme discusses challenges surrounding documentation, including the different migrant statuses available to Zimbabwean second-generation migrants in South Africa and the implications thereof for access to services. The fifth theme examines the phenomenon of invisibility and the need for some Zimbabwean migrant families to remain hidden. The sixth theme analyses the intergenerational links and disconnections between the experiences of first-generation migrants with those of second-generation migrants.

Against the background of these six themes providing for the understanding of integration in relation to communities, parents and the state, four additional themes were developed. In the seventh theme, factors that potentially facilitate and hinder second-generation migrants from achieving their goals, dreams and hopes in South Africa are analysed. The eighth theme looks into the positive experiences of second-generation migrants in South Africa, including solidarity, positive experiences in connection with both the Zimbabwean and South African contexts, and service user and service provider relationships. The ninth theme explores second-generation migrant participants' identities within their everyday contexts, that is, how they are defined by others and how they view themselves. Finally, the tenth theme discusses the different messages the second-generation migrants and key informants shared with South African citizens.

6.3.1 Theme 1: Communities second-generation migrants integrate into in South Africa

This first theme explores the different communities that Zimbabwean second-generation migrants need to integrate into in South Africa. Based on the data, middle-income areas, townships and inner-city migrant communities emerged as significant in young participants' lives. It is thus essential to start with this theme because these communities form the basis of

second-generation migrants' multilayered experiences of integration. This theme draws mostly on segmented assimilation theory, highlighting that second-generation migrants arguably integrate into three segments in a migrant-receiving country (Portes & Zhou, 1993:92). In this study, the segments second-generation integrate and assimilate into are interpreted not only as economic categories, but also as geographic locations and relationships. In part, this interpretation aligns with Thornton and Ramphele's (1998:30) observation that not only do communities consist of people from the same "geographic region", but community is also a political term in the sense that it is a space governed "formally" by the state and "informally" by community members (Thornton & Ramphele, 1998:30).

The South African migration policy favours the integration of documented migrants and refugees and their children into everyday communities (DHA, 2017:64; Schenck & Triegaardt, 2018:195). This study's data indicates that the 16 second-generation migrants lived in different South African communities. Three sub-themes emerged from the communities that were discussed by second-generation migrants. The three sub-themes present an array of daily living conditions for the children of migrants living in South Africa. The first sub-theme compares research participants' experiences of integration into middle-income areas and townships as both are home largely to South African nationals. In the second sub-theme, the experiences of second-generation migrants living in inner-city migrant communities are presented. All but one of the second-generation migrants in this study had in common a fourth, functional, community, which is school. As a community, school is of particular significance for this group of second-generation migrants, and it is presented as the third and last sub-theme. The findings that emerged from the three sub-themes are discussed below.

6.3.1.1 Sub-theme 1: Middle-income areas and townships as communities

Seven young participants resided in middle-income areas and the other two in townships. The findings indicate that participants experienced these communities differently. Second-generation migrants residing in middle-income areas describe their places of residence as quiet, safe, lonely and isolated. Meanwhile, the children of migrants living in townships see their communities as having social ills, and they described them as caring and helpful in terms of how people reach out to assist. Additionally, participants from outside townships described these locations as unequal and discriminating.

Participants living in middle-income areas viewed their communities as isolated places. A second-generation migrant living in one of Johannesburg's middle-income areas provided the following description:

P14: ... [This community] is a very quiet place; it doesn't have a lot of people, like, walking around. It's a place filled with businesses, a lot of complexes. I would say it's not exciting. Usually, I would be sitting at home since there is not a lot of people to socialise with ... It gets boring sometimes, like, since there are not a lot of people to be with friends ... So, that is the reason that I am always at home because there are not a lot of people to be with.

The secluded nature of middle-income areas, as reported by the participants, can be viewed as both an advantage and a disadvantage. On the one hand, the community is confining because second-generation migrants struggle to find their age-mates to befriend. For this participant, it is even more difficult to make friends because he indicated that his school is outside the community the family lives in. On the other hand, isolation in the community is described as positive because it affords people privacy. For example, another participant, who also resides at a middle-income area in Johannesburg and whose school is in the community, stated that:

P7: It's not bad. It's a very good community. I just haven't met a lot of children in this neighbourhood ... Everyone is quiet, they don't go to other people's business, and they let you be in your own personal space.

In both P14's and P7's experiences, the inability to meet age-mates was linked to the schools they attended being located outside their community, in conjunction with the secluded nature of middle-income areas.

Also, in addition to middle-income areas being good because they are 'quiet and isolated', other second-generation migrant focused more on the "goodness" of the community, which for them was a matter of safety and being able to reside happily, and having their needs met. Elaborating on what they liked about middle-income areas, two participants living in Pretoria qualified that:

P10: It's a safe community, friendly, safe and friendly.

P8: I live in a carefree, good community, with lots of friends. We do crazy things but not too crazy. I am enjoying it. I am enjoying life. I like going out with friends. I have never struggled. I am just always happy.

In this instance, the sense of ease in middle-income areas is facilitated by the building of friendships for children of migrants, which contrasts with other participants who experience

the community as isolating, lonely and a place without age-mates. Based on all the above accounts of the second-generation migrants from middle-income areas, a correlation can be drawn with Portes and Zhou's (1993:82) views, which is that they are assimilated or integrated into the middle-class.

In comparison to second-generation migrants living in middle-income areas of Pretoria and Johannesburg, participants residing in townships appreciated the community in terms of the interactive communal relationships. For example, a participant residing in a township in Pretoria elaborated on this point:

P5: *I would say ... some of them [community members] if ... they see you doing a wrong thing. They will come to you and say, 'No you mustn't do this. This is not the right thing to do', or if some of them see that you need help, they certainly come even if you didn't ask for it ... Like this other day, I was in Sosha [Soshanguve], but then like we were coming from the shops, me and my little sister. We were carrying a lot of heavy stuff. So, they just came and helped us until we were almost at home ... Although they were going the other direction, they helped us until a part now we can walk ... They came and helped even though we didn't ask, and then we thanked them... Even if they help you, they don't ask for anything back in return.*

The elders in the community appeared willing to guide children who were in the wrong. This finding corroborates the African concept of *Ubuntu*, in which a community member is seen as existing in connection with others, not in isolation (Republic of South Africa, [RSA], 1997). Even though this participant viewed the cohesive and interactive nature of their township as commendable, the findings show townships as places of limited privacy and again, this can be both positive and negative. On the one hand, the lack of privacy rendered participants' needs more visible for others to respond and assist. This is in juxtaposition with middle-income areas, as described by P7, in which community members cannot help each other. On the other hand, the lack of privacy can be negative when it comes to safety. This last point is discussed further in this section.

Townships were also described by participants in relation to social ills and future prospects. A male second-generation migrant participant from the same township in Pretoria explained that:

P13: *In my community that I am living in, I don't see any experiences or anything better coming for me because there is no[t] any good person.*

R: *Hmm, why do you say so?*

P13: Because if you go to Pretoria and ask people about Soshanguve or Jukulyn [a section in Soshanguve] they will tell you bad things about it.

R: Why do people have to say bad things about Soshanguve?

P13: Coz [because] in Soshanguve each and every day you get people killed, yes.

This participant's lacking sense of safety because of crime and limited future prospects for career and economic advancement in the community stood in contrast to the experiences of participants from middle-income areas. In addition, one of the teachers described the lives of second-generation migrants in terms of economic disadvantages which are affecting the community as a whole:

K12: ... in our case, most of our children are coming from Alexandra, from disadvantaged backgrounds. As a result, we don't have much in terms of class differences ...

The children of migrants living in the townships are from disadvantaged economic backgrounds. In terms of Portes and Zhou's (1993:82) segmented assimilation theory, townships are a place or a segment of the under-class in South Africa. Indeed, Misago et al. (2021:23) denote the following about townships and informal settlements:

To varying degrees, residents in these areas covered here face severe economic hardship including high rates of unemployment, poor service delivery, poverty and overcrowding, as well as concomitant social ills that include high crime rates, gangsterism, drug and alcohol abuse, exacerbated by a general lack of livelihood opportunities, particularly for the youth.

Hence, according to Young's (1990:53) understanding of economic marginalisation, townships are an area where marginals reside. Therefore, together, the experiences of participants in this study suggest the continued relevance of Portes and Zhou's (1993:82) segmented assimilation theory according to which second-generation migrants assimilating into the underclass are likely to experience a lower socio-economic class, in comparison to those who reside in middle-income areas.

Besides the two participants with first-hand experiences of township life, there were other second-generation migrants residing in middle-income areas, who commented on the lives of relatives of similar ages residing in townships. These participants highlighted the importance of blending in with South African nationals in terms of language and identity, as well as equality. For example, a participant from an inner-city migrant community shared the following observation on blending in:

P9: *I have a cousin in Soshanguve he told me, 'In that place, you only speak Tswana, and no one speaks English there, and they don't treat people equally'. There is xenophobia if they know that you are a Zimbabwean.*

In townships, knowing local languages like seTswana seems to be important for the day-to-day lives of second-generation migrants. This is so because foreign nationals want to fit in and avoid being marked and discriminated against, for example, through micro aggressions and, in severe cases, face physical attacks. Fitting into communities in terms of language confirms both classic assimilation (Gordon, 1964:69) and segmented assimilation theories (Portes & Zhou, 1993), in that, foreign nationals are under pressure to assimilate in terms of language. These are the dynamics underlying participants' compliance to assimilate in terms of language.

One more important point should be considered here. Not only do the findings discussed thus far show the middle-income areas and townships that second-generation migrants assimilate and integrate into as capitalist segments of poor and rich people. A closer look at the findings additionally shows a juxtaposition of these two types of places which are reminiscent of the colonial era towns. For example, in 1963, Fanon described the settler town as:

Strongly built, all made of stone and steel. It is a brightly-lit town; the streets are covered with asphalt; and the garbage cans swallow all leavings, unseen, unknown and hardly thought about ... the settler's town is a well-fed town; an easy-going town; its belly is always full of good things ... the town belonging to the colonized people ... is a place of ill fame, populated by men of evil repute ... it is a world without spaciousness; men live there on top of each other, and their huts are built on top of each other.

Considering South Africa's colonial history, middle-income areas and townships that second-generation migrants are required to assimilate into are not mere places for marginals and non-marginals in the capitalist system, as argued by Young, 1990:53). They are also social, political and economic creations of the colonial era that still stand. Therefore, Zimbabwean second-generation migrants are integrating into spaces that are historically divided.

6.3.1.2. Sub-theme 2: Inner-city migrant communities

Beyond middle-income areas and townships, some second-generation migrant participants and key informants also discussed their experiences and observations of inner-city migrant communities. Seven second-generation migrants were residing in inner-city migrant communities, namely, the Johannesburg CBD, Hillbrow, Pretoria CBD and Sunnyside. All the participants held similar sentiments about their respective communities. They experienced

inner-city migrant communities as “good” because they were inclusive, as community members were mostly from diverse migrant backgrounds. This positive description and experiences of inner-city migrant communities by second-generation migrants, which are normally affiliated with crime is important. However, the findings also indicate that there are some important disadvantages to these communities, and these are related to crowded housing, limited access to sporting infrastructure, and shared living spaces.

Participants’ positive experiences around living in inner-city communities pertained mostly to the presence of diverse migrants. Thus, one second-generation migrant living in a Pretoria inner-city migrant community provided the following description:

P2: Sunnyside is a nice place, lovely full of people from different types of places. That is the one thing I like about it. I have friends that come from different kinds of places.

When further prompted for the meaning of ‘different kinds of places’, the participant explained that:

P2: I mean they are from different places all over Africa.

Still, the findings reveal that these communities remain home to South African nationals as well, and this was also found to be true by Tewolde (2021:4). The type of housing available to this diverse population is mainly high-rise flats (Tewolde, 2021:4). Regarding diversity within this dominant type of housing, a participant residing in Pretoria shared that:

P6: The flat that I live is [in]my community ... My community is fine because there are a lot of Zimbabweans in this flat, and there are some South Africans. We treat each other equally and I have made friends from this place, and they have accepted where I come from; no one treats me differently.

Similarly, another participant living in an inner-city migrant community in Johannesburg provided the following description of her community:

P15: If I am at home, since I stay in the building, everyone that lives in that building is my community ... It’s a building and it’s in [the] Johannesburg CBD. So, we have people who are from a lot of places.

In the experience of the second-generation migrants in this study, then, the diverse migrant population associated with inner-city migrant communities appears to render these places non-discriminatory. Adding onto these accounts, a teacher discussed the migrant population of

inner-city communities and its implications on inclusion and belonging of second-generation migrants:

K11: ... What I have realised is that, like, some people you find out ... they are staying in Hillbrow here ... Most of [the] people who are here, they are foreigners. So, they fit in. They are comfortable because it is like their home in Zimbabwe ...

The descriptions of inner-city migrant communities in terms of population diversity again support the continued relevance of Portes and Zhou's (1993:82) segmented assimilation theory, which denotes migrant communities after the middle-class and underclass as the third segment that second-generation migrants integrate into. Furthermore, like in other migrant-receiving countries, these communities are predominantly found in the inner cities (see Basante, 2022:609; Body-Gendrot & Martiniello, 2000:1), but uniquely in South Africa, they are home to people originating from mostly African countries (Tewolde, 2021:4). Also, as noted by participants and as previously identified by Crul and Schneider (2013:2) and Portes and Zhou (1993), there are positives associated with living in migrant communities. In this context, this is particularly evident when participants describe the community in terms of homeliness, having friends from different places, and belonging because they are equal. Most importantly, these descriptions link with O'Keeffe and Nipperess' (2021:105) idea of place and space belonging that is central to the children of migrants of this age.

Nonetheless, participants also highlighted that there are as many challenges as advantages associated with living in inner-city migrant communities. The inner-city migrant communities were described by the participants with reference to negatives such as crime and noise around the community. A 15-year-old participant reiterated that:

P3: All I can say is, if I had a chance to leave it [community], I will never leave even though it is known for criminal activities and loud music. ... I like everything about it; the buildings, my friends and the people outside ...

Firstly, although there are challenges linked with living in inner-city migrant communities, in the experiences of P3, positives also prevail. Secondly, the reasons for the loud music were explained by two other participants. One of them, a 21-year-old female participant, elaborated that:

P1: It's noisy. We stay near clubs, but eventually, you get used to it.

Linked to the context being dominated by bars, another female participant, who was 17 years old, highlighted the one thing she dislikes about her community:

P4: I don't like when drunk people approach you as a girl.

The fact that crime and drinking are affiliated with migrant communities correlates with Crul and Schneider (2013:1), who found that in Germany, social ills are often attributed to second-generation migrants. However, in this context, instead of specifically second-generation migrants, the social ills are attributed to the community as a whole. Indeed, Pretoria's inner-city communities are described by the media as "crime-ridden" and "dangerous" (Tewolde, 2021:6).

In addition, participants identified limited access to sporting infrastructure as another key challenge faced by inner-city migrant communities. For example, one participant shared that:

P6: Before they built this building, [pointing outside his flat for the researcher to see] there used to be a sports ground here. We used to play soccer after school. Ever since they built this building, we didn't have much to do. There is a coach who wants to open a soccer club and we have already sent our names. So, maybe during holiday he will open the club

R: ... Since this building has closed the ground and your coach is saying he wants to have a soccer club, so where are you going play soccer...?

P6: There is a sports ground near here. Sometimes we go there for training in Sunnyside. There is also another sports ground or even in a park we can go and play soccer there.

Similar to P6, children of migrants in Durban, Cape Town and Johannesburg are found to have limited access to activities to engage in (Crush & Tawodzera, 2011; Mpofu, 2018:88). Another second-generation migrant, when prompted on the reasons why there were no child-appropriate activities in his community, pointed to the following possible reason:

P2: Actually, I don't know, maybe it is because or they are just leaving us out. Usually, when people think of Sunnyside, they think of it as a place of foreigners. It's full of foreigners and stuff like that ... People take it, like, ... 'I can't go to Sunnyside, there are lots of outsiders, lots of Zimbabweans, lots of Nigerians' ... So, I think that is one of the main reasons they just cancel Sunnyside as a whole. I don't see it like that. I see it as a place to meet new people ... Other people don't see it that way.

An analysis of the experiences of the second-generation migrants residing in this inner-city community shows limited access to resources such as sporting facilities. Firstly, this might

plausibly be due to the type of infrastructure and conditions predominant in this community. As stated above, these communities are dominated by high-rise flats, which are close to each other. Secondly, based on the accounts of P2 and P6, it can also be argued that they are marginalised. In fact, Tewolde (2021:6) states that “due to their low socio-economic status, most African migrants find themselves trapped within inner cities in South Africa and are unable to move to relatively racially affluent suburbs surrounding most inner cities in South Africa”. Accordingly, Young (1990:53) contends that contemporary forms of marginalisation are integral to capitalist economies, in that it occurs when surplus labour that is considered as of not use is relegated to societal peripheries. This study, however, suggests a different dynamic: migrants are considered as marginals based on their identity and class, as a consequence they sometimes have limited access to resources.

Using Fraser’s (2009:16) three-dimensional view of social injustice, arguably marginalisation forms part of misrecognition, misrepresentation and maldistribution. Fraser (2009:16) elaborates that in her three-dimensional view, justice entails equitable distribution of economic resources and opportunities, cultural and legal recognition, and just political representation. Therefore, when looking at participants’ experiences with reference to distribution, a building is erected on a soccer pitch, such that young people in the community and their coach have to find an alternative place for exercise and recreation. In terms of recognition, this community is seen as a place for outsiders and, as a result, they are left out of distribution, including access to sporting facilities. As far as representation is concerned, it seems community members were not consulted before the building was erected.

Beyond the negatives identified by young participants, key informants added another disadvantage faced by inner-city migrant communities, concentrating more on the limited access to opportunities with reference to the living spaces that migrant children share with their families and other people. A social auxiliary worker described the living conditions in inner-city communities:

“KI5: The child who stay[s] in Sunnyside have less opportunity than a child who live[s] with the parent, let’s say in Pretoria East. The child may be staying here in Sunnyside. That child stay[s] in a bedroom. She share[s] a bedroom with four siblings, mama [and] papa. They are staying in one room. The child who stay[s] in Moreleta, Pretoria East, Wonderboom, can have his own room.

Children of migrants share living spaces not only with family members but also with other people and, as a result, some members of inner-city migrant communities have never experienced a quality home. Speaking on these experiences, a teacher explained that:

K14: Also, the issue of location, where they stay. The majority ... stay in low-class areas. For example, most of them at my school ... stay in the inner-city. Therefore, most of the children, they stay in town, surrounding suburbs like Hillbrow, Berea, Yeoville, where they stay in a flat, and in that flat, they don't stay as a family. It's like a community where they share. You find that they share a space. So, some of those children ... don't really know what a proper house is with a kitchen, a bathroom, a lounge. You know, children's own bedroom. They only know that small, confined space to them. So, that's a home whilst their counterparts, the other immigrants who come from families that have got resources, they will be staying in middle-income areas or even high-income areas where a child has their own bedroom.

A social worker stated the following about living conditions in inner-city migrant communities when discussing the assessment that is sometimes conducted to determine the poor financial standing of parents who require a school fees waiver:

K10: What we do [is], we conduct [an] assessment, we don't assess the children, we assess the parents to know their living conditions, their sources of income ... So, after conducting the assessment, we go to their homes to conduct a home visit just to verify what they told us at the office: Is it aligning with their reality? ... These people are living in Sunnyside in [a] partitioned living room. You know it's like over ten people in this bachelor flat or one bedroomed... Then we come back as social workers. We write parent 'so and so' have this number of children and that enrolled in Sunnyside Primary School. So, it's actually expected to pay R500 a month, but the parent is not financially stable to cover the fees of these five children. We therefore as social workers ... motivate for the parents to be exempted.

The living conditions in these communities signify poverty, thus providing yet more evidence for Portes and Zhou (1993:82) that participants are assimilating into another underclass. Yet, unlike in townships, this underclass consists predominantly of migrants. Also, under these poor living conditions, the quality of the home is scrutinised by one key informant. For them, a quality home is a place where there is space for separate bedrooms for family members and a living space. Therefore, in addition, the nature of shared living spaces encroaches on basic human dignity, which according to the IFSW (2018), SACCS (n.d.:6) and UNCOHR (n.d.), all human beings deserve. Human dignity is essential when understanding the process of integrating second-generation migrants because in this context this concept should not only be about settling into communities but also about access to basic human rights.

6. 3.1.3 Sub-theme 3: The school as a community

Beyond the middle-income areas, townships and inner-city migrant communities which are home to participants, findings show that second-generation migrants consider school as their second significant community. Berk (2010:362) adds that at adolescence school is considered an important community. However, before discussing this specific community, participants highlighted some similarities between their schools and the communities that they are located in. For example, the two points raised in Section 6.3.2.1 about limited access to sporting facilities and the diversity of inner-city migrant communities were also found to be characteristic of inner-city schools. Regarding access to sporting facilities, one second-generation migrant attending an inner-city migrant school shared that:

P2: ... let me just say, at school we do have sports ... We usually do soccer. There is a male soccer team. So, usually after school we go and practice. We don't have a ground at our school ... We didn't have sports at school, and we had to complain to our principal, and he said he will rent something for us. So, they told us last term that we should sign up our names and every Wednesday is it, and Friday after school, we take a taxi [minibuses used for public transport] and go for training and then they drop us off at school.

In another example, a teacher working at an inner-city school noted the similarities in terms of population composition between a school and inner-city migrant community:

"K11: I work with - it is actually a mixture [mixture of learners]. You know, when we talk of multiculturalism ... in my class in particular, I have got 39 kids, and there are kids from Zambia. There are kids from Malawi. There are kids from Zimbabwe. There are kids from Nigeria, and there are kids from South Africa.

The similarities between communities and schools support Teasley's (2017:195) findings, which, too, reveal schools as a microcosm of society. Yet, when comparing the findings to Teasley's (2017:195) study schools can also be viewed as a separate community. In this instance, the findings reveal that school is a separate community because second-generation migrants get to experience friendships with their peers of a similar age, and some don't have such relationships in their home environments. In addition, the amount of time spent at school makes it unique a community. Finally, findings indicate that it is the one space that brings together second-generation migrants from the three geographic communities discussed in sub-themes 1 and 2.

In their discussion of the school as a community, the participants highlighted the importance of relationships and friendships they have with their peers. As a result, for many, school felt more of a community than home. That is, in this study, children of migrants feel a sense of belonging at school. A second-generation migrant, when asked who constituted her community, elaborated that:

P7: So, all the girls in my grade, we hang out in a group at break. At home, it is my mom, my dad, and me, and my aunt and brother.

R: ... how have you been experiencing your everyday life in your community thus far?

P7: It's (long pause) I don't talk to a lot of people; at my school, I talk to most people. There are a lot of children who are the same like me. So, it's easier for me to relate.

R: It's easier for you to relate. So, your community at school feels more like your community – more than this community that you live in.

P7: Yes.

O'Keeffe and Nipperess (2021:104) and Simsonen (2018:125) note that a sense of belonging, as highlighted in the findings, is important when integrating second-generation migrants into their different communities.

In addition to their friendships with peers, young people in this study experienced responsive and positive relationships with their teachers. When prompted about the meaning of a community, a participant explained that:

P16: Mostly, I will say, when I am at home my family becomes my community, and when I am at school, [in the school] that background teachers and other students are my community. It's only these two. It's either I am at school, or I am at home.

In this instance, the segmented assimilation theory by Portes and Zhou (1993:82) is limited when analysing the school context as a second community that the children of migrants integrate into in South Africa. In this study, assimilation transcends settling in a place because of class and migrant identity, as second-generation migrants are brought together at school by the relationships they have with their teachers and peers. In other words, the idea of assimilation with schools is tied to social relationships.

The relationships participants have with peers and teachers are a result of the amount of time spent in this school environment. Consequently, participants spend more time with their teachers and peers than family members at home. Speaking about the time spent at school, a teacher explained that:

K11: As a teacher, I have long-term relationships with the learners As I mentioned before, these kids spend more time with me, more than their parents. Remember, from 7 am until they go home 3 pm, and you find out their parents they're at work. He gets home, the child is alone, and the parent comes 5 'oclock or 6 'oclock. They are with them maybe for 2 to 3 hours. They sleep, and then they see them in the morning when they are getting ready, and they spend more time with me in class.

In sum, based on the participants' accounts, relationships at school render this school community a very important part of the second-generation migrants' lives. The centrality of these relationships in terms of these participants' integration into South African society will become apparent and be discussed in detail in theme three.

To conclude, this theme explored four types of communities to lay a foundation for an understanding of the contextual conditions under which Zimbabwean second-generation migrants integrate into. Put differently, this theme paints a picture of the everyday communities participants in this study lived in as characterised by a range of factors which can either facilitate or impede their integration. It was also found that segmented assimilation theory is not only about class divisions but also relates to communities as geographic locations and social ties. It can also be concluded that the researcher as recommended by decolonial scholars carefully applied a theory developed in the Global North. That means, when using segmented assimilation theory to analyse the findings, the South African present and historical context was considered. As a result, where there was marginalisation of second-generation migrants, it was discussed as correlating with both South Africa's colonial history and current living conditions. The segmented assimilation theory in this study additionally pays attention to the uniqueness of the second-generation migrant participants themselves in terms of age. There are participants who were in their adolescence and emerging adulthood, thus at different developmental stages. The developmental stage of second-generation migrants meant that they have school as another community.

6.3.2. Theme 2: Language as the main tool for assimilation, integration and acculturation

Languages were found to be important for Zimbabwean second-generation migrants living in South Africa. Accordingly, experiences related to the use of languages dominated most participant accounts. The findings indicate that firstly, in a formal environment like school, languages are mainly used for instruction. Secondly, second-generation migrants fall into two main Zimbabwean language groups, which differently influenced their integration. Thirdly, for children of migrants, experiences relating to languages also touched on how they are spoken. Fourthly, the participants emphasised the responsibility to learn local languages. Finally, in addition to local languages, participants noted the importance of communicating in their home languages.

6.3.2.1. Sub-theme 1: Language as a tool for learning at school

Key informants and second-generation migrant participants from both Shona and Ndebele-speaking families highlighted the importance of knowing and speaking local languages and, ultimately, how these are used to navigate everyday life in different communities. Theme one highlighted that school is one of the communities that Zimbabwean second-generation migrants easily integrate into (see Section 6.3.1.3). As much as schools are a community where relationships and bonds amongst peers are formed (see Section 6.3.1.3), they are functional, formal, and regulated. Since schools are regulated, the education curriculum outlines that children of migrants must learn South African languages (see also Crush & Tawodzera, 2021:17). Most Zimbabwean second-generation migrants found learning local languages that were new to them challenging; however, with time, some did succeed.

The findings reveal that at school, English is designated as a mother tongue for non-South African learners. In addition to English, which is considered their mother tongue, second-generation migrants are required to learn another local language. In the following transcript, a teacher explained the language requirements, and the challenges faced by second-generation migrants during their first days at school:

K11: You find that ... a child is ... let me say from Zimbabwe. The child is Shona-speaking or ... Kalanga, ... Ndebele, and they come to South Africa. The subjects that they are offering, you find that there is Afrikaans ... Zulu ... Setswana, and they have never been experienced or ... came across those

languages. So now, if lessons are offered with those languages, it becomes a problem for them to understand ... at the start, they actually fail. Imagine ... it's your first time, you are in grade 3 and come in you are in Grade 4 ... they give you Afrikaans. You start learning Afrikaans, and it's a totally new language to you. It is not even your mother tongue. You are not even doing your home language. You have to do your home language, as in English home language. Yet, your home language is Shona ... Kalanga ... isiNdebele. So now, if you have to take English as your home language and you need to do first additional language that's where you are maybe given Afrikaans ... isiZulu ... isiTswana ... Xhosa ... Then it becomes a problem for a child to easily understand and pass in those subjects ...

In learning local languages at school, children of migrants can be said to be assimilating into the migrant-receiving society (Gordon, 1964:69). Gordon (1964:70) notes three domains of assimilation, which are structural, identificational and biological. Learning local languages at school forms part of structural assimilation because they are being incorporated into South Africa's education system. There are two distinct ways second-generation migrants can assimilate structurally, which are formal and informal. Where assimilation is driven by community members, it is informal, and when it is linked to state requirements, for example, the education system, it is formal. This point will be revisited in theme three.

From the perspective of second-generation migrants, learning a new language is difficult. However, where challenges were encountered, some learners found ways of coping. A participant shared her experiences in learning a new language:

P5: I had to come here, and I had to repeat Grade 7... In repeating Grade 7 ... I had to learn [a] new language, like Afrikaans ... The first time, I was shocked that I don't even know Afrikaans – how come I passed ... I had passed term 1, term 2, term 3 and term 4. Even now, I still pass ... I try to keep up with Afrikaans ... Sometimes, if I am writing my exams, I read the question in Afrikaans Writing words in Afrikaans is hard for me ... So, I might mix English, but at the end of the day I see that I am passing even though I mixed English and Afrikaans.

In comparison with P5, there are other children of migrants who struggle because they do not know English. A social auxiliary worker pointed out the language challenges faced by both the children of Zimbabwean migrants from poor backgrounds and those from other nationalities:

K5: I think they have more opportunities. They are coming from [a] country where they speak English in Zimbabwe ... The parents I went across to, they are educated. The children does not really speak only Shona or Ndebele, they can speak English. They are really opportune because there is immigrant children who are coming from countries where they speak French. Besides all these problems, they also have to adapt to the language but them, yah,

some are coming from poor-poor background. When they arrive, they have to speak language English that is quite difficult considering where you are coming to, all these issues, problems.

Prior knowledge of English is found to be useful to second-generation migrants. However, not all Zimbabwean second-generation migrants know English, as some are from poor families that do not speak the language. For them, the difficulties of learning new languages are doubled. Furthermore, knowing English has an added advantage, especially when compared to second-generation migrants originating from Africa's francophone countries. Even though there are challenges encountered when learning new languages linked to their country of origin and class, Renzaho et al. (2017:8) note that being in the school environment facilitates the acculturation of children of migrants and this was found to be true.

6.3.2.2. Sub-theme 2: Language is inclusive of accent

In this sub-theme, the issue of how languages are spoken is explored. The findings show that the question of integration through language goes beyond just knowing a language, to include how it is spoken. Second-generation migrant participants referred to how languages are spoken as accents. Participants' experiences, as discussed in this and the following sub-theme, and in theme three, indicate how languages like English are spoken and can be used as identity markers for Zimbabwean second-generation migrants.

As already noted in previous sections, accents form part of the identity of Zimbabwean second-generation migrants. A participant explained how this is used to identify Zimbabweans by peers:

P9: From primary school, I have always been told so, and I don't know why. Whenever I speak, they always say you cannot be from Zimbabwe, you sound like someone from America. I always have to tell them I am from Zimbabwe if they were to ask but people think I am not from Zimbabwe.

The link between how English is spoken, and the Zimbabwean identity relates to another domain of assimilation, which is identificational assimilation (Gordon, 1964:70). However, in this instance having a perceived accent shows that they have not identificationally assimilated into South Africa or Zimbabwe, as the way they speak does not fit with both contexts. Moreover, although the affiliated Zimbabwean accent can be seen as an 'innocent' way of viewing their identity, through the lens of Young's (1990:41) view of oppression in cultural imperialism, second-generation migrants are being stereotyped, if unintentionally.

Furthermore, in instances where accents do not align with the perceived Zimbabwean identity, the second-generation migrant is assumed to have a ‘white’ or English-speaking background. Another second-generation migrant participant shared comments made by his peers about accents:

P11: When I told some of my friends that I was from Zimbabwe, they were shocked, and they said I don’t sound like a Zimbabwean ...

R: So, when your friends say you don’t sound Zimbabwean. What do they mean?

P11: Some of them say the way I speak doesn’t sound Zimbabwean.

R: Is there a particular Zimbabwean accent?

P11: I guess there is. They joke and say I sound colonised. They say that I sound like a White person, and I don’t sound like a Zimbabwean” (P11).

P11’s experience is similar to that of P9 and having an identity in terms of language linked to being English, ‘white’, colonised and American brings out another aspect identified by Onukogu’s (2018:169), that is, the concepts of assimilation, integration and acculturation are not entirely relevant for all second-generation migrants in South Africa because some adopt a global identity not aligned to the home and receiving countries, or, alternatively, what is perceived as colonised identities. This shows a characteristic of assimilation, integration and acculturation that is unique to South Africa, as part of the Global South, that needs to be considered. In this regard, there is one specific characteristic of language-based integration that is particularly relevant to South Africa and Zimbabwe, and this is discussed in the next section.

6.3.2.3. Sub-theme 3: The dynamics between South African Nguni languages and Zimbabwe’s Ndebele language

It was noted in sub-theme one (6.3.2.1) that knowing local languages is important. Findings, however, indicate that in South Africa, this requirement appears to be less stringently applied to second-generation migrants from the Ndebele-speaking background. Participants attributed this to the similarities they identify between isiNdebele and other South African Nguni languages, particularly isiZulu. The findings further show that participants considered isiNdebele a South African language. Nevertheless, even if there are similarities between these languages, some participants were also aware of the differences between the two, especially with respect to wording and accent. Notwithstanding these finer differences, knowing

isiNdebele is found to be one of the factors assisting the integration of second-generation migrants in South Africa.

Second-generation migrants stated that regardless of a migrant's background, speaking or knowing a South African language was essential for their day-to-day lives. Participants highlighted that for them, isiNdebele can be considered both a Zimbabwean and a South African language. A participant from a partly Ndebele-speaking background highlighted how knowing the language helped him communicate with his peers:

P8: No, it doesn't matter where you are from, as long as you can speak a South African language. There are nine languages [twelve] in South Africa. You see, Ndebele is part of it. So, Ndebele and isiNdebele are the same thing as Zulu. So, they can understand what I am trying to say.

The similarities identified between isiNdebele and South Africa's Nguni languages are consistent with what has been previously stated by Noyoo and Sobantu (2021) and Siziba (2016:122), that is, Ndebele people exist in the country and their language is spoken in South Africa, and it is close to other Nguni languages like isiXhosa, isiZulu, and isiSwati.

Regardless of the similarities between isiNdebele and South Africa's Nguni languages and of the extent to which the second-generation migrants alternate between isiZulu and isiNdebele, participants also identified distinguishable differences between these two languages. A participant from both a Ndebele and Zulu speaking background attending an inner-city school compared the two languages, stating that:

P15: At home, I am comfortable speaking the language that I use [Zulu] and when I am at school, I speak Ndebele to people who know that I speak Ndebele, but if I speak to a South African, I use their language ... As much as Ndebele is similar to Zulu there are slight differences like words and accent.

Notwithstanding these differences, second-generation migrants found it not complex to adapt from isiNdebele to isiZulu. When asked if second-generation migrants encounter difficulties in terms of language, a teacher responded the following way:

K12: Most of them not with language, because some of them will be speaking isiNdebele then it is easy for them to switch to isiZulu, and with those who are speaking isiShona I haven't seen them having much of a problem because of them they would be young. They would have arrived here whilst they are still at primary and by the time they come to high school, they would be fluent in isiZulu.

Noticeable from the findings is that learning a local language like isiZulu is also dependent on the age of arrival of the second-generation migrants. This means that those second-generation migrants who moved at a younger age or were born in South Africa though chiShona speaking can find it less difficult to learn than those who arrived in South Africa during adolescence only. The findings also lead to a comparable conclusion reached by Sandberg (2018:479), who stated that integration and even assimilation of second-generation migrants is facilitated by similarities, especially in language, between the migrant-sending and receiving countries. Yet, unlike Spain and South American countries tied in terms of language because the former was the colonising country and the latter were the colonised countries (Sandberg, 2018:47), South Africa and Zimbabwe are examples of how colonial borders were marked in Africa dividing ethnicities between two or more borders (Ndlovu-Gatsheni & Mhlanga, 2013:2). In this case, due to similarities in language and arguably identity, Ndebele and Zulu people can belong and integrate on either side of the border. Another key point from the findings is that the concepts of assimilation, integration and acculturation do not capture these unique dynamics that facilitate integration in this Global South context. While the requirement to learn South African languages is seemingly less pronounced for second-generation migrants of Ndebele-speaking backgrounds, their counterparts from Shona-speaking backgrounds are required to learn local languages.

6.3.2.4. Sub-theme 4: Zimbabweans should learn South African languages

This sub-theme looks at how second-generation migrants from Shona-speaking families face more pressure to learn South African languages more than their counterparts from Ndebele-speaking families. This is because in contrast to isiNdebele, chiShona, according to Siziba (2016:122), is a distinctly Zimbabwean language. Second-generation migrants from this group experienced local languages as essential for their daily communication with fellow community members, both young and old. Furthermore, as with their Ndebele-speaking counterparts, language was about communication, and it was also tied to identity. That is, local languages constitute part of the South African identity. Still, even if participants viewed learning local languages as a necessity in their daily lives, their experiences show instances where they felt coerced to learn them.

Those participants who migrated, rather than being born in South Africa, described communication with their fellow community members as difficult, especially during the initial days. When asked what was hard about being raised in South Africa during the initial stages of

migration, one second-generation migrant spoke about the language difficulties she encountered during her first days of migration, stating that:

P1: It was definitely communication. You get someone speaking in Zulu and you would say sorry I don't understand could you please elaborate ... So, communication was a bit difficult, it was challenging.

Moving beyond the first days in the community, not knowing a local language seemingly makes the daily lives of second-generation migrants even more difficult, especially when accessing basic services. A second-generation migrant spoke about life in a Pretoria township, and how in her community it was important to learn a local language:

P5: My every day, some of it is complicated ... I had to learn to speak the language seTswana and stuff ... when I am going to buy something. If I say it in English, they won't understand. So, I had to learn to speak a little bit of seTswana. So, like each and every day was more like learning something new.

Here, contrary to the migration policy requirement outlined by the DHA (2017:64), second-generation migrants were found to be assimilating instead of integrating: Their experiences resembled the definition of assimilation provided by Gonzales and Lee (2013:1) and IOM (2019:10) in that the process of learning languages was one-directional, as second-generation migrants were the only ones required to adapt to local conditions. The experience of P5, who faced difficulties even when communicating in English, was in contrast to P11 and P9 who did not face challenges (See sub-theme 6.3.2.2).

In this study, local languages were viewed as partially constitutive of a South African identity. Therefore, for second-generation migrants to have a fulfilling life in their communities, they are required to learn a local language. A participant spoke on the importance of knowing a South African language:

P6: ... My family want to strictly stay Zimbabwean. So, I say to them, 'You need to change because you are living in South Africa' ... They say, 'No', and I tell them, 'In order for me to enjoy South Africa, I have to learn to be a South African.' ... They should learn the languages; at least they should just know just one language. ... If you want to be a Zimbabwean in South Africa, you will get bullied.

Here, the urgency to learn local languages brings to the fore a contrast of experiences of different generations. These differences will be discussed below in theme six. Important to this sub-theme is that knowledge of local languages is seen as a way to avoid victimisation. The same participant recounted:

P6: *I remember this time we went to ... [a restaurant] ... we were sitting, and the waiter was speaking in sePedi and my daddy told her, 'We don't understand, please speak in English'. ... She got angry, and she started saying that, 'Why do you come to this country, and you don't speak a local language? We are not people from England who speak English'. My parents are not like those people who like fighting. So, they were just like, 'Let's go', and the manager came out and said we were wrong for speaking English. They even called the police, and the police said the manager was wrong ...*

Similar to P6's experience, authors from Denmark, Netherlands, France, Italy (De Waal, 2019:37), and Australia (Castles, 2011:5; O'Keeffe & Nipperess, 2021; Nunn et al., 2017:47) observe that integration has remained the sole responsibility of migrants and their children, and that members of the receiving society are not open to change at all. Therefore, it seems in the place of integration, where native members of the receiving community and migrants work together in order to have a functioning society, assimilation is occurring. In anti-oppressive terms, the migrant family are ordered to learn local languages by the waiter who is from the dominant group. As a consequence, the family is powerless in that, as a dominated group, "... they must take orders ..." from the waiter, who is from the dominant group (Young, 1990:56). Moreover, in this incident, powerlessness interconnects with cultural imperialism. As far as cultural imperialism is concerned, the world only makes sense in the language of the dominant group (Young, 1990:59). Therefore, speaking English, which is not the language of the dominant group, is viewed as offensive and thus, deviant. Powerlessness and cultural imperialism further intersect with Mullaly's (2010:162) internalised oppression: This incident and other encounters like it psychologically affected P6's mind, such that it led to the internalisation of the dominant group's position. Hence, to enjoy the country, P6 felt it was necessary to learn to be South African, ultimately internalising a marginalised, second-generation migrants' identity as second-class.

Linked to powerlessness, cultural imperialism and marginalisation is the political dimension of Fraser's (2009:17) social justice theory. As stated in Chapter 4, this dimension has three levels, which are ordinary political representation, framing and rules deciding who counts as a subject of social justice (Fraser, 2009:17). Levels two and three are particularly relevant to this interpretation of findings. According to Fraser (2009:17), at the second level, political boundaries are marked, thus "determining who counts as a member". In the findings, boundaries differentiate who between second-generation migrants and citizens are insiders and outsiders. At the third level, Fraser (2009:17) highlights that where there are set borders, rules

are put in place to adjudicate ‘who’ can be recognised and represented as a member and access redistribution, from ‘whom’ and ‘how’. In this case, the requirement to speak local languages and change of identity then become the rules used how to decide who can be recognised by citizens within these set boundaries. Simply put, in terms of migration, knowing a local language and having a local identity become key to second-generation migrants’ assimilation into the migrant-receiving society.

Also, related to powerlessness, marginalisation and cultural imperialism which seem to be characteristic of assimilation in this participants’ experience and other children of migrants in this study is that knowing local languages is taken a step further, and it is used to hide the Zimbabwean identity. A second-generation migrant explained how knowing a local language has mattered to him:

P2: Like I said, I chill with a lot of people, especially locals and, I don’t know, in a way, I get away with being a Zimbabwean because I also speak the local language. I can speak Zulu. So, sometimes a lot of people don’t even know that I am Zimbabwean, and they overlook that, and I get to do things that foreigners wouldn’t get to do. Why? Because I am the only one in a group of locals and people won’t think I am not local.

From the experiences of P2, two points of analysis can be drawn. Firstly, it is evident that this second-generation migrant has assimilated, in that, according to Gordon (1964:69), he is no longer distinguishable from the receiving country’s members. Therefore, has been accepted into cliques. Secondly, on the negative side, ‘getting away with being a Zimbabwean’ is an expression that does not suggest mere assimilation but also points to a perceived need to remain invisible and hide. Consequently, like P6 who stated the best way of avoiding being a victim is to learn a South African language there is an internalisation of a second-class Zimbabwean identity with P2.

In a context that is dominated by assimilation, there are times when South African peers show an interest in the language of second-generation migrants. A participant spoke about how an exchange of language happens:

P3: I speak Shona, most of my friends are interested in Shona. So, I teach them, and they teach me their language also.

R: How do you behave like a South African?

P3: You talk slang ama2000s words and talk the way they do.

In this instance, integration occurred because there is what the IOM (2019:106) refers to as a double exchange in languages, resulting in a change in both migrants and citizens. Furthermore, this finding shows that not all second-generation migrants are coerced into learning local languages. In other words, there are moments in which participants did not feel coerced into assimilating into South African communities. Also, other second-generation migrants were found to relate well with their peers even if they did not speak any local languages, but still, they noted the importance of knowing them. A participant who had this experience stated that:

R: Do you speak a South African language?

P12: I understand words here and there....

R: Which language do you understand a few words here and there?

P12: For me, it's Zulu, Sepedi, and Xhosa.

R: So, if you understand a few words here and there in Zulu, Xhosa; does it make your relationship easy with your South African peers?

P12: It doesn't change anything but it's good to know a South African language.

This shows that in some contexts knowing local languages is not always a requirement for integration because there is flexibility, but a basic knowledge thereof remains important. Communication does not end with using local languages and English but also includes second-generation migrants' home languages. The significance of Zimbabwean languages in the lives of second-generation migrants is the subject of the next sub-theme.

6.3.2.5. Sub-theme 5: Identifying with other Zimbabweans using a home language

In this study, despite local languages like isiZulu, seTswana, Afrikaans, isiXhosa and sePedi being central to their daily lived experiences, second-generation migrants were also found communicating in, and holding onto, their home languages. Participants highlighted that isiNdebele and chiShona were used to communicate and identify with Zimbabwean peers and adult community members. Additionally, home languages were used to keep in contact with Zimbabwean relatives. Still, even if they used their home languages for all of the above, participants shared that when in the presence of South African peers, Zimbabwean languages were shunned, as they brought about a sense of shame.

When around Zimbabwean peers, second-generation migrants communicated and identified with each other using their home country languages. A participant from a Shona-speaking family explained how he identified with other Zimbabweans through language:

P6: Most of the time, we start speaking Shona, and they will know, this one is one of us. And I fit because we speak the same language.

Similarly, a second-generation migrant from a Ndebele-speaking family stated that when with Zimbabwean peers, he communicated in his home language:

P14: ... I speak to them in a language that they are comfortable with speaking ..., such as Ndebele ... That is how I fit in with the Zimbabwean peers.

These findings are similar to those of Etzinger and Biezeveld (2003:7), Gonzales and Lee (2013:2), Portes and Zhou (1993:75) and Valtonen (2008:66) who all contend that regardless of the pressure to assimilate, second-generation migrants hold onto their cultural and social practices while finding their way in the receiving country. Moreover, instead of fully assimilating, they negotiate their identity and sense of belonging between the former and latter (Portes & Zhou, 1993:74).

Findings further indicate that second-generation migrants communicated with their Zimbabwean peers and relatives using their home languages, even if some had limited knowledge of these languages. A participant spoke about conversing with her grandparents in her limited home language:

P7: It's like, I don't have to worry about anybody laughing at me or treating me differently, such as the peers at school, because we are all the same skin colour, and we are all from the same place. I mean, sometimes, you know, they sometimes laugh at the fact that I can't understand Shona, but that is a different type of thing because I was raised somewhere else. They were raised where Shona was spoken. So, that is a different humour. It's just that you [are] laughing that I can't understand. So, that is a nice feeling because I don't feel uncomfortable in my own skin.

P7's account shows that though she was holding onto her culture and social identity as noted in the literature, her knowledge of the languages is distorted relative to the receiving and home country. In terms of integration, this experience shows that sometimes second-generation migrants are not fully integrated into both the receiving country and home country identity. In the case of P7, on one hand, she cannot speak a Zimbabwean language well. On the other hand, P7 speaks about comfortability, which seems not to be experiencing in the receiving country.

Notwithstanding the importance of speaking a home language, it is additionally found that home languages are carefully used, especially when second-generation migrants are with South African counterparts. A participant elaborated on how he sparingly uses his home language:

P2: *Usually with Zimbabweans, especially when we are outside of our home, we don't usually speak Shona, but we do time to time when we are around people who don't know that we are Zimbabweans because there are some people who don't actually know at all ... So, with people who don't know, I speak in English ... there is a girl in my class who sits behind me. She is Shona also, she doesn't mind, no matter who is around, she speaks Shona and calls me in class. Even though she is sitting across, speaking Shona, she doesn't mind.*

Similarly, another second-generation migrant spoke about how he is sometimes curtailed from using his home language when outside home, he shared that:

P3: *... As a Zimbabwean I always love to talk my language in Shona. But let's say, for instance, I am walking with my brother ... I start speaking Shona, he will tell me to keep quiet. But when I am grown up, I can do what I want, so it doesn't matter if people in my class make fun of my language or my country, I still love my country and the people in it.*

R: *Why do you think he says you should keep quiet when you speak in Shona?*

P3: *Maybe he feels embarrassed about being from Zimbabwe.*

In this set of findings, as with the experiences discussed in sub-theme 6.3.2.3 and 6.3.2.4, there is an internalisation of a second-class identity, that is, an internalisation of oppression. As asserted by Mullaly (2010:162) and Dominelli (2002:11) internalised oppression happens when members of subordinate groups accept the dominant group's definition of their position and identity. Internalised oppression led second-generation migrants in this study to develop a double conscience, because, in addition to understanding themselves through the lenses of both dominant and subordinate groups, as noted by Young (1990:60), they have an extra sense of awareness of how to behave differently, depending on which of the two groups they may be with at different points in time. In this study, like in other oppressive situations, these ways further perpetuate their oppression, leading to social injustice. As much as there is internalised oppression, there are instances when second-generation migrants show resistance, for example, P3 will use his language regardless of the perceptions about his country.

Internalised oppression, which is characteristic in the careful use of Zimbabwean languages, is not only prevalent among second-generation migrants but also among Zimbabwean adult

migrants that the children of migrants encounter in communities. A participant residing in a township spoke about encounters with adult Zimbabwean migrants living in the community:

P5: *... if you see them passing, you just greet, 'hie, how are you'? But mostly in that greeting, at least they will try greeting you, like, not in their language though, but, like, in other languages, and at that point it shows that they are learning something from others. It shows that most of them ... it has been long, like, 2018, they came to South Africa. They are staying in locations [townships] ... They are fine. They communicate well, but then mostly you don't see that they are friendly as South Africans. Even if you greet them, they might just ignore and act as if they didn't hear you, or they didn't see you. Like, it sort of, like, they are ashamed to accept that they are Zimbabweans, they speak Shona. Yeah, some of them are ashamed, just because you may say maka di yenyu [greetings in Shona] in Shona, but then they will try look back and try and say, 'are you talking to me?'. Yeah, [they are] sort of ashamed of their language. They are not free here. They are not. They are not free to talk in their Shona. They are ashamed of their language.*

Many points of analysis can be drawn from these findings in this community: Firstly, in line with the meaning of assimilation provided by Gordon (1964:69), Gonzales and Lee (2013:1) and IOM (2019:10), Zimbabwean first-generation migrants can be said to have indeed assimilated, so much that they can speak the local languages. Secondly, according to Gordon (1964:69) in assimilating, they have gone a step further to deny their connection to the Zimbabwean identity. Thirdly, for second-generation migrants in this study, this assimilation is accompanied by attempts to hide and a sense of shame that is associated with their Zimbabwean identity. The need to hide is prevalent in this sub-theme: Identifying with other Zimbabweans using language. The need to hide and invisibility are further explored in theme 6.

It appears the ability to use home languages freely is also dependent on the type of community in which migrants reside. A lawyer elaborated this point by comparing middle-income areas and townships:

K6: *.... I won't lie ... Zimbabwean nationals, or children of Zimbabweans who are, like, middle-class or higher upper-class, most of the time, they are not even scared to say something to admit that they are Zimbabweans ... But then the people from the lower-class, you see their identity, their nationality has a discriminating factor. ... They won't speak their own home language when they are around people ... they will want to fit in ... You know there is always this fear of xenophobic attacks in the townships ... Tomorrow there might be a protest about service delivery, and someone might say ... there is Zimbabweans that side. The next thing you will be a victim ...*

K6's observation links with Hölscher's (2016:64) discussion of the limited resources available in South African cities, and how this can lead to competition for limited resources. The findings of this study show that in moments of citizen dissatisfaction, for example, with service delivery, migrants are likely to become targets of this anger. This shows another element unique to the contextual conditions of this study, which are not captured in assimilation theories and empirical literature on assimilation, integration and acculturation: the assimilation of migrants can be driven by fear of violence – one of Young's (1990:61) five faces of oppression.

Thus, in conclusion, in South Africa, the assimilation of Zimbabwean second-generation migrants through language dominates the findings. Therefore, integration pronounced by migration policies such as the White Paper for International Migration, 2019 appears not to occur often in this study. This is so because the responsibility to integrate is a one-way street lying in the hands of second-generation migrants only, not communities as a whole. Furthermore, in this study, it does not end with this sole responsibility to integrate being placed in the hands of second-generation migrants, but there are cases where second-generation migrants are forced into learning local languages. Also, the home languages of children of migrants and their associated identities are defined stereotypically as second-class, as a result should be spoken in hiding. Stereotyping, subjugation, second-class citizenship and internalised oppression in the processes of integration or assimilation are also prevalent in the next theme.

6.3.3. Theme 3: Teasing by friends and schoolmates about Zimbabweans

Second-generation migrants from two main language backgrounds, different geographic locations and schools reported that they were teased about their Zimbabwean origins by South African peers. Findings indicate that they were teased about the current social, political and economic conditions in Zimbabwe, irregular ways of migration into the country, their bodies, and Zimbabwean migrant lifestyles in South Africa. Different perceptions and experiences of the teasing emerge from the findings. Some participants categorised the utterances as “jokes” by friends, but when the same “jokes” were made by other peers, they were considered offensive. Other participants referred to the teasing as “jokes” shared among friends as offensive. Thirdly, there was a group that perceived such “jokes” as bullying and xenophobia. Above all, the experiences of all three groups of participants were accompanied by negative emotions. The participants' perceptions and experiences are divided into two sub-themes discussed below.

6.3.3.1. Sub-theme 1: Teasing about Zimbabwean migrants shared amongst peers

Findings show a prevalence of teasing of second-generation migrants by peers who were South African nationals. It was also found that second-generation migrants not only experienced teasing, but they also witnessed others being mocked. Most participants referred to the statements as “jokes”, thus suggesting that they did not experience them as harmful. The teasing was mainly about the ways Zimbabweans used to migrate to South Africa, that is, irregularly crossing the Limpopo River and Beitbridge Border Post. Peers also negatively speak about the physical bodily characteristics such as the skin tone of Zimbabwean migrants and alluded that South Africa was not their home; thus, they should return to ‘their country’.

In conversations that touched on school, participants spoke about an array of experiences that were concerned with them being teased. Two second-generation migrants from middle-income areas in Pretoria provided particularly pertinent accounts of these experiences. The first participant, who was a learner at a private school, shared the following about his peers’ perceptions about Zimbabweans:

P11: ... At school, people joke about it sometimes. If it's friends, I joke with them. There are some people who actually don't really joke about it. Some of them have good opinions on Zimbabwean people and some don't ...

R: When they don't say good things, what do they say?

P11: Some of them joke around and say a lot of Zimbabweans are border jumpers. And there are some people who say it, and they will not be joking. So, it's 50-50.

The same participant, when later asked about how he fitted in with his South African peers, stated that:

P11: We sometimes have jokes about Zimbabweans. Me personally, I don't really get attacked, the jokes are not really targeted at me. There are Zimbabweans who are targeted by the jokes, so I am not really targeted. But I fit in well ...

R: When they get targeted, what usually happens to them?

P11: I can say most of the times its jokes, so nothing bad happens to them.

Teasing in friendships came up again in another second-generation migrant's experiences. This participant was enrolled at a government school, and for her the teasing was associated with how her Zimbabwean identity is perceived:

P10: Usually with me, they use it as a joke. My friends are very teasing. So, we could be, like, having a fight, and they will say go back to your country, and we just laugh about it. Or out of nowhere, they will be, like, 'How does jumping the border feel like?', and they will be, like, 'No-oo we are just joking.

R: So, when they say, 'How does jumping a border feel like', for example, does it come as a joke to you?

P10: Yes, because they told me that, 'If we offend you, just tell us'.

On a positive note, P10 and P11 are part of friendship groups that are inclusive of Zimbabwean second-generation migrants and South African peers. It is highlighted in theme one that belonging is important to young people of migrant origins. Belonging is generally important at adolescence, thus, at this stage "...young people become more concerned with peer acceptance" (Berk, 2010:392). As a result, according to Berk (2010:400), "as adolescents spend less time with family, peer groups become more tightly knit into cliques". Importantly, identity development in adolescence is dependent on the interpersonal relationships they have, for example, relationships with peers (Berk, 2010:402). In this instance, adolescent participants were part of friendships or cliques with South African peers at school even if the relationships have negative characteristics, which will be explored further as the discussion ensues.

The friendships young people build with their peers are not equal, and as a result, facilitate teasing. A teacher shared her observations of relationships between second-generation migrants and their South African peers:

KI4: What I have noted, they always ... regard local children as better than them. That's one thing that I have noted. Given an opportunity, they would all want to be friends to the local children other than being friends amongst themselves. There is a way in which they regard being friends with local children ... highly esteemed to be a friend to a local than another immigrant.

There are three points of analysis that can be drawn from the above experiences of second-generation migrants. As already stated, friendships with South African peers are characterised by inequalities. Despite none of the participants in this study giving an indication that they regarded their relations as unequal, inequality was evident when the teacher highlighted that some children of migrants viewed themselves as inferior to local children. It was also apparent when P10 was asked by friends to return to her home country in instances of conflict, and in P11 acknowledging that he participated in the teasing of Zimbabweans in order to fit in. In this regard, participants' experiences were similar to those of Simonsen's (2018:131) respondents,

who regardless of efforts they made to fit into the receiving country were still considered outsiders. Also noticeable from the findings is that the comfortable feeling of being associated with being at home, which is highlighted as essential for space and place belonging by O’Keeffe and Nipperess (2021:104) is negatively affected by statements about them going back to their country and teasing about Zimbabweans. Lastly, in the terms of anti-oppressive social work, evident in the experiences of P11 and P10 is structural oppression, which, according to Young (1990:40), occurs from “everyday practices of a well-intentioned liberal society”, when societal members follow the norms, habits, and symbols, in this case, stereotypes about Zimbabwean migrants entering South Africa irregularly.

In classical assimilation theory, forming friendships in the receiving country constitutes structural assimilation (Gordon, 1964:69). This type of structural assimilation differs from that which was discussed in theme two (see Section 6.3.2.1), whereby children of migrants are formally absorbed into the school curriculum. Even if the relationships participants in this study formed with local peers are part of a structural assimilation process, their contextual conditions did not align with classical assimilation as proposed by Gordon (1964:69), for one there is prejudice, which is connected to irregular migration and second-generation migrants ‘not being at home’. These conditions are also not ideal for integration, because prejudice according to De Waal (2019:46-47) is hindering this process. Moreover, viewing the findings from Fraser’s (2009:16) social justice theory, mocking is an expression of misrecognition because it wrongfully excludes second-generation migrants from belonging to the receiving country.

It was noted above that among this study’s participants, there were those who experienced the teasing negatively. A participant enrolled at a government school in a middle-income area in Johannesburg shared his thoughts and feelings about the teasing:

P14: So, being a Zimbabwean does feel a little painful like - because they make jokes about it. How they came here, and how the migration, it’s illegal. They make jokes about that. They make jokes about the places in Zimbabwe. How they speak. The opportunities ... the inability to access the services that South Africa has that Zimbabwe doesn’t have ...

This group of second-generation migrants did not only think of the statements made by their peers as offensive but as also hurtful. As noted by P14, some of the utterances by their South African peers encompassed an array of misperceptions about Zimbabweans and their country of origin. In speaking about his pain, the participant showed the psychological implications of the experiences of teasing on the children of migrants. This aligns with Mullaly (2010:159)

who states that oppressive environmental conditions, including at a relational level affect the oppressed psychologically. A girl who was enrolled at a private school in a middle-income area in Johannesburg shared the following emotions she experienced as a result of being teased teasing by her peers:

P7: They know that the financial situation in Zimbabwe is hard. So, then they find it funny that Zimbabweans would be able to come to South Africa. Sometimes it makes me feel frustrated (pause) ... If I have done something good (pause), then now they want to bring up on me that ... For example, for my athletics, they say that you only run fast because you are from Zimbabwe, and you run across the borders ... So, the boys who find it humours, one of them is from Congo. So, they find it in themselves [the boy from Congo] that finding it humorous for me will take away from the fact that they are also not from here.

The negative impact of such experiences was apparent during this interview with P7, who was visibly upset when discussing this matter. The accounts of the children of migrants, more in particular P7 show tyrannical oppression, which in Young's (1990:40) view of oppression happens when members of the dominant group intentionally oppress members of the subordinate group, for example, intentionally speaking about irregularly entering the border in an instance of success of P7. However, not all learners who teased P7 were members of the dominant, the boy from Congo is part of the subordinate group, the experiences relating to him will be explored below in a discussion on internalised oppression.

To emphasise the psychological harm that emanates from the teasing, a school social worker spoke about encounters with learners who are children of migrants, recounting:

KI8: The challenges that I saw they experienced in the school ... Yoh! So, unfortunately, ... most of the children that was in the school lived in a very unresourceful area ... such that other learners knew where they were coming from in the morning. So, they could have made fun of that where they are coming from (sigh). Some of the learners ... if they are angry and they know the learner is a Zimbabwean, the family is Zimbabwean they will allude to that. They will say, 'But you are not from this country,' or 'Go back to your country,' and that was really just to hurt that child and be nasty. There is sometimes when they, the learners, especially the skin tone was darker, also the learners would allude to that, 'the charcoal'. Can we be straightforward here?

R: Yes, we can.

KI8: So, they will mention them because of the fact that they are from Africa, they are also darker, and it was from the other black children. So, South African black children who mentioned the darkness of their skin. This is not strictly

with the Zimbabwean children, but they make fun of the child's shape of their head, and but mostly if they knew it's from another country. They want to be really nasty; they would mention it that you are from another country or go back to your other country.

R: I can imagine how the children felt. Did they ever say about how they felt about that the Zimbabwean children?

KI8: Well, ahh, as soon as I intervened, they would say for most of them it was just hurtful. It was actually what was interesting that is my experience, they were not immediately angry, they were hurt before they got angry. It hurt them really.

In addition to structural and tyrannical oppression, which is found in children of migrants' experiences and KI8 observations, there are elements of external and internal oppression, as highlighted by Baines's (2011:4). With regards to tyrannical oppression, KI8 highlighted that when there is a disagreement between children of migrants and their South Africans peers, the latter are reminded to return to 'their country'. In addition, the latter are picked on them using their physical attributes such as skin tone and head shapes; this is meant to intentionally hurt them. As far as structural oppression is concerned, although the comments made by South African peers are intended to cause of pain, they are based on stereotypes about physical characteristics of migrants, as a result, form part of structural oppression.

Guided by the findings, in the following, violence and its links to external and internalised oppression are explored. As stated in theme one, violence happens when the dominant group physically targets the subordinate group. In addition to physical violence, there are instances of social violence, which, according to Young (1990:61), include:

... less severe incidents of harassment, intimidation, or ridicule simply for the purpose of degrading, humiliating or stigmatising group members.

Social violence was prevalent in the experiences of all second-generation migrants in this study. This type of violence is as oppressive as physical violence because the dominated group of second-generation migrants is targeted because of their social group positioning (Young, 1990:61), as was identified by P11. In addition to social violence, psychological violence, as outlined by Mullaly (2010), was identifiable in this theme, and it is evident when participants spoke about the emotional impact of being mocked about their Zimbabwean background. These three forms of violence intersect with the notions of external and internalised oppression.

Baines (2011:4) notes that external oppression happens when dominant groups intentionally and unintentionally oppress the subordinate groups, and this was apparent in encounters where South African peers set out to hurt Zimbabwean second-generation migrants, as well as when they followed stereotypes about Zimbabwean migrants. Meanwhile, there are other characteristics of internalised oppression linked to theme ones'. The main characteristic is acceptance of the teasing by the participants, including justifying the experiences as jokes by friends. In this case, it shows how deep internalised oppression is for some participants because second-generation migrants also participate in mocking themselves. The second characteristic of internalised oppression in this theme is horizontal violence. Here according to Mullaly (2010:163), a member of a subordinate group like the Congolese peer violates a member of their group, as perhaps identified by P7 to avoid dealing with the fact that they are also part of the oppressed group. Tyrannical and structural oppression, and external and internalised oppression in all its forms beget bullying and xenophobia, which are in essence violence. Bullying and xenophobia are the subject of the next sub-theme.

6.3.3.2. Sub-theme 2: Bullying and xenophobia in the school environment

This sub-theme explores bullying and xenophobia experienced by second-generation migrants. It is mentioned above that there was a group of second-generation migrant participants who perceived the teasing from their South African peers as bullying and xenophobia. The findings show that like participants in sub-theme one, these utterances evoke a range of negative emotions, as a result, affect their psychological well-being (see also Section 6.3.3.1). Also, similar to the participant accounts cited in sub-theme one, responses to bullying and xenophobia are mostly acceptance. Uniquely, the findings in this sub-theme highlight the societal origins of the sentiments articulated by South African peers of second-generation migrants. This section does not dwell on what has been discussed in sub-theme one; instead, it will focus more on the origins of the sentiments uttered by the children of South African nationals.

Although there are not many participants who held this perception, there were some second-generation migrants who shared that their experiences at school were sometimes characterised by bullying because of their migrant identity. There are also other participants who witnessed others being bullied. A 14-year-old boy who was enrolled at an inner-city government school spoke about his experiences of being bullied:

P3: *I will just say bullying. I don't know why people do that. Actually, every time I go to school, I always hear people say, 'There is a Zimbabwean boy', 'Go back to your home', and stuff. I do not report them, actually. I just let them go and get themselves into trouble, actually, and keep quiet. What goes around comes around (angrily).*

Like P7, P3 was visibly upset by what he described as being bullied. The psychological impact of the statements made by the peers of second-generation migrants was well highlighted by KI8 and discussed as psychological violence in sub-theme one. In addition to P2, another participant, who was also enrolled at an inner-city government school, elaborated why he considered the statements made to another Zimbabwean migrant classmate as bullying:

P2: *It's bullying, let me just say. They make fun especially of the accent and sometimes make fun of things that don't make sense. When I think of like this girl in my class ... she raised up her hand ... she did not say the correct method, and people started laughing, and I didn't get why they are laughing at her. They start saying, 'Because you Zimbabweans, that's why you are always selling vegetables at the side of the street, you are good at that', and I said, 'No guys, you can't say that', and they just keep laughing ...*

Noteworthy, even if he remains largely unheard P3 rejects the bullying. This shows an instance of resistance by the young person, yet the dominant conditions and attitudes prevail. The experiences of bullying identified by P3 and P2 are similar to Onukogu's (2022:162) findings in her study with second-generation migrants of Nigerian origin in Johannesburg. However, unlike Onukogu's (2022:162) participants, who reported both physical and mental bullying, this study's participants did not report any physical violence, but thereof are apparent, especially in the case of P3 who angrily spoke about his experiences.

In addition to bullying, there are other second-generation migrants who reported having experienced xenophobia. A participant quoted above in sub-theme one noted that even if he considers the teasing as jokes, there are instances where it is xenophobia, he elaborated how he distinguishes the two:

P11: *[peers] Just saying bad things about them I guess, just joking about jumping the border, talking about the crocodile's thing, that's some of the stuff they say ... I saw some people say these things because they don't like Zimbabweans, they are xenophobic ...*

A teacher added onto the experiences of the second-generation migrant participants by explaining the connection between bullying and xenophobia:

KI4: ... *The negatives that I have noticed ... I don't know what to call them, like, the local children, because of these talks that are around of undermining the immigrants, not regarding them as human beings or normal human beings. Those children bring it even to school that they even call them names. You know kwerekwere, zayi zayi [foreigners] ... So, those children end up feeling like they unequal ... to the locals, and I have noted that ... we have had incidents whereby the immigrant children end up being subject to bullying. They accept being bullied coz they now have this feeling that 'We don't belong. This is not our place'. So ... the locals can do whatever they feel like. ... If they bully me it's ok because ... they feel like they are entitled'. But with them, they are less entitled.*

There are notable similarities and differences between this study's findings and other empirical literature. P11 and KI4 confirm South African findings by a wide range of authors who all observe that children of migrants experience xenophobia in their communities (Chiyangwa & Rugunanan, 2022:169; Crush & Tawodzera, 2011:16; Hlatshwayo & Vally, 2014:27; Mpofo, 2018:89; Onukogu, 2022:16). Yet, when compared to the literature exploring home and school environments, the findings in this study suggest that the xenophobic practices are more prevalent at school. KI4 highlights that this suggests that xenophobic sentiments are not more prevalent at school, but they may be expressed more at school supporting Teasley et al.'s (2017:195) contention that discrimination of children of migrants at school is a representation of the environment that children of migrants live in. Also, in comparison with the similarities in theme one in the availability of infrastructure and population composition (see Section 6.3.1.3), here as noted by Teasley et al. (2017:197), schools are a microcosm of society in terms of xenophobic sentiments. Finally, the use of derogatory words like *kwerekwere* and *zayi zayi* to refer to migrants aligns with studies like Hlatshwayo and Vally's (2014:271), which found such words being used in the South African context.

Beyond confirming much of the existing empirical literature, several interpretations can be drawn from the findings and the decolonial aspect of the study's theoretical framework. The analysis applies to this sub-theme, as well as to sub-theme one. Firstly, during colonisation according to Quijano (2000b:222), people were placed into a single national identity. Likewise, this study found that people continue to be categorised in the nation-state as either South Africans or migrants, that is, non-South Africans, who come from the outside. Furthermore, as noted by Mignolo (2021:190) within the umbrella national identity, there were further sub-identities in the colonial state and 'race' was the deciding factor of the classifications. The study's findings relating to mocking, bullying and xenophobia in this theme, and in theme two

show that presently South African nationals are at the top of the socio-cultural hierarchy (see Section 6.3.2.4).

Secondly, Mignolo (2012:66) highlights that colonial borders were drawn to physically divide colonised countries and determine the experiences of belonging. This study's findings demonstrate the extent to which the former colonial borders continue to divide South Africa and Zimbabwe, people's shared histories notwithstanding. Second-generation migrants being asked to return to 'their country' further highlight how physical borders translate into non-physical bordering and, consequently, a deeply felt lack of belonging. Moreover, in line with South African nationals being placed at the top of the nation's socio-cultural hierarchy and migrants at the bottom, Mignolo (2012:66) notes that where there are demarcated borders, there are occidental and oriental identities (see also Quijano, 2000a:540; Said, 1979). Applied to the findings of this study, the Occident are children who are South Africans, and the Orient are second-generation migrants. Dipping further into similarities with theme two, at large the Occident can be said to be South African and Orient migrants.

Quijano (2000a:540) contends, thirdly, that the Orient is othered, with people identified as having oriental identities considered lesser human beings. Othering is found in the words of KI4 when she states that migrants are not regarded as human or normal human beings. Emanating from this type of othering is that the bodies of children of migrants who are considered as *Them* are without consequences constantly marked as not belonging, as seen from most accounts of second-generation migrants, as a result, they are 'justifiably' at the receiving end of humiliation, xenophobic sentiments, and bullying from *Us*. Consequently, they are subjected to tyrannical and structural oppression.

Fourthly and finally, drawing from the anti-oppressive theorist Goodman (2015:11), relations between local young people and second-generation migrants can be said to be characterised by privilege of the former and oppression of the latter. Furthermore, according to Goodman (2015:11) privilege and oppression are intrinsically connected in that for every privileged person there is someone who is oppressed. Privilege is evident when South African peers see it fit to define the identities of their Zimbabwean peers negatively. Such privilege further relates to cultural imperialism in theme two where communication should only happen in local languages (see Section 6.3.2.4). Privilege is also evident when local young people violate with consequence second-generation migrants because they are seen as not from South Africa.

Linked to privilege is power, and according to Quijano (2000b:222), the colonial state was established using repressive power. In the words of Fanon (1963:36), the colony was established using violence and thus, the colonial state was to be maintained using the same violence. The violence in the findings cannot be equated to violence of the colonial state; but everyday social and psychological violence are prevalent in the lives of second-generation migrants in theme three. These four points and discussion in this theme have raised concerning questions about the kind of society that children of migrants are integrating into. They also highlight the existence of prejudice, which is neither acknowledged in integration nor in assimilation and acculturation theories. There are also limitations within these three concepts on what it means to be categorised into one national identity and what happens to those people who fall beyond the required nation-state identity. The importance of the nation-state as an institution in the lives of second-generation migrants is discussed in the next theme.

6.3.4. Theme 4: Documentation issues and challenges

This theme discusses findings on the documentation of Zimbabwean second-generation migrants in South Africa. Theme two suggested that integration can occur in two ways (see Section 6.3.1.1). In instances where young people engage with their community members in contexts they live and exist in; here, integration can be viewed as informal. However, despite being informal, integration is still dependent on migration and documentation laws. Therefore, when second-generation migrants come into contact with state institutions, laws and policies; integration may be said to be formal. This study found that children of Zimbabwean migrants do have access to educational, health care and social services, but that the extent and manner of access to these formal institutions is influenced by the above said legislation, and this is the subject of the ensuing discussion.

It was stated in Chapter 5 that some parents viewed questions about documentation as threatening, and this is because the regular or irregular migrant statuses were not only held by the particular young person being interviewed but the family as a whole (see Section 5.6). In circumstances of irregularity, questions on documentation were viewed as putting the whole family in harm's way. The mere fact that this topic was perceived as so threatening by parents that second-generation migrants were silenced and prevented from speaking about their experiences at all is a cause of concern for social work, especially from a social justice and human rights perspective.

Despite their parents' concerns, there were instances where second-generation migrant participants briefly discussed issues related to documentation. Even though second-generation migrants touched on the subject, this theme is mostly based on the accounts of key informants who, unlike the young people, could freely discuss the topic. Two sub-themes were developed from all participant accounts. The first sub-theme outlines the various migrant statuses that are held by children of Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa. Sub-theme two presents the challenges encountered by second-generation migrants when accessing educational, social, and health care services and findings reveal that these difficulties are linked to their documentation statuses.

6.3.4.1. Sub-theme 1: Documentation statuses attainable to second-generation migrants

Four documentation statuses are attainable for Zimbabwean second-generation migrants in South Africa, and these are permanent residency, temporary visas, undocumented status, and statelessness. The findings reveal that the different documentation statuses are mainly passed on from the parents to their children. The different statuses have a combination of legal, social, and psychological implications for the migrant child. This sub-theme concentrates on the legal aspects of their experiences. Lawyers are important to this discussion because they are at the forefront of engaging the DHA on the documentation challenges encountered by child migrants. They additionally help address the barriers children of migrants face when accessing educational and health care services. Thus, this sub-theme will rely mostly on the accounts of the two lawyers.

As a signatory of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of a Child (UNCRC, 1989) and the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of a Child (OAU, 1990), South Africa has many responsibilities towards children of migrants. The first obligation in this study relates to the documentation of child migrants. KI9 highlighted this responsibility:

KI9: ... You know as a country we have a duty towards those children to make sure that they are documented even if we don't document them as South Africans. We have a duty, the UN Convention on the Rights of a Child. The child ... has a right to have their identity preserved. So, we are missing that one. We are not getting that one right because here we have children who are not documented, and they are many.

KI9's view of the state's responsibility to document child migrants is supported by Article 7 of the UNCRC and Article 8 of the ACRWC. Additionally, in South Africa, Section 28 (1a) of the Constitution makes the following provision: "Every child has a right to a name and a nationality from birth". Moreover, Article 8 of the UNCRC (1989) states that documentation should be done at birth to try to curb statelessness. Notwithstanding these obligations, South Africa, as highlighted by KI9, has been found to struggle with this aspect, hence the large, if unknown number of undocumented migrant children.

KI9 highlighted why South Africa is experiencing difficulties meeting this obligation and went on to explain why lawyers are addressing documentation challenges faced by this migrant group:

KI9: It just seems like it is a massive need that refugee children and migrant children, and even South Africans face massive barriers when it comes to documentation. Home Affairs [Department of Home Affairs] is either under-equipped or is (pause) - what do you say? It is trying to be obstructive. Trying to be very strict when they register children, but they made it so strict now that ... way too many people are now not being registered, and our worry is that we will sit with a population of unregistered people eventually that we won't be able to assist.

KI9 raises three key issues. The first issue relates to the DHA's inability to cater for the large numbers of undocumented migrant and refugee children, and visa application backlogs that are discussed in the recently proposed White Paper on Citizenship, Immigration and Refugee Protection: Towards a Complete Overhaul of the Migration System (DHA, 2024:78). The second point relates to the DHA "trying to be obstructive" in the processes of documentation. This study's findings on the DHA correlate with Amit and Kriger (2014:269) who contend that on the one hand, the DHA expresses the responsibility to document migrants and bestow the rights linked with documentation statuses. On the other hand, the DHA uses "... strategies and practices to withhold or deny documentation ...", as a result blocking access to rights (Amit & Kriger, 2014:269).

The third point is that documentation challenges are also prevalent even among South African children, who are suspected of being migrants. KI9 explained how this happens:

KI9: I think they are very similar because our experiences are that children who are undocumented are treated like foreign nationals until they are documented. So, it's kind of like people would just assume that they are foreign nationals. Unless we really know a lot about their parents ... they have [the] same issues. Wherever you need an ID or birth certificate to go to

school, to go crèche, to go to hospital you will face the same problem as the Zimbabwean child.

In the quote above, KI9 highlighted that the assumption is that people who are undocumented are foreign nationals thus, according to the participant the exclusion of undocumented South African children is inadvertently justified. Above all, whether the DHA is intentionally or unintentionally failing to document children of migrants and refugees and even South African nationals, the result is that the state is creating a population of legally unknown people who are pushed to the bottom rung of society and will remain there and need to survive, but they will have no entitlements.

Although there are problems affiliated with the documentation process, children of migrants hold a variety of regular migrant statuses in South Africa. These statuses are tied to those of their parents. KI6 elaborated on how this occurs:

“KI6: Remember, documentation passes on from [the] parent. So, if the parents are around, and their documentation is wrong, it's hard for Home Affairs to ignore that part and focus on the child, but when the parents are not around and there is nobody else to focus on but the child, then the child's needs cannot be ignored like that.

KI6's account of documentation statuses being passed on from the first generation to the second generation is supported by the South African Citizenship Act 88 of 1995, Section 2. This point is further emphasised by the DHA (2024:43) when it states that, for example, “...an asylum seeker whose application is rejected and has exhausted all the remedies is liable to be deported. If a child is born in the process, the nationality of that child would be that of a parent(s)”. KI6's account also aligns with the findings from Mpofu's (2018:5) study highlighting that the irregular migrant status of parents is bound to negatively affect access to the constitutional rights of their children, in this case, their right to documentation. Thus, in essence, the full integration of children of migrants is largely dependent on the parent's documentation status.

In addition to the migrant status being passed on from parent to child, both children born to documented and undocumented migrants can separately acquire documentation and citizenship in South Africa. KI9 highlighted the legislative provision for such documentation:

KI9: There is a section in the Citizenship Act, which says if you are born in South Africa and your birth is registered and you lived here all your life, you can apply for citizenship. So, this one client that I am thinking of did that even though her parents were undocumented, and she said, “Well I don't know Zimbabwe. I have lived here all my life”. And so that section that allows you that kind of

citizenship acknowledges the fact that the child has probably mainly a South African context – social, financial, all kinds of factors that support your daily life are here in South Africa.

KI9's explanation of how citizenship can be separately attained by children of migrants is found in Section 2 (2) of the South African Citizenship Act. Despite the above, it seems that it is not all children that are affected by their parents' undocumented status, especially if they are registered at birth. Yet, even if the option to document the children of migrants this way is available, the discussion below shows that in the experience of this study's participants, most children's statuses present as inseparable from their parents.

For those children born to documented parents in South Africa, certain steps must be followed to register their birth. KI9 outlined these procedures:

KI9: The first thing would be birth registration. Children who are born to Zimbabwean migrants who are documented will get a handwritten birth certificate. Okay, that is fine ... What they then need to do is get a Zimbabwean birth certificate and a passport and apply for a visitor's permit ... because if the child is older than six months, they will have to go and do that from Zimbabwe ... Of course, there are also children who struggle to get the handwritten birth certificate ... maybe if they are abandoned or orphaned or their parent is undocumented.

KI9's explanation of the birth registration procedures is found in the Birth and Death Registration Act 51 of 1992, Section 9. The importance of registering all children before leaving a health facility after birth is further emphasised in a joint circular that was released by the DHA and the Department of Health (DoE) in 2016.

KI9 highlighted the key issues that emanate when due documentation processes are not followed at birth. She reiterated the following:

KI9: So, many people, they don't do that within six months, and now the child is too old to be registered here from South Africa, and you have to go to Zimbabwe. Now people don't go to Zimbabwe until December time, or they don't go back at all, and the child remains undocumented, and then the child will come to us when they are, like, time to go to high school or matric. Now I don't have a permit, and now you must scramble to get it done.

Omission of documentation responsibilities by parents, and the challenges that emanate from not documenting children were also noted by KI6 as a recommendation. He highlighted that:

KI6: ... I think one thing we have to do is to improve our weaknesses ... If we can ... sort the parents' issues before it becomes an issue for the children, then

we will avoid most of the issues that they face ... They just have requirements to say. You have to do this, get the right documentation. Then comply with these rules. So, if we can get the parents and make them aware of these requirements at the earlier stage before they end up having problems.

The two lawyers' accounts reveal that second-generation migrants becoming undocumented is not only linked to the barriers put in place by the state but is also related to parents omitting their responsibilities and lack of knowledge. This is a result of other systems hindering parents from meeting their responsibilities. For example, the challenges encountered not only emanate from the South African processes but also the documentation procedures and barriers in Zimbabwe. KI9 outlined the difficulties encountered when dealing with the Zimbabwean documentation system:

KI9: It's also ... not the easiest thing to get a birth certificate from Zimbabwe from the embassy. So, for the birth certificate and the passport, you have to submit it in Zimbabwe. There of course people who you can pay to take and come back but that costs money ... So, I feel like this second generation has problems with obtaining Zimbabwean documents already before we even get to South African documents.

This finding is consistent with Mpofu (2021:22) and Palmary (2019:7) who state that Zimbabweans face difficulties acquiring documents such as passports. This arguably means that the success for integration of Zimbabwean second-generation migrants in South Africa goes beyond borders, as it is also dependent on the Zimbabwean state issuing documentation.

In addition, the findings reveal a group of children of Zimbabweans who experienced documentation challenges because of the refugee and asylum seeker statuses previously held by their parents. It was however unclear if the children of these parents held the same refugee and asylum seeker statuses. Importantly, the two lawyers added that children born to undocumented parents, documented parents whose own births are not registered, and children of previous asylum seeker parents are at risk of statelessness. KI6 spoke about statelessness in relation to the former asylum seeker status of parents:

KI6: ... There are Zimbabwean children that are basically stateless. So, the parents did not document them that side ... Mostly in such cases, their parents came for asylum, ... and their asylum expired or failed, was rejected long ago So, they stayed in the country undocumented ... and they gave birth to a child. They couldn't approach Home Affairs to get the child's birth registered because they didn't have any documents, and they knew that, "If we go to Home Affairs now, we will be arrested and deported" ... Then it happens that maybe one parent passes on ... The child is left with one parent and is still undocumented. Then, the other parent eventually goes missing or

relocates to somewhere or passes on as well ... The child has nothing to show ... on his own; the child ... does not have a birth certificate. So, they are undocumented, and that is one of the most difficult cases that we face: Statelessness (sigh) ... Home Affairs requires a lot to be convinced about such cases ...

KI9 also spoke about statelessness in the context of generally undocumented migrant children and families:

R: What happens in South Africa when a child is born to an undocumented migrant parent?

KI9: In that case, they might refuse to give a birth certificate, or they will just ask the mother, “Where are you from?”, and then she might say, “Mozambique”, and then they will write on the handwritten birth certificate ... was born [to a] mother [from] Mozambique - Mother’s name ... only. Now that child, if that child becomes older and starts to seek help for documentation – I had a case exactly like this where now I can’t prove this child’s Mozambican citizenship because all I have [mother’s name]. So, now this child is born in South Africa and the parents are Mozambican but there is nowhere for me to prove it, so that child is stateless.

The explanations provided by the two lawyers of how statelessness occurs correspond with the definition in Article 1 of the 1954 Convention Relating to the Status of Stateless Persons, which states that: “... the term: ‘stateless person’ means a person who is not considered as a national by any State under the operation of its law”. It is important to note that statelessness is even more difficult to resolve should at some point the child becomes unaccompanied and there are no parents. All the findings in this study relating to documentation statuses being passed on from parent to child are similar to a study done on Rohingya Muslims in Myanmar by Kyaw (2017:269) who reported the irregular migrant status being inherited from the first generation by the second generation and generations that have followed. Also, like the Rohingya Muslim experiences the undocumented status being passed on from one generation to another has resulted in statelessness.

Most importantly, drawing on Young’s (1990:53) view of marginalisation, statelessness is arguably the worst form of marginalisation, because it is something to exist in societal peripheries as an irregular migrant child, in that at least that person’s birth is recorded in another country, but to not exist legally at all and not have a birth recorded is problematic, this study contends that it is like never being born at all. Moreover, in terms of Fraser’s (2009) social justice theory: How does an unknown human make human rights and social justice claims, and how do people who do not legally exist integrate?

Lastly, beyond the regular means of acquiring documentation, another key informant highlighted that when faced with challenges in the documentation system, some migrant families would resort to acquiring documents for their children irregularly and that in such cases, law enforcement agencies might be called in to intervene. To illustrate, the participant recounted the following incident:

We worked with a family where they would pay bribes for the paperwork. We worked with the family and eventually, the police went to the school, they took all their illegal paperwork after they paid a bribe at Home Affairs ...

This key informant's experience confirms Amit and Kriger's (2014:276) observation that sometimes, when people are faced with difficulties in the documentation system, they will resort to irregular means of acquiring documentation. Of course, according to Section 49 (5) of the Immigration Act 13 of 2002, this violates the law and thus, these documents may end up being seized. The seizure of documents has far reaching consequences for children of migrants who end up being caught up in the larger wheels of unresolved political, legal and administrative issues they are born and brought into.

Social injustice is prevalent across all the issues discussed in this sub-section; thus, it is explored as a conclusion of this sub-theme. This context is characterised by legal impediments to Fraser's (2009:16) "parity of participation" because findings indicate that the irregular migrant status and statelessness eliminate second-generation migrants from being subjects of social justice. Furthermore, participatory parity hinges on its three substantive concerns, which are namely distribution, recognition and representation (Fraser, 2009:16). Relevant to this sub-theme is the political dimension, which has three levels (see also Section 6.3.2.4). The first level is about ordinary political representation. At the second level is the frame, highlighting 'who' can make social justice claims. Lastly, the third level constitutes rules determining the adjudication of social justice claims, that is, 'how' and to "whom" these claims can be made. In this sub-theme, the nation-state constitutes the frame for social justice. As a result, documentation statuses are used as rules in the nation-state to determine access to social justice for second-generation migrants guiding documentation. Therefore, unlike in themes one, two and three, where community members draw boundaries providing for who can be recognised as a subject of social justice, the nation-state through its documentation laws provides the frame for legal recognition. The next sub-theme explores the effect of this legal framework on service delivery.

6.3.4.2. Sub-theme 2: Documentation determining access to educational, health care, and social services

Participants shared various experiences relating to delivering and accessing social welfare, health care, and educational services. The findings reveal that access was dependent on the type of service being rendered, as well as the service provider itself, that is, whether the service provider was the state or an NGO or a private organisation. Of the three types of services, rendered by both state and NGOs, welfare services were found to be the least complex, and education and health care services the most complex to access. The challenges around access to services emanated from the documentation statuses of second-generation migrants. The participants also highlighted miscommunication between the different government departments and lack of knowledge by service providers as additional hindering factors to access. Finally, the challenges encountered in the processes of service delivery had present and lasting effects on second-generation migrants.

According to the law, all children in South Africa have the right to access social, educational and health care services. A teacher explained this right in relation to writing the matric exam and the documentation statuses of the children of migrants:

K11: ... [You] find out that a child wrote [the matric exam] ... without any study permit or any documentation or citizenship ... So, meaning that the parents have been experiencing this problem of getting documents for them to be able to be legal ... at the same time the child was pushed until ... matric without documents because the child have got the right to education ... Whether you are immigrant or what, you have got the right to receive education.

Although K11 focuses on the right to education, all children are entitled to access social, and health care services as well. Indeed, authors state that statutory provisions for equal access exist at global, continental and national levels (see Crush & Tawodzera, 2011; Evans et al., 2021:69; Jolly, 2018; Furman, 2018; Mathe, 2018; Mpofu, 2018; Robinson & Gifford, 2019:261). At an international level, Article 2 of the UNCRC (1989) outlines that:

State Parties shall respect and ensure the rights set forth in the present Convention to each child within their jurisdiction without discrimination of any kind, irrespective of the child's or his or her parents' or legal guardians' race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national, ethnic or social origin, property, disability, birth or other status.

On the African continent, Article 3 of the ACRWC (OAU, 1990:9) underscores the UNCRC's (1989) Article 2, and the Constitution in Section 28 (1c) states that "every child has the right to basic nutrition, shelter, basic health care services and social services". In addition, the Children's Act 38 of 2005 serves to interpret the UNCRC, ACRWC and Section 28 of the Constitution. Separately, Section 29 (1a) of the Constitution makes provisions for access to education, highlighting that "everyone has the right to basic education, including basic adult education". The right to basic education is further reinforced by the case: the Centre of Child Law & others vs the Minister of Basic Education & others (2017), in which the Eastern Cape High Court ruled that access to education applies regardless of a child's documentation status. In sum, all children in South Africa have the right to access basic services regardless of documentation and migrant status. Moreover, irrespective of documentation status, all children of migrants are known to be alive, and are included in access to services. Nonetheless, they are not always included, despite being known, and this constitutes the topic of this sub-theme.

Notwithstanding the legal provisions that on paper apply to all children in South Africa, findings show a mixture of positive and negative experiences in terms of access, and these are connected to documentation statuses. In other words, while there were children of migrants who accessed services without any difficulties, others faced challenges. A social auxiliary worker, who is also a migrant parent, commented on their own easy access to educational services, stating that:

KI6: ... I can say for the children, in terms of education, I think it's 100%. We really appreciate what South Africa is doing ... They don't give them much of problems ... I know sometimes there are rules, there is some exception ... [but] they make sure that all ... have the right to the education.

Speaking about access to services in general, a second-generation migrant participant expressed the following sentiments:

P14: ... I have enjoyed a lot of freedom accessing those services. They don't really focus on you being a foreign national or being a child of a foreign national.

Access to social work services was also found to be relatively easy, particularly in NGOs and school settings. A lawyer working with social workers at an NGO shared the following observation:

KI6: Social workers are actually more lenient. You can't go to a social worker and say I am in need of help and then they say that we only gonna focus on the fact on whether or not you have documentation ... So, accessing social

workers is not difficult on its own; the only issue is awareness ... You will find out that there is a family living three blocks away from our office, but they don't know what services we offer ... instead of going to DSD [Department of Social Development], that is literally government ... You can go to DSD and say that, "I need help with this and this", they would say, "Documents!"

A key informant, a social worker employed at an NGO, showed how easily accessible their services were. She also outlined the role of social workers in migrant children's lives in relation to access to health care and police services. The social worker said the following:

K10: ... If there was a child that was raped again, you know our – migrants, they have that way to say, "If I go to police, my documents, my documents". So, again as a South African social worker, it really played a big role to ensure that clients are not even afraid to go [the] police station to report certain cases if their child is going through something. So, me being there as a mediator, you know, I have seen a huge impact... when it comes to migrant children in accessing other services where the parent[s] are not even able to.

This key informant went on to explain why social work services are important in the lives of migrants:

KI10: ... According to me, personally, I feel like these people are voiceless and as a social worker you become their voice ...

R: So, you said something interesting. You said the immigrants are voiceless. Can you please explain a bit more on that part?

K10: So, when I say they are voiceless, you see, there are situations, a minor thing whereby a person will say, "I am in need of" – ok, I will give you an example. Last week, we had a case of a migrant; he holds a refugee status, Section 24. When you hold Section 24, you have access same as South African ... So, this man has a son. The child is 12 years, ... a boy. They say he has a chronic illness ... So, the boy could not be operated. That permit has a COVID-19 stamp – water stamp. So, he went to the hospital, they said no we cannot assist you because you don't have a stamp. And based on the knowledge that I have, the COVID-19 [stamp] proves that this is valid ... So, the client approached us and said, "I went to the ... [lawyers] but they were not available. I came to ... [social work organisation] in fear because my child, the whole month of April, he has never been at school ... Day and night, he is crying. When I go to the hospital, they cannot assist him. If they have to assist him, there is this huge amount that I have to pay. I am unemployed. I don't know what to do. So, I am here, what can I do?"

The social worker explained the intervention she provided for this client in the following way:

KI10: So, what I did, I took the client to ... [hospital] wanting to understand exactly what's happening because his permit is valid, [it] is expiring 2027. The

child's permit, not even the father. The father's permit is also ... valid. When I went to the hospital, but I am not speaking negatively, but the person that received us said, "the way the client told you, that is how we going to tell you. So, there is nothing that I can say; he needs to get the stamp, that's it. Then he referred me to another department ... The man that received me he said, "The way they told you upstairs ... it is true. So, there is a new policy... So, it was introduced last year [in] 2023. ... we are not assisting anyone with COVID-19 [stamp]. I immediately called my colleague from ... [legal organisation]: "There is a situation, I tried, I don't know what to do". So, he just said, "Go to home affairs and see if you can succeed or not ..."

The social worker further shared a conversation she had with this client after they left the hospital premises:

KI10: You know, throughout the way, that man is quite ... So, in the car, I said, "I feel like you are also not responsible. Remember as social workers we are here to support, not to do the work for you". You know what that man said? ... "My sister, you see, the way those people explained to you; they didn't say that to me. How they treated me, it was like this document, it's fraudulent, it's not valid. But with you, they were able to explain to you that we do not take any COVID-19 water stamp. Please go to Home Affairs. If they said that to me, I was not even gonna approach your offices ... They don't even try to listen".

Access to social work and educational services described by the four participants above is in accordance with Article 2 of the UNCRC, Article 3 of the ACRWC and Sections 28 (1c) and 29 (1a) of the Constitution and thus, as highlighted by KI9, indeed commendable. Additionally, social workers in NGOs rendering services regardless of the documentation status of children of migrants and their parents are working within their ethical commitments as outlined by the IASSW (2018), IFSW (2018) and the SACSSP (n.d:6) South African Code of Ethics. Equally important, in mediating between their clients and other service providers and advocating for access to services, social workers are challenging social injustices as required by the IFSW (2018) and IASSW (2018) in the statement of ethical principles.

Even though in this instance, a social worker provided services, there are other points raised by KI10 that are related to this issue. The key informant brought up voicelessness that accompanies the refugees' and migrants' statuses. Voicelessness in this instance cuts across different migrant statuses, as it is found in documented and undocumented migrants' and refugees' experiences, and this was also established to be true by Georgiou (2018:47). Voicelessness in the findings can be also interpreted in relation to misframing, that is, once

misframed as not belonging and not being entitled to making any substantive claims, the service users such as the parent and child are exposed to the kinds of violence that KI10 reports (see Fraser, 2009:19). Another issue identified by KI10 is that due to the precarious nature of the undocumented or irregular migrant status, migrants sometimes fear to access police services, even in situations where their children need assistance. The final issue raised by KI10 is that there are barriers related to access to health care services.

However, as already noted by KI6, easy access to social work services depends on whether it is the state or NGOs rendering services. Challenges are bound to be found in a state social welfare agency. When asked to compare services between a state agency and an NGO, a social auxiliary worker highlighted the following:

KI5: No, it's the same response they get, but the response take[s] long with DSD, especially when the child is not documented ... They need valid documents. They will need [a] birth certificate ... You know there is procedure, but there is some procedure which are normal for admin, but sometime also you find that also there is a lack of communication ...

The findings show that even though documentation such as birth certificates were required by the DSD and responses took time when compared to the health care and educational services discussed below, the barriers were less severe because eventually the services were rendered. These findings relate to Jolly's (2018:4) study with irregular migrant families in the UK, where families are referred and initially refused access to services but, in the end, services are rendered.

Even though this study found that educational and social services were accessible, key informants highlighted that for some children of migrants, access did not come without difficulties. The findings reveal that for these second-generation migrants, the challenges they encounter were prevalent in educational and health care services. For example, one of the lawyers discussed the challenges encountered by second-generation migrants in health care services in relation to a case:

KI9: ... There is also a recent case about health care. So, it's called Section 27 vs the MEC of Health here in Gauteng, where the [legal organisation] ... also joined the case as a friend of the court ... The applicants asked that all children under six, and lactating and pregnant mothers must get free health care. So, then that judgement came out, and now all children under six, whether documented or undocumented, whether they are foreign or South African, must get free health care. So, that will already tell you that there was already a problem if people were coming to lawyers ... We have accounts,

and specifically in that case, a child died because ... he ingested rat poison, and the hospital said, "You must first pay", I don't know how much money but way too much for the parent to, and then the child died.

The citing provided by KI9 is the High Court order: Section 27 and others vs the Member of the Executive Council Gauteng Department of Health and others (2023:3) and the child who passed away was a Zimbabwean migrant. Exclusion from health care services based on documentation status and migrant status described by KI10 and KI9 violates the rights of children of migrants provided in Section 28 (1a) of the Constitution.

Although barriers were found in health care and social services, findings indicate that challenges were even more prevalent in educational services. During a conversation on whether being a migrant affects access to services, an 18-year-old participant, who was going to sit for his matric exam that year for his matric exams shared the following concern:

P2: In a way, I have to say yes. In a way because there are sometimes when they come [DHA officials] and give IDs and you don't have to go and wait in the line at Home Affairs ... Your ID can be done faster, but that is only for locals, and I don't have an ID as yet and I do need one. So, I feel like that's one of the things that will be like boring even though I wish I could, but I can't.

P2's experience was supported by KI6 who also discussed the process of issuing identity documents to future matriculants, stating that:

KI6: You know, when the school visits, when they do the ID applications to prepare them for ... matric, that is where they start noticing the big differences, "that ok Home Affairs is coming to document their people, us we not being documented coz we are foreigners". And then ... school says, "We need IDs to register you for matric ..." They find out that they can't get, now they are being deprived ... You know you have smart children who have been performing well in their school career; throughout ... They get to matric, and they are being told that, "There is a chance you might not even be able to write ... You don't have the right document, and it's not because of anything you did, but it is just because your parents are not South African, and they don't have the right documents in South Africa" ... You see them becoming depressed ... Some of them, actually, they pick it up at an earlier stage: ... "I might do well in school, every grade excel, and I might get in matric and be told that I won't get a matric result coz I am not South African. I don't have the right documents", and you see their marks dropping from that point ...

Findings reveal that exclusion from documentation processes has both legal and social implications in the lives of second-generation migrants, thus demonstrating how Fraser's (2009:16) cultural/legal and economic dimensions intersect. Children of migrants being excluded from access to documentation is in violation of Article 7 of the UNCRC, Article 8 in

the ACRWC and Section 28 (1a) of the Constitution. Them failing to sit for their matric exam because they are not documented goes against Section 29 (1a) of the Constitution and the ruling of the Centre of Child Law & others vs the Minister of Basic Education & others (2017). To a certain extent, this results in them being eliminated from educational opportunities and in the future access to skilled employment. Another issue apparent from the findings is that there are social and psychological implications of exclusion from documentation, especially at matric. These experiences of living in the possibility of not knowing if they will write the matric exam are similar to the psychological violence underpinned in theme two on teasing and xenophobic sentiments. Moreover, these findings show a connection between structural and interpersonal violence. This is because when the legal rights of children of migrants are violated openly by the state there are bound to be psychosocial implications.

Even before sitting for the matric exam, which is a key task in a young person's life as it determines their economic prospects and thus, their social mobility, children of migrants experience difficulties when transferring from one school to another and when moving from primary school to secondary school. A second-generation migrant enrolled at a school outside the township she resided in encountered this challenge:

P5: ... Mostly, you have to try [and] get permits ... schools, there it's, like - for you to go there, you must have a residency or a birth certificate and a transfer letter if you are from other schools. If you don't, they will ask you, "What languages do you speak. If you say you speak Shona, some might say, you know there is totally no space for Zimbabweans.

In addition to language and documentation barriers, a school social worker identified that the Gauteng Department of Education as a provincial body had its unique enrolment process that hindered second-generation migrants moving from one stage of schooling to another. She recounted:

KI8: ... So, some of the learners ... were able to get into the schooling system years ago without the necessary paperwork but, as they grew older and had to go to high school, that became a very big challenge. And they still didn't have the proof of birth or, you know, the South African ID ... Our challenge was that many of their parents didn't have the resources to go back to Zim to go and get the proof of birth, or they were also not legal in South Africa ... So, they are roaming around because the parents didn't have the right documents ... especially in Gauteng with the online registration system. We are the only province that does that ...

R: How does ... the online registration system function from primary school to high school?

KI8: ... So, for grade one, you have to submit documents and then only in grade 8 again, but previously we didn't have an online registration ...

The online registration system used when learners are moving from primary school to high school can be seen as deepening and hardening pre-existing systematic barriers. According to Young's (1990:40-41) view of intentional and unintentional oppression, it is a form of structural oppression. This is because structures are often re-created by individual decisions and actions, which they take in accordance with their – often unquestioned – underlying assumptions, thereby recreating – or deepening and exacerbating in this case – unjust social structures. From Fraser's (2009:16) three-dimensional view of social justice, the systematic barriers put in place by the Gauteng Department of Education facilitate the maldistribution of educational opportunities because some learners are excluded from accessing education. Such maldistribution of opportunities should be analysed through the lens of Portes and Zhou's (1993:82) segmented assimilation theory. In the sense that, instead of predetermined segments of middle-class, migrant community and the underclass that second-generation migrants assimilate into, a segment of an underclass is created by the state, in which learners fall along the way because they have no documentation. Downward economic mobility that is predicted for the underclass by Portes and Zhou (1993:82) is guaranteed for this segment of children, who through bureaucratic means which effectively violate Section 29 (1a) of the Constitution are denied the opportunity to complete their education.

In addition to the barriers highlighted by P2, P5, KI8 and KI6, a teacher from an inner-city school spoke about another documentation-related challenge faced by the children of migrants:

KI4: ... when it comes to documentation, most of them, they are illegal, and there comes a time when the department will ask for their documentation. For an immigrant, we need a permit. ... during those days when Home Affairs needs those things or when the department asks for those things ... some parents are forced to keep their children at home, and they will be finding out how far is that process ... Once they know that the dust has settled, then the child comes back to school ... That thing really affects children because, one, educationally, they will lag behind when they come to school ... Other than the learning aspect, even socially, it affects them because they will get to know why they were not coming to school ...

Again, the social and psychological impact of the undocumented migrant status on the children of migrants described by P2, KI6 and KI8 was brought up by KI4. The repetitive nature of the negative psychosocial implications of migrant experiences on second-generation migrants as found in this sub-theme and theme three is a cause for concern, especially for social workers.

More so, and according to the definition of their profession, human well-being and human dignity should be preserved (See IASSW, 2018; IFSW, 2018).

To conclude, this sub-theme draws on the study's theoretical framework, integration theories and empirical literature to outline three points. Baines (2011:15) contends that the nation-state plays a crucial role in social work – in this case, via health care and educational service delivery – because it formulates documentation and migration laws that guide practice. Also, interestingly, the findings show that while the South African state has laws that allow for the right to documentation and equal access to services, at the same time, its practices on the ground are contrary to these laws as they exclude children of migrants from access to services and documentation. In the words of Mathe (2018:7-8), it is apparent in this study that in trying to meet their responsibilities towards migrant children, service providers are “confronted and defeated by the challenges that exist within the South African ... system”.

In terms of Fraser's (2009:16) social justice theory, children of migrants are legally misrecognised because of their documentation status. Consequently, maldistribution follows as resources and opportunities like education, health care and social services are denied to some. These misrecognitions and maldistributions occur precisely because the nation-state frame is used to determine social justice claims, and as per Fraser (2009:18), this constitutes a case of misframing in that it is an incorrect unlawful way to determine who can or cannot access the services concerned.

Lastly, Karim and Wilkes (2022:1729) link nationalism and the type of integration model chosen for a country. They outline the ethnic, civil, and multicultural models as the three integration models. Looking at the DHA's (2017:64) migration policy, the South African state appears to have selected the multicultural model because documented migrants and refugees and their children are supposed to be integrated into South African society. However, South Africa, a country with a multicultural integration model, has limited pathways to documentation and access to services, and it is characterised by xenophobia. Despite and alongside its commitment to multiculturalism, South African everyday politics and practices seem to be characterised by ethnic nationalism (Misago et al., 2021). The contradictory politics and practices taken by the state are similar to other countries because, as highlighted by Karim and Wilkes (2022:1730), since the 1990s there has been a departure from the integration models (see Chapter 2, Section 2.2.2.). The next theme looks at how misrecognition, restrictive laws and ethnic nationalism can cause people to hide and be invisible.

6.3.5. Theme 5: The need to remain hidden and invisible among Zimbabwean migrants

This theme presents findings on the experiences of hiding and invisibility that was characteristic of Zimbabwean second-generation migrants and migrant families in South Africa. The theme builds upon four preceding themes. Briefly, in theme one, hiding and invisibility were linked to the sometimes-hostile contextual conditions in which second-generation migrants were existing in. In theme two, it was discussed how second-generation migrants alluded to instances where they must assimilate in terms of language to disguise their Zimbabwean identity. In theme three, the teasing, bullying and xenophobic sentiments that children of migrants faced from their peers caused them to hide and rendered them invisible. Theme four explored the centrality of restrictive documentation and migration laws in second-generation migrant lives, and the undocumented migrant status had implications for this theme, as it can cause people to hide.

Over and above those discussed in the previous themes, the findings presented in this theme reveal additional experiences relating to hiding and invisibility. This theme does not have sub-themes, that is, it is a standalone theme because hiding and invisibility should be discussed separately because they are so prevalent in the experiences of second-generation migrants. The findings show that young participants felt the need to be invisible in their day-to-day lives, helping to contextualise earlier discussions. Also, findings indicate that invisibility was prevalent in both the lives of second-generation migrants and the significant adults in their lives. Lastly, invisibility and hiding in migrant families were linked to documentation status.

Among the child participants, there were subtle references to embracing their Zimbabwean migrant identity at the same time as maintaining invisibility. The findings show that in these experiences there was immense psychosocial stress accompanying the burden of hiding and maintaining invisibility. For example, when asked how he fitted with his Zimbabwean peers both at home and school, a male second-generation migrant from a Shona-speaking family, residing at a middle-income area and enrolled in a school in the same place, stated that:

P11: We don't really talk about being Zimbabweans that much, we acknowledge that we are Zimbabweans, but we don't really bring it up.

Similarly, in a discussion about friendships with South African peers at school, a female child participant from a Shona-speaking family residing in a middle-income area shared the following:

P10: ... I feel like if you know you are from Zimbabwe, calm down a little bit because they are going to tell you to go back to your country. So, don't be, like, too aggressive or too loud but, at the same time, you are not different from anyone else.

These two accounts show that second-generation migrants' Zimbabwean identity could be known, however, the participants avoided bringing it up. They arguably exist as Zimbabweans but are aware of the importance of balancing this with remaining invisible in plain sight. They have as per Mullaly's (2010) view of oppression, developed a double conscience. These findings also lead to a similar conclusion as Kallio and Häkli's (2023:13), according to whom the "... fear of being too visible under the public eye is interlaced with the painful sense of becoming invisible as a human being".

Besides the above two participants' experiences, there were instances where the choice to be invisible was informed by discriminatory discourses in the country: Like P10, two other young people linked discrimination, hiding and invisibility. Speaking about the community's awareness, or lack of awareness, of the family's Zimbabwean migrant identity, a young person from a Ndebele-speaking family residing in a middle-income area, shared that:

P14: My family prefers not to speak too much about being Zimbabwean coz they are aware of the consequences of being exposed as a Zimbabwean ... The biggest factor is discrimination coz, like, if they do, like, know that you are Zimbabwean, usually you will be under so much scrutiny and prejudice ... So, us, we don't but either way, if you are here, there is this perspective of "Zimbabweans ... are here to ruin South Africa". So, we really keep it on a low and try not to talk too much about it.

Correspondingly, a female participant who is half South African and Zimbabwean also discussed her reluctance towards revealing her Zimbabwean origin and gave the following reasons for doing that:

R: You said your other parent is a Zimbabwean. In your experience, has being a child of a Zimbabwean mattered when it came to access to services and resources in your community?

P15: I have never seen it as a barrier externally but internally because in some instances, I feel the need to not admit to being partly Zimbabwean. So, I feel like it's an internal struggle.

R: *When you speak about an internal struggle, what do you mean?*

P15: *When I am chatting with my friends, then we speak about nationality. I have a problem of not being a Zimbabwean openly due to fear of being viewed differently. Stereotypes and things like that.*

P10, P11, P14 and P15's experiences are connected to theme three, in the sense that when migrant identities are negatively defined, second-generation migrants were bound to consider not speaking about their identities in order to remain invisible. These accounts once more illustrate Mullaly's (2010:162) perspectives of internalised oppression, and Dominelli's (2002:11) view of acceptance as a characteristic of internalisation of oppression, that is, instead of challenging the negative discourses about their identity, they are feeling forced and being forced to hide the stigmatised part of their identity. In this instance, it is highlighted by P15 that sharing a Zimbabwean migrant identity becomes a burdensome battle within the self because of fear of discrimination. Like theme two and theme three, the findings presented in this current theme demonstrate how the young people in this study learnt to behave in ways that did not attract attention to themselves. Here, the relationship between hiding and invisibility and discrimination ties well with Young (1990:58-59) who highlights that "to experience cultural imperialism means to experience how the dominant meanings of a society render the particular perspective of one's own group as invisible at the same time as they stereotype one's group and mark it out as the Other". The researcher in this theme does not dwell on the characteristics of internalised oppression and cultural imperialism as they have been discussed above.

Besides young people hiding and maintaining important parts of their identities invisible, the findings show that participants' parents and other Zimbabwean migrants within the same vicinity as the second-generation migrants also did the same. A child participant living in an inner-city community stated the following about his parents and connected their perspectives to his own experiences:

P6: *... In a way, my parents hide themselves, they don't show off. Even me – I don't like those expensive clothes and stuff. I realised my migrant friends, like this Nigerian friend of mine, he wants to show off, probably, he thinks clothes describe who he is. Maybe he thinks if he wears like a South African, he will become one of them.*

P6 suggests that the experiences were intergenerational, that is, the children of migrants' decision to hide linked with that of the parents, who "hide themselves". This connection between first and second-generation migrant experiences is prevalent in the empirical literature on second-generation migrants (see for example, Borgna, 2016:181; Midbøten 2017:1658;

Renzaho et al., 2017:5). Such intergenerational dynamics are explored further in theme six. Moreover, P6 and P14 connecting their experiences of hiding to their parents further confirms the findings in theme two, which highlight how adult community members and second-generation migrants preferred not to talk their language to avoid attracting attention to themselves.

In addition to the second-generation migrants, two key informants also discuss the practice of hiding among parents and their children. One stated the following:

KI4: I would say, what I have noted, they relate well with their parents but when they are in public, parents are trying to hide their identity. So, children have been told as well, “When we are in public don’t talk maybe you will expose us. We will get arrested”, things like that. So, when they are in public, children won’t freely relate to their parents because of the so-called fear of exposing each other.

P6, P14 and KI4 in this theme, like P5 in theme two (see Section 6.3.2.4), suggested that by hiding their identities and languages, parents and adult migrants provide a model of the internalisation of oppression and second-class citizenship to the second-generation migrants. The experiences and observations confirm Mpofu’s (2018:80) findings, which highlight that while based on well-founded fears and concerns, also it is problematic for parents to hide and accept second-class citizenship in front of their children, as they learn that their identity and position can be violated without consequence to the perpetrators of the violence. Here, the findings further linked with Young’s (1990:62) view of violence, stating that, “violence is a social practice. It is a social given that everyone knows happens and will happen again. It is always at the horizon of social imagination, even for those who do not perpetrate it”. It must be noted that even if there is no consequence to the perpetrators of the social violence, who are South African community members, there are deep psychological implications on the oppressed group, who in this case are the second-generation migrants, along with their parents.

Like KI4, KI6 raised the important point of parents trying to make themselves invisible and hide out of fear of getting arrested, and this was usually linked with the documentation status of the family. This key informant recounted the following from his work experiences:

KI6: ... You will find out that there is a family living three blocks away from our office, but they don’t know what services we offer, and for years they have been going through an issue that we could assist with, but they just aren’t aware of that because they know that ... their documentation are not perfect, they were scared to approach the other right place ... So, once they know

that their documents are not in perfect standing and their willingness to approach all these other organisations diminishes coz they know could be a random visit to this office that turns to a matter about my documentation. The next thing police are being called ... So, it gets into their head and then whoever they encounter, you might be friendly and have good intentions but naturally for them, they have this cautiousness, big cautiousness ...

The key informant went on to explain how, when faced with such service users – that is, those they managed to come face-to-face with – the NGO addressed this fear:

KI6: By simply ... clarifying to them ... what we here for ... Often when we do that, they become a little more cool ... when they know that we are not actually immigration officials They think sometimes that, who knows these people might be working with Home Affairs, and they trying to find out information from us, they can come and arrest us and deport us. So, then we just go above and beyond to explain to them that, “We are a Non-Profit Organisation set up ... to help you. Yes, we interact with Home Affairs but it's mostly to represent you” ...

The findings correlated with the qualitatively different but co-imbricated understanding of invisibility, which is related to the irregular migrant status. Indeed, Kallio and Häkli (2023:3) and the UN (2014:1) state that invisibility and hiding of migrants are often linked to the irregular migrant status, particularly because they fear detection by officials. Beyond thus confirming Kallio and Häkli's (2023:3) and the UN's (2014:1) observations, this study also revealed that hiding and invisibility are also about the discriminatory discourses and the fears about safety that were highlighted in theme three. Likewise, there are connections between these xenophobic discourses and the practices of non-documentation or legal forms of exclusion such as described in theme four flowing from that.

In sum, this theme extended the other four previous themes by highlighting additional characteristics of hiding and invisibility in the lives of second-generation migrants. Hiding and invisibility cut across the experiences of second-generation migrants in townships, middle-income areas, inner-city locations, and participants' school communities. These experiences also transcended language differences. Importantly, the need to hide and remain invisible was found both in second-generation migrants' experiences and those of significant adults in their lives. Overall, the young participants' decision to hide and exist in invisibility was influenced by stereotyping, discrimination and irregular migrant and documentation status. In theoretical terms, both structural and tyrannical oppression at the hands of a powerful state and fellow community members resulted in social and psychological violence and feelings of powerlessness; experiences of cultural imperialism regarding their identities being stereotyped;

and the marginalisation of second-generation migrants and their families to the extent that several of them opted to hide and stay invisible.

Therefore, this theme has two reflective questions: How should integration occur when there is a sector of the population that is hiding and remains largely invisible? How are second-generation migrants, native South Africans, and the nation-state supposed to take equal responsibility in the integration process when there are members of the community who are hiding and remaining invisible? This theme contends that hiding and invisibility and the prejudice and discrimination affiliated with such are not adequately captured by the concepts of assimilation, acculturation and integration, nor by the empirical literature related to these concepts. In view of, the study's findings suggest, a return to Portes and Zhou's (1998:82) segmented assimilation theory. This is because in addition to second-generation migrants assimilating into townships and inner city locations which are considered political, social and economic underclass, in another underclass of undocumented people, there is arguably an underclass constituting of hidden and invisible people. Be as it may, this theme touched on connections between first and second-generation migrant experiences, which are the subject of the next theme.

6.3.6. Theme 6: The intergenerational connections and disconnections between the first and second-generation migrants' integration experiences

This theme compares the migrant experiences of Zimbabwean second-generation migrants and those of their parents. However, before going into this discussion, it is important to restate who second-generation migrants are. It has been highlighted in Chapter 1 by Durmalet and Swamy (2013:1) and Karthick-Ramakrishnan (2004:381) that second-generation migrants, are, firstly, people born to one or two foreign parents in a migrant-receiving country, and, secondly, children who migrate at a young age (see Section 1.2). In their discussion of the term, Durmalet and Swamy (2013:1) argue against referring to children of migrants as second-generation migrants because of the stigma attached to the identity, and the efforts this group of migrants make to integrate into migrant-receiving countries. Regardless of the criticisms, the researcher chose to use the term second-generation migrants for this study because their lives and experiences are linked to first-generation migrants', more so in circumstances of irregularity. Nevertheless, this group of migrants has its own separate experiences not linked to their parents.

This theme articulates this tension by exploring the second-generation migrants' experiences vis-a-vis those of their parents. Thus, the findings presented in this theme reveal a mixture of perceptions that trace the similarities and differences in the experiences of Zimbabwean first and second-generation migrants, consequently influencing their different understandings of integration into South Africa. The findings show, firstly, different opinions between the two generations in relation to who decides to initiate the children's migration in that some participants, who were born in Zimbabwe supported their parents' decision to move them to South Africa, while others would have preferred not to be uprooted. Secondly, there are similarities and differences relating to experiences in relation to an array of issues, which are discussed below in terms of solidarity, discrimination, documentation, and acculturation. Thirdly, and importantly from an anti-oppressive and social justice point of view, the findings show that the poverty experienced by the parents is passed on to their children.

6.3.6.1. Sub-theme 1: Parent's child view versus child participation

The linkages and disparities between first and second-generation migrants' lives are first captured in the decision to migrate Zimbabwean-born children to South Africa. Most second-generation participants commented on their parents' decision to uproot them from Zimbabwe and foster their migration to South Africa, and the findings reveal two perceptions relating to this decision. The first group supported the decision to move to South Africa and appreciated that their parents acted in their best interests. The second group resented the decision to migrate from Zimbabwe, and in this case, it appeared that children of migrants were rendered voiceless in their parents' decision-making processes.

In the first group, participants highlighted how being moved by their parents was the most appropriate decision because they were better off living in South Africa with them than they would have been in the care of relatives in Zimbabwe. One participant who had been left in the care of his older siblings recalled how life was like before he migrated:

P6: ... My parents came here in 2011 so that they can build a house, a home for us to settle in. So, when they left us in Zimbabwe, I used to stay with my brother and sister. We were young, and they were both teenagers. So, you can imagine being raised by teenagers. My sister would just wake up in the morning and go out with his [her] friends and even my brother as well. So, I would be left alone, and I wouldn't eat in the morning ... When I was even five, I saw a snake, and me and my friend, we killed it with stones, and some lady passing by said it was very dangerous. So, growing up in South Africa is safer. So, I think, if I grew up in Zimbabwe, I would be a drunkard by now

because there will be no one to tell me what to do. My sister was drinking and even playing with big boys in Zimbabwe.

P6's account shows that he had been neglected in the care of his teenage siblings in Zimbabwe. The researcher uses the best interest standard to analyse P6's experiences in Zimbabwe in relation to the decision to move him to South Africa, and Article 3 of the UNCRC (1989) highlights that "in all actions concerning children, whether undertaken by public or private social welfare institutions, courts of law, administrative authorities or legislative bodies, the best interests of the child shall be a primary consideration (see also Article 4 ACRWC (OAU, 1990:9). Similarly, in South Africa, Section 9 of the Children's Act 38 of 2005 states that "in all matters concerning the care, protection and well-being of a child ... the child's best interest is of paramount importance ...". In line with the best interest standard, Section 28 (1b) of the Constitution states that "every child has the right to family care or parental care....". Even though the best interest of the child standard is often used against parents by social workers, lawyers, and judges in statutory processes, in this sub-theme it applies to the parents' decision to uproot the children. In this case, the parents acted in P6's best interest by migrating him to South Africa.

In contrast to P6, whose parents acted in his best interests, some children of migrants did not fully support the decision to be moved. In this regard, the findings reveal that some of the young people in the study had an in-depth understanding of the social, political and economic conditions of both Zimbabwe and South Africa, and they connected these to their parents' reasons for migrating them. Thus, a participant spoke about life in both countries and linked it to his mother's decision to migrate him:

P16: I will compare, I will start with the economy. Some of the opportunities there in Zimbabwe, the education is very, very good. But the opportunities when you look at the economy, you can even tell as a child that things are falling apart. So, when I moved to South Africa ... I wasn't deeply happy about it because I was like I am leaving my roots.

R: If I can restate what you have said, you said you were not happy about leaving home, but the opportunities in South Africa sort of made up for it.

P16: The opportunities became the pull factors for me. They pulled me. I cannot say there were push factors from Zimbabwe in terms of the economy and less opportunities. It is like that, but I don't believe in looking for opportunities because I always tell myself that even if I was in Zimbabwe, I was going to be something better. I will break the doors for the opportunities. I will not go around looking for opportunities, but the opportunities will come straight to me.

A teacher commented on the daily lives of the children of migrants and how they are affected by the decision to come to South Africa:

KI3: If you sit with them, you allow them to cope up [cope with the conditions] ... It's difficult for those who were not born here to understand. As a parent, ask them about their friends and their day at school so as to identify where you can help your child. Some of them are brought here by parents without their consent ...

In a separate account, a teacher spoke about second-generation migrants, who were abandoned after their mother had moved with them to South Africa:

KI2: There is this Zimbabwean mother. She came to South Africa with three boys. One of the boys actually came to our school. The mother did not want anything to do with those children. She actually surrendered them to [an organisation] ... has got something to do with social work. So, that boy actually finished his matric ... I wasn't happy about that issue because the mother really does not want anything to do with the children.

R: So, like, when the children ... have been abandoned like that by parents, especially in a foreign country ... How do the children cope with that?

KI2: ...I think the children were now finding solace in each other, especially the older brother ...I think he was comforting them coz the mother did not really want anything to do with the children.

R: Were the teachers reaching out to her?

KI2: Definitely, we called her several times to school – several times. She would virtually shout and say I don't want anything to do with these children, blaming them for everything that goes wrong in her life.

Although parental care is central in a child's life and the importance of parents acting in their children's best interest cannot be disputed, the findings show that there are instances in which children of migrants' opinions should have been taken into consideration, especially for P16 who was migrated at the age of 14. More so, because according to Berk (2010:388) "adolescents handle many cognitive tasks more effectively than they did when younger", thus should participate in decision making. P16 who was an adolescent at the time of migration required his voice to be heard, particularly because he appeared not to be completely in support of his mother's decision to move him from Zimbabwe to South Africa, as he thought he still would have thrived in his home country. Another standard provided by the Children's Act can also be used to analyse the point raised by P16. Similar to the best interest standard, child participation is applied in statutory matters relating to children. Section 10 of the Children's Act provides for participation, stating that "every child that is of such an age, maturity and

stage of development as to be able to participate in every matter concerning that child has the right to participate in an appropriate way and views expressed by the child must be given due consideration”.

Bozalek (2011:55) contends that though Fraser’s (2009:55) notion of “participatory parity” is used with adults, it can also apply to children and adolescents. Therefore, in addition to the standard of child participation provided by South Africa’s Children’s Act, Section 10, Fraser’s (2009:16) notion of “parity in participation” is relevant in this case, meaning that regardless of cultural and legal practices that place parents ‘at the helm’ of decision making, children’s opinions ought to be considered in the process of migrating. In other words, according to Bozalek (2011:55) “... children’s participatory parity – namely their ability to participate in an equitable way as full partners in their interactions with others – is an important condition for their well-being and ..., while this is the case for all children, it is of particular concern for those who are marginalised or socially excluded”. Nevertheless, it must be highlighted that due to the complexity of the circumstances of migration, applying the “best interest” or “child participant” standards is not going to be clear cut. For example, P16 understands the social and economic circumstances in Zimbabwe that influenced his mother’s decision to move him. Still, the second-generation migrants’ voices should be heard prior to migrating.

6.3.6.2. Sub-theme 2: Experiences of documentation, solidarity, discrimination and acculturation of first- and second-generation migrants

Beyond who decides to uproot second-generation migrants born in Zimbabwe, and the impact thereof, it was also found that there were intergenerational similarities and differences in experiences of documentation, solidarity, discrimination and acculturation in South Africa. Firstly, the irregular and regular documentation statuses of parents and their children are connected. Secondly, the findings show that the solidarity and support experienced by Zimbabwean migrant parents from South African counterparts trickled down to their children. Yet, thirdly, in some situations, both first and second-generation migrants experienced discrimination from South African counterparts. Fourthly, there were cultural and social differences between parents and their children, and on this aspect, the findings additionally reveal clashes that relate to understanding each other’s daily lives in the migrant-receiving country. Nonetheless, even if there were generational differences, there were young people

who acknowledged the difficulties encountered by their parents, particularly during the initial stages of migration, and they went on to contrast them with their own experiences.

The first continuity across the two generations was captured in theme four, that is, the parents' documentation status was passed on to their children (see Sub-theme 1: 6.3.4). It was discussed in theme four that the intergenerational inheritability of the negative outcomes of migration is even more pervasive in the case of irregular migrants (see also Kyaw, 2018:269; Walia, 2021:101; Zhou & Lee, 2007:191). Flowing from the irregular status of their parents, many members of the second generation, too, are excluded from accessing the most basic rights and services. In addition to the irregular documentation status that led to exclusion of children of migrants, the findings reveal other, both positive and negative, social connections between the two generations.

On a positive note, where parents experienced solidarity and received support from their South African counterparts, this also stood to benefit their children. A female second-generation migrant participant linked her parent's positive experiences when engaging with the school to hers:

P9: ... Their experiences are always amazing, or should I say good because in many other things, some people go the extra mile to help. Even when I was in primary [school], we always know and that at a certain point, they know my father. So, they always help my dad in a lot of things, be it in registering for maybe a permit ... It's a good feeling to know that there are still people out there, who are ready to help ... I always get to enjoy the benefits of being in primary in a school that was privileged; I got to go on tours. So, we got help in other things, but I mostly experienced the benefits of just travelling, and it has left marks of great value to me.

The support from South African counterparts described by P9 is similar to the findings from Hlatshwayo and Vally's (2014:723) study in that they present an ideal example of the type of integration discussed by De Waal (2019:46) and Westin et al. (2015:16). This point is further explored in theme nine (see 6.3.9.1).

On a negative note, intergenerational linkages were also identified in participants' experiences of discrimination and exclusion. Another child participant discussed how his experiences of discrimination were similar to his parents', making the following comparison:

P11: Sometimes it's things at work; like, they can notice that a particular person is xenophobic or racist. And just how sometimes they can see on the news, and be like, "Why can't South Africans just accept foreigners? Yes, they can

be illegal immigrants but just to respect people as they are” ... I feel like, they are different experiences; sometimes, it can be similar because I also noticed some xenophobic or racist behaviour. I was racially attacked, so I can say that it is similar.

These findings are consistent with Midbøten’s (2016:1658) and Renzaho et al.’s (2017:13) studies, which found that both parents and children were at the receiving end of discrimination and anti-migrant sentiments. Looking at the discussion of violence as emanating from discrimination, and xenophobia in theme three, in these circumstances, the social and psychological violence emanating from experiences of xenophobia, and even racism, is similar for first-generation migrants and second-generation migrants. Nevertheless, unlike Midbøten’s (2016:1658) and Renzaho et al.’s (2017:13) studies, the differences in the severity of child participants’ experiences of discrimination in comparison to their parents is unclear in this case.

Despite these connections between these positive experiences of solidarity and negative experiences of discrimination, some young people’s daily encounters were different from their parents. For example, again on the aspect of discrimination, a young person compared his daily life with that of his parents in the following way:

P12: ... Me personally, I have it easier ... I grew up here, so I know these people. My parents grew up in Zimbabwe and lived in the UK for a while. So, I think the way people treated them was different from the way they treat me. I don’t have much problems with people from South Africa or even problems with the police. I think my parents have had problems here and there with the police or even employers, or how people treat them.

P12 who was born and raised in South Africa tied differences in discrimination of first and second-generation migrants to the place of birth and where both generations were brought up. His experience exemplifies classical assimilation theory which states that second-generation migrants are less likely to face prejudice and discrimination because they are born and raised in the host country, and thus are accepted into social groups and institutions (see Gordon, 1964:69). Be as it may, considering the discrimination and xenophobic sentiments encountered by second-generation born and raised in South Africa at school, to what extent – and in what ways – are the experiences of both generations really different?

Additionally, young people compared their day-to-day experiences to those of their parents during their initial stages of migration. They also went on to acknowledge and appreciate the difficulties faced by parents during their early stages of migration. One such young person recounted the following conversation with his mother:

P16: ... When she first came to South Africa, things were not easy. She always tells me that, "I left you when you were young ... with the paternal grandmother". So, when she came to South Africa, she had qualifications to teach but she had no place to stay ... She started teaching ... As time went on ... she met the father of my young brother. She also talks about the time she was pregnant with my little brother; it was very difficult because both of them were not working. So, everything was hard that time, she did not know where to go. Her parents didn't know, and she had to keep this a secret. Then, in 2011, that is when she started visiting home without explaining how she has been living in South Africa. We all thought everything is fine, you know, when someone is coming from South Africa to Zimbabwe, we always think things are good.

P16 further shared the following differences between his experiences and his mother's:

P16: They are a bit different; I feel for my mum; they are a bit worse. Because for me, I am encountering those challenges under her, while she had no one. She was standing up for herself, she had no one to talk to and go to. So, everything she did by herself. But for me, let's say I have a challenge, I can say, "Mum, there is this and that". Even though it's going to be challenging, but the good thing is that she is there.

The findings support Ochocka and Janzen's (2008:88) observation that:

Parenting in a new country is difficult because the caregiver is experiencing a new environment while simultaneously attempting to provide a stable environment for a family. These are added stressors that are important to take into account when describing parenting from an immigrant perspective.

Therefore, even though second-generation migrants encounter difficulties in the migrant-receiving country, their experiences are better compared to their parents', and several second-generation migrant participants alluded to this. Their experiences are better because parents face more difficulties during the initial stages of migration, and unlike their children, they have limited support. This is also reported by Midbøten (2016:1658) and Renzaho et al. (2017:13).

In addition to the differences experienced during the first days of migration, there were disparities between parents and their children in terms of culture and related opinions about everyday practices in South Africa and Zimbabwe. A participant generally spoke about cultural clashes between the generations:

P3: I do not fit in with the adults. We love different things, like; they listen to news and old music. I feel like, let me just say because of different ages, our experiences can't be the same from the 2000s. We call ourselves Gen Z, by the way. We Gen Z, obviously, we won't do things the way we did then ...

There are things they there were going through and it's not applicable ... it's not acceptable to our generation.

One key informant, too, spoke about intergenerational clashes in terms of culture, children's rights and dressing in relation to the South African and Zimbabwean contexts:

KI2: ... I mean the culture here; it's different from the culture ... generally in Zim. Children here have got rights but back there, their rights are limited. Here, there is freedom of speech but back there that freedom of speech is curtailed ... Yah, like, for instance, here [is] the uniform issue. They are very free, they can even [wear] miniskirts – whatever – but not at our school of course. At our school, strictly the uniform should be a long skirt ...

P3 shows that there are differences in opinions and conduct between first and second-generation migrants, simply because they are from different cohorts. Importantly, however, the differences between the generations discussed by P3 apply generally and irrespective of migration. In citing P3, the researcher highlights that in every context, there are bound to be intergenerational disparities between parents' cultural expectations and their children's willingness to comply. The differences relating to migration are captured by KI2 when commenting on the way second-generation migrants dress and the extent to which they have a voice. Moreover, KI2, who is a first-generation migrant himself, shows some of the ways in which first-generation migrants may hold onto their country of origin's culture and ideals (see also Schneider, 2016:3; Renzaho et al., 2017:10).

A second point worth considering is that according to Valtonen (2008:60), children of migrants become accustomed to the norms, values, practices and symbols of the receiving country, and in this context, they adopt its way of dressing. Also, when considering Berry's (1997:9) four acculturation strategies of assimilation, separation, integration, and marginalisation, in this study second-generation have adopted assimilation as an acculturation strategy by embracing the host's country's style of dressing and claiming a voice. Thirdly, KI2 observations suggest that second-generation migrants were better acculturated to the migrant-receiving country than the first generation, and these findings relate to Renzaho et al.'s (2017:8) findings. Also, similar to Renzaho et al. (2017:10) observation, this study's findings suggest that second-generation migrants have better access to rights than might have been the case in their parents' country of origin.

Besides reporting on the intergenerational cultural clashes in the migrant-receiving country, this study also found differences of opinion regarding the difficult social conditions in both

Zimbabwe and South Africa. A key informant noted the multifaceted clashes in perceptions about Zimbabwe and South Africa:

KI6: There is a misunderstanding between the two. The parents always say, “You guys have it easier here in South Africa”, like, “Do you know what we went through back in Zimbabwe? We had to overcome so much”. And then the children, when they hear that, they are, like, “You ... [are] ignoring the challenges that we also go through. Yes, it might have been difficult for you there, but it is not easy for us here. We [have] been treated differently. We do not feel welcomed to South Africa sometimes. Sometimes, we feel like we don’t belong here. So, as much as you [are] bragging saying that ... you did well to get us here. Here is not even treating us nicely”. There is a disconnection between the two generations. Where the other, they seem to think that the younger generation should be grateful that they at least find themselves here in South Africa, and then the younger generation, because they don’t really have an understanding of the situation back home, they never really experienced it. They are like, “Okay, this is all we know ...

KI6 raises two points of analysis. As identified by Crush and Tevera (2010:1), first-generation migrants were indeed pushed to migrate by the difficult social, economic and political conditions in Zimbabwe. Although according to KI6, second-generation migrants seem not to understand, this experience is valid and unique to first-generation migrants. However, in view of the difficulties encountered by the second-generation migrants in the receiving country, they are also a separate group, whose experiences should also be acknowledged, and these findings are broadly related with Midbøten (2016:1658), who emphasises the uniqueness of their experiences. The findings further link with both Durmalet and Swamy’s (2013:1) definition and their problematisation of the term second-generation migrants: the experiences of the two generations are, at once, intertwined and different because, as highlighted by P12, they are unlike their parents who were brought up in Zimbabwe and other places.

Therefore, going back to the findings in themes one, two, three, four and five, second-generation migrants were not raised in Zimbabwe but in South Africa: In theme one, children of migrants were found living in communities that are different, in which they sometimes negotiated their sense of belonging because, unlike their parents, they could not disassociate themselves from the receiving country. Also, in themes one and two, it was shown that although second-generation migrants were enrolled in a variety of schools, their experiences in these functional communities were characterised, at least in part, by teasing, bullying and xenophobic sentiments expressed by their peers. In these communities, as seen in theme two most of the young people had the responsibility to learn South African languages and balance these with

their own home languages. Furthermore, it was discussed in theme four that some children of migrants faced documentation challenges in South Africa, as they were sometimes undocumented at birth, and in severe cases were rendered stateless. In addition, it was seen, in theme five, that some second-generation migrants existed in hidden and invisible peripheries of societies, where they had to accept second-class citizenship. Therefore, as much as their experiences were connected to those of their parents – the first-generation migrants, because they were the ‘second generation’, this was the only reality and life they had ever known. This point will be explored further in Theme nine.

6.3.6.3. Sub-theme 3: Poverty in migrant families

This sub-theme discusses poverty, which was prevalent in Zimbabwean second-generation migrants’ lives and their families. Key informants’ accounts dominate this sub-theme, and they reported that children of Zimbabwean migrants lacked the most basic necessities like food, uniforms, transport money and could not participate in after school activities. Key informants also explained that second-generation migrants were disadvantaged because of the poor economic standing of their parents, and this negatively influenced their integration into South African society.

Most second-generation migrants did not discuss poverty in their families, but there was one young person who touched on the subject. However, she did not describe these experiences as poverty. She shared the following:

P5: ... Since I wasn't going to school, I would get part-time jobs, trying to get my own money, my pocket money than ask my mom, saying, "mom I want this", when I know that at that time she doesn't have. She is struggling to get money. I will try and, like, get part-time jobs, even, like, I had asked my dad to give me money to start selling socks and stuff. So, yah, I have been selling socks. But now since I am coming to school again, I am no more doing that business. I just wish that one of the things – even though I am going to school, I will be doing something on my own. Something that I know I can when it comes to certain things, when I am done with school, or I am in varsity, someone asks for help or wants me to do something, at least I have experience. I have experience that these things, you must do it this way... There is this lady, who once travelled, then, like, she left me with her kids until she came back, and I had the experience ... to stay with kids.

This quote indicates a direct link between the parents’ financial status and how children fare, as a result, revealing the intertwined nature of participants’ intergenerational experiences. Moreover, P5 showed resilience in the face of the family’s financial difficulties in how she

sustained herself. Noteworthy, jobs like child minding and selling socks are found in the underclass. Her resilience was also evident in her return to school after dropping out. Also, despite the poverty in the family, she also kept alive her dream of going to university. The resilience exhibited by P5 is characteristic in literature on children of migrants and refugees (see O’Keeffe & Nipperess, 2021:110; Onukogu, 2018:194; Renzaho et al., 2017:20).

In addition to P5’s account, key informants brought in another perception of the poverty in migrant families. Key informants described poverty in relation to the inability to cater for basic needs. In a discussion about the difficulties encountered by second-generation migrants in their day-to-day lives, a soccer coach stated the following:

KI6: ... the problem of financially [financial] issue, they are struggling to get food like others ... the basic of their uniform is quite also a problem [basics like uniforms], and parents are struggling to pay their school fees.

Similarly, a school social worker discussed how children of migrants lacked basic necessities and how this affected them in building relationships with their peers:

KI8: ... So, they were also mostly the learners who [were] not financially able to attend the fun activities at school. They were in the feeding scheme. They were the learners who on a Friday couldn’t afford to buy R3-R5 for normal clothing [pay a fee for civic days] coz their parents just didn’t have it ... they walked quite far to school if there is no transport money. So, if it’s raining, they didn’t come to school, or if they have to wash their school clothes and it was raining and it’s not dry, they didn’t come the next day to school ... They were not always - some of them - the most fun children, all the friends being invited to the other activities. I think many of their lives were coming to school going back being in the communities. So, weekends, they didn’t have access to attend the aftercare because there was no finances or go and do something nice over the weekend. I also think the parents tried to work; any work possible just to make a living.

There are three points of analysis in the findings. Firstly, KI6 and KI8 highlighted a variety of basic necessities that children of migrants lacked, and according to Jolly (2018), parents’ inability to provide for their children’s basic needs is particularly characteristic in irregular migrant families. In this study, it remained unclear as to which families were undocumented, as the participants did not indicate their documentation status. Secondly, contrary to Jolly’s (2018:5-6) findings that negative psychological and material implications impacted the parent in particular because they are unable to provide for their children. The findings show that lack of basic necessities socially affects second-generation migrants: They found themselves unintentionally socially excluded. The unintended social exclusion marked them as the other

who did not belong because according to Fraser's (2009:16) definition of social justice, they did not have the economic means to participate on a par in social activities with their peers. In Young's (1990:53) terms, this further marginalised them in that there was an "injustice of material deprivation caused by marginalisation" and, vice versa "material deprivation causes marginalisation". Thirdly, KI8 linked migrant children's negative experiences of exclusion to the type of employment their parents held.

The parents' type of employment – or lack of employment opportunities – generally determines how their children will socially fare (Crush & Tawodzera, 2011). A teacher made this connection, stating the following:

KI4: ... the other challenge they have is that ... parents really don't have money, as compared to their counterparts, the South Africans ... Most of them, they do menial jobs and therefore, these children they don't really have good resources, as compared to the others, which makes them feel like they are less of human beings compared to the locals.

Most of the key informants spoke about the type of jobs parents have and their working hours:

KI3: Most of the parents work long hours and they don't have time for their kids and others are security guards ...

Borgna (2016:181) contends that the intergenerational impact of migrant identities should be captured within the context in which it occurs. Under these circumstances, South Africa's restrictive migration laws outlining the conditions of employment for non-nationals contribute to poverty in migrant families, and this was also found to be characteristic in the UK by Jolly (2018:1) and Farmer (2017:258). In South Africa, the provisions of the Immigration Act 13 of 2002 are the root of experiences of poverty among migrants and their children. Section 19 (4) of the Immigration Act states that:

Subject to any prescribed requirements, an exceptional skills *work* permit may be issued by the Department to an individual of exceptional skills or qualifications and to those members of his or her *immediate family* determined by the *Department* under the circumstances or by regulation.

This means that the chances of employment are dependent on whether a migrant falls under what the DHA terms as the critical skills list. According to the 2022 Immigration Act: Critical Skills List, South Africa has no shortage of professionals like teachers, as discussed by P16 in sub-theme two. The impact of these exclusionary employment conditions leads to migrant families being poor because parents cannot be formally employed. They again become

marginals who according to Young (1990:53) “... the system of labour cannot or will not use”. Consequently, despite their skills base and professional qualifications, many migrants in South Africa are employed in the informal and unregulated sectors of the economy, working for long hours in low-paying jobs (Machinya, 2022:232). Crush and Tawodzera (2011:5) outline that “many Zimbabweans in South Africa are employed in low-paying jobs in the hospitality and construction sectors where they work as waiters, cleaners, bartenders, security guards and general hands. Accordingly, first-generation migrants are suffering from exploitation, as highlighted by Young (1990:49), as their long hours and menial wages are used to the benefit of others. These exploitative working conditions have a financial, social and emotional effect on their children, in rendering them humans of lesser worth.

In summary, the findings in this theme show differences in opinions in relation to the decision to migrate. Moreover, children of migrants are legally treated as separate entities from their parents. As such, they have the right to participate in the decisions affecting them. Despite this, the findings of this study confirm those of other empirical studies and show that their experiences correspond with those of their parents. Consequently, it could be shown in this and the preceding themes how children’s migrant status and access to services and opportunities was tied to that of their parents even if legally, this was not supposed to be the case. This study’s participants and their parents could also be shown to experience support and discrimination in similar ways. Further contradictions related to cultural understandings and ways of conduct in South Africa were found. All in all, children of migrants had unique experiences that need to be captured and call for a response. Therefore, the definitions of the term second-generation migrant rightly present the child as an individual with a separate identity and rights. Yet, the mere fact that their experiences are connected to those of their parents shows that children of migrants are not standalone entities, but persons who exist in interdependence with their parents and whose identities are intertwined with them.

6.3.7. Theme 7: The extent to which second-generation migrants will achieve their set goals, hopes and dreams

This theme presents findings on Zimbabwean second-generation migrants’ goals, hopes and dreams and an analysis of the extent to which they can be achieved in South Africa. Unlike theme six, this theme does not concentrate on intergenerational linkages in experiences; however, most second-generation migrants’ goals, dreams and hopes were connected with their

parents' dreams for them. It is for this reason that this theme begins with a discussion of the parents' dreams for their children. The findings reveal that the second-generation migrants' goals and dreams were mostly career-oriented. Most young participants shared that they hoped to attain a tertiary education, which would enable them to access professional employment opportunities. Also, most male participants stated that they wished to pursue careers in sports. Additionally, the dreams of both the young people and their parents touched on other aspects of life. In this respect, parents wished for a life for their children free from substance use and abuse. There were also participants who hoped for bigger family homes and more family time.

In all the articulated career-oriented goals and dreams for the future, the second-generation migrants and key informants had a variety of perceptions about their attainability in the migrant-receiving country. The researcher divided these perceptions into three groups. The first group of participants believed that if they worked hard, their career goals and dreams could be achieved in South Africa. Conversely, a second group of young people were convinced that even if they worked hard, their goals and dreams could not be achieved because opportunities were limited to South African citizens. Linked to the second group's opinions, was a third group's conviction that they would need to migrate to another country to mitigate their limited access to opportunities in South Africa. Lastly, the responses of the second and third groups and key informants show that for some goals and dreams for others can end at matric.

When talking about their goals and dreams, participants aligned their hopes for the future to their parents' wishes. For example, a 17-year young person living in a household with his mother and siblings shared the wishes his parent has for them:

P2: She does have dreams; she has a lot of dreams. She is really trying her utmost to keep us off the streets and from bad friends ... My mommy is a religious person. So, like, even every day before we go to school in the morning, she tells me you can't leave my house without praying ... because I only want the best for you. One day, you will wake up and I am gone, and I don't want you guys to struggle. So, I want you guys to focus ... and finish school so that if anything can happen, you will be sure of your future. When I leave this world, I want to leave you guys strong and being able to take care of yourselves ...

For this study's participants to be able to attend school was a source of hope for a better future, and this is also noted by Hlatshwayo and Vally (2014:273) whose study highlights that "despite general humiliation and adversity, migrants' desire to continue with education remains paramount". To facilitate their children finishing school, and thus having a better future, parents

tried to keep their children from negative influences, and religion played a central role in keeping them grounded. However, considering the documentation challenges discussed in theme four and other circumstances, which will be discussed below: Is the future that parents hoped for their children possible in this context?

One 17-year-old participant talked about the importance of school, hard work and religion in the family, and her parents' hopes for the family:

P5: They do have dreams, like, for their children ... Like, when I grow up, I want to become an air hostess. So, then they say that, "For you to become an air hostess you must work hard - don't just sit on your hands and do nothing ... You have to study more" ... Like, they have dreams, they want to build a big house for them, have cars. Trying to give each child his or her own bedroom ... Evenings go out as a family and have fun or maybe, when there is a chance, we sit and do Bible study. We have, like, a family time besides saying, "This one is on this side and this one is on another side"; we have family time. Trying to sit together as a family and discuss what is happening in our everyday lives. What challenges are we facing? What good stuff are we facing or miracles? Usually, we love saying miracles because some of the things, they happen unexpectedly ... You just find out that a certain thing has happened to you ... You would be happy, when you reach home and tell your mom and your dad about it, they will be happy saying, "Wow!" ...

The same young person went on to speak about her older sister's unmet dreams. She stated that:

P5: So, yah, they do have dreams, even my sister. My eldest sister wanted to become an accountant, although now she is a (pause), she is now working staying in – taking care of other children. Although she had a dream of becoming an accountant, she couldn't achieve that dream, but again, if she still wants to work hard, if she believes that there is hope. She can achieve it ...

As with P2, education was important in this migrant family. From P5's account, it was not merely school attendance that was encouraged, but also an ethic of hard work was ingrained in them. The emphasis on the value of hard work was particularly prevalent in migrant families globally (Lopez, 2001). Also, similar to P2, in this family religion was part and parcel of motivating family members to achieve their dreams. However, in the context of P5, religion was not just a part of their daily lives, but it was also a coping mechanism in the difficult circumstances that the family found themselves in, hence the belief in miracles. The family's difficulties were apparent when P5 spoke about her sister's unmet dreams.

In view of her religious beliefs and work ethic, P5 still believed that her sister's unmet dreams could be achieved regardless of context. Even though for both P2 and P5, religion was a source of hope, it is also apparent that in this instance it can also serve to maintain their oppression. This sub-theme refers to Fanon's (1963:67) decolonial work to elaborate on the point about religion playing a part in sustaining oppression. Fanon (1963:67) states that in the period of colonialism:

The colonialist bourgeoisie is helped in its work of calming down the natives by the inevitable religion. All these saints, who have turned the other cheek, who have forgiven trespasses against them, and who have been spat on and insulted without shrinking are studied and held up as examples.

This sub-theme notes that in adverse life circumstances, hope is very an important resource. Nonetheless, the findings with reference to Fanon (1963:67) show the impact of religion on the oppressed, as they cannot help but accept the circumstances and hope for the best even conditions show the contrary.

In addition to school-oriented goals and dreams, P5 also spoke about other hopes for the future: Her parents' dreams of building a big home, in which children in the family do not have to share a space with each other linked with theme one where it was discussed how migrant families in both inner-city and township locations were living in shared spaces that cannot be considered homely. Therefore, in support of the key informants in theme one and P5, a bigger and unshared space is an important basic need for second-generation migrants and their families. In addition to the tangible hopes for the future, P5 wished for family time, and this part of her account related to theme six, which highlighted that long working hours and the type of work migrant parents do limit the time they spend with their children.

Besides education and hard work being central to meeting future goals, there were some participants who believed that they could achieve their goals and dreams in another country, which is not South Africa. A 15-year-old participant shared that his parents' dreams for him were tied to him migrating to a third country. He stated that:

P6: My mother does not want me to have a career here in South Africa. She said that her and my daddy had dreams to have their careers in South Africa, and it happened. So, my dream should be to make a career in another country, like what they did. So, their dream is that I finish school and apply for a university in another country, maybe Canada, UK, or USA, somewhere there.

The idea of second-generation migrants realising their dreams in a third country is explored further below.

The young people in this study expressed a variety of career-aspirations. For example, a 17-year-old participant from an inner-city location stated that:

P3: My dream job, I want to be a scientist, do robotics, study chemicals and other stuff, but now, I have not seen opportunities for scientific researching or anything here because I have to go to school so I can learn a bit of science because it's all about soccer. There is no other opportunities.

As has been highlighted, there were participants who, like their parents, thought that dreams can be achieved in a third country. A second-generation migrant shared the following dreams she has for herself:

P7: I want to become a chemical engineer, but, knowing the disadvantages, I would like to make it ... as easy as possible for myself, for me to be able to do what I want to do without the aspect of me being an immigrant, such as going to America to study for the degree.

P7 elaborated further why she would in future take this path:

P7: When they consider people for jobs, they first look at the South African applications, and then they look at the immigrant applications. Even if you are better or the brightest ... they will still look at the South Africans first.

Again, as noted by Borgna (2016:182), the context is important when understanding the inheritability of the migrant identity. In this case, access to employment and career opportunities should be viewed within the context of South Africa's employment conditions, which, as highlighted in theme six, requires that citizens and migrants with critical skills be prioritised (see Section 6.3.6.3): As with their counterparts in Europe, "the labour market disadvantages experienced by immigrants are transferred to their children" (Midbøten 2017:1658).

In addition to South African citizens being prioritised when accessing opportunities, key informants highlighted that educationally, migrant children from poor families could only go up to a certain level:

K15: ... The children are going to school ... But after getting the matric, the parent does not have enough resources ... The child can be ... very intelligent, but if there is [are] no resources ... The others [South African students] have

bursaries, they have sponsorship, but for them it is reduced. It's only their parents must pay the school fees, and the country does not give them that opportunity to work ... Primary and secondary school, the South African government are really doing a good job, but when it come[s] to the tertiary education, most of our children stop at grade 12. They can't go further.

Another key informant weighed in on the disadvantages faced by second-generation migrants, especially in relation to the levels of education they can attain:

KI4: ... I think they don't really have much advantage coz you will see, even when they go up, when they complete their matric, most of them, they will struggle to go to universities because of their documentation. A child has passed so well but [without] the documentation, you cannot go to university. You don't have a study permit, or you don't have an ID. Then, as well, some maybe documented, but still, they are at a disadvantage if their parents cannot afford to pay fees for them, because they cannot get funds like NSFAS ... The parent has to pay fees. So, if the parent cannot afford, eventually that child has to be a drop-out. Start looking for those menial jobs for everyday survival ... So, I think ... it's not really a good place for the children to be in. If it was possible, only parents would come, hustle, look for money and send to children at home, because what I have noted, most immigrant children, they don't go further with their education. They go to a certain level, then it's done.

The findings reveal that the chances of second-generation migrants attaining an education beyond matric or Grade 12 and professional or skilled employment are severely limited in South Africa. This is because the barriers faced in relation to documentation do not end at matric, as discussed in theme four, but become even more complex when they try to continue with their education. Also, key informants' accounts show how the family's class position impacts the achievement of goals because children of migrants who are from financially disadvantaged backgrounds face an additional barrier, as parents are unable to pay for their tertiary education. It is for these reasons that a conclusion can be drawn that, as in Europe, it is because of the conditions in the migrant-receiving country that in their educational attainment, "second-generation immigrants critically lag behind their native peers" (Borgna, 2016:182).

Again, drawing from Young's (1990:53) conceptualisation of marginalisation, the fact that some children of migrants can maximally reach Grade 12 automatically relegates them to a marginal position in South Africa's labour system, as they fall into doing the same type of menial and low paying jobs that were held by their parents (see Section 6.3.6.3). Yet again, instead of being integrated into a society in which they have equal access to rights, opportunities and resources, according to segmented assimilation theory, another underclass is created, where residence status and class position intersect (see Portes & Zhou, 1998:8).

Consequently, preventing second-generation migrants from attaining an education beyond Grade 12 sets them up for a work life of menial jobs at the bottom of South Africa's economic ladder. In sum, then, this study found that second-generation migrants' goals, dreams and hopes were linked to their parents' wishes for them. They were further linked to their parents' financial abilities. It could thus be shown how migrant parents, and their children are interdependent, not just materially but on all levels. In important respects, therefore, the experiences of the first and second-generation migrants must be understood as inseparable.

6.3.8. Theme 8: Positive relationships and service provision experienced by second-generation migrants in South Africa

Despite the many difficult circumstances presented in all the themes above, the findings show that this study's participants also had positive experiences in South Africa. The findings in themes one to seven and theme eight highlight some of the useful aspects of second-generation migrant integration into South Africa. This theme further states other beneficial encounters second-generation migrants had in South Africa. The discussion of these experiences will be divided into three sub-themes: The first sub-theme highlights that this study's participants had friends and community members who stood in solidarity with them when they needed assistance. Sub-theme two discusses their relative privilege of growing in South Africa, rather than Zimbabwe. Finally, sub-theme three discusses the satisfactory service provider/service user relationships.

6.3.8.1. Sub-theme 1: Every Zimbabwean has a South African who is willing to help

In the literature review (see Chapter 2, Section 2.4) it was discussed already that researchers have found second-generation migrants in South Africa to encounter both difficulties and impediments and affirmations and opportunities (see for example, Hlatshwayo & Vally, 2014:273, Mpofu, 2018:99, Onokugu, 2022:162). The findings of the study, too, reveal that at various points of integration, Zimbabwean second-generation migrants received assistance from South African community members in different aspects of their lives. At a local level, South Africans have been found to help second-generation migrants in accessing services. In addition, in their home environments, young people had friends and peers who assisted them in learning local languages. Furthermore, in instances where they are discriminated against based on their Zimbabwean ties, participants found friends who embraced them.

Most key informants in this study, when talking about their optimistic experiences of second-generation migrants, referred to “the good” within their circumstances. Providing one of many such accounts, a lawyer shared the following:

KI6: It's not a black-and-white story. There is a lot of greys, in the same way a Zimbabwean national that can ... feel unwelcomed, can turn a corner and experience such kindness from a South African. We are all African, we are all human after all. So, yeah, they do have good experiences too. They do get to make good friendships. Even teachers at school, you find good teachers, who are willing to go the extra mile, and help them with securing donations, food, whatever. They do find people like that. I mean, South Africa has a lot of people like that, as much as the image of the nation sometimes can be painted as those people are unwelcoming and whatnot. That is not always the case, you know.

Similarly, another lawyer highlighted the solidarity that second-generation migrants and their families receive from locals when seeking access to services. She spoke about access to services with reference to a particular child, and in relation to Zimbabwean migrants in general:

KI9: I find that even though Home Affairs is xenophobic, most South African people in her [the specific child's] life are ... doing everything to help her ... That is what I find interesting about xenophobia in South Africa, because you hear a lot about xenophobia and people being xenophobic, but if [you] look at the lives of each ... you know, everyone has a Zimbabwean in their life whom they love and don't want to leave ... Because people know I do this work, people contact me, even people I went with to primary school ... they will always go, “I have a Zimbabwean” ... So, all of us, on a practical, personal level, we want good things for Zimbabweans in our lives, but at the same time, we have this xenophobic thing because we are stressed about resources, and we don't know whom to blame ...

In addition to the two lawyers, a second-generation migrant spoke about how in her community, locals helped Zimbabwean migrants access documentation:

P5: Some might say that Zimbabweans must go back to their country ... Some might say, at least if the community gathers around, try help those Zimbabweans get permits or stuff like that, to help each other ... in the community that I live in ... they love helping, and, like, if you are in need of something – they will give you. If you don't have, just say you don't have ...

The findings show that although second-generation migrants encountered difficulties such as discrimination in their lives, they received support from their fellow community members. In addition to ordinary community members, they were also assisted by professionals, such as teachers and lawyers. The support received from teachers is explored further in sub-theme three. These findings relate with Hlatshwayo and Vally's (2014:723) study, which also

highlights community solidarity and support that migrant families and their children receive from ordinary South Africans, fellow migrants and civil society organisations. KI6 particularly attributed the assistance, compassion and solidarity received by Zimbabwean second-generation migrants to being human and African. The centrality of both will be further explored in theme ten.

Linked to accounts of support and solidarity, some second-generation migrants spoke about the positive relationships they had with their peers and friends at home and school. A participant described these relationships as follows:

P2: I mean, when you are a foreigner (pause), you usually, from what I have seen, get treated differently, especially by the locals. It hasn't been bad for me; I don't even know why. But most of my friends, even they are South Africans, and even my best friend, [who] is a South African ... from Durban, is good to me.

In a conversation about how she fitted in with her South African peers, a participant who had been teased about her Zimbabwean background, shared that:

P7: Some of them are my friends, and some of them are my peers. Ehh, the girls that I hang out with ... at break, some of them are from South Africa, and they don't see it as a problem that I am from Zimbabwe. Some of the boys from South Africa make those jokes.

In this case, even P7, who experienced discrimination, reported having friends and peers who accepted her regardless of her Zimbabwean origins. These findings tie with theme three in that despite being teased, bullied and discriminated against based on their Zimbabwean background, second-generation migrants were also embraced. Therein lies a contradiction, which in the words of KI9 was that: It is possible for people to hold xenophobic attitudes in general, yet again be willing and able to embrace foreigners who they know and come to care about. Even though there is a difference in experiences with peers, second-generation migrants building friendships whether positive or negative, having a sense of belonging and being accepted is important. As already stated above by Simsonen (2018:118) a sense of belonging is important for second-generation migrants, especially with reference to a place and space and their development stage (O'Keeffe & Nipperess, 2021:102)

Unlike the two above second-generation migrants whom mostly acceptance by peers and community members was important, another participant spoke about how his friends helped him learn a local language and integrate:

P6: ... *The time when we wanted to do the car wash, I didn't want to join because obviously, when a person comes with their car, and they will say, "Please wash my car" or "Wash the inside only", and I will not understand. But my friends encouraged me to join so that I can be able to learn other languages. I have thought of stopping myself, but my friends have encouraged me and lifted me up.*

P6 help with learning languages was based on acceptance by his SA friends and feeling accepted is essential for integration. Over and above, knowing local languages is important because, as discussed in theme one, they are central to the day-to-day lives of second-generation migrants in South Africa (see Section 6.3.1.1). Besides the children of migrants experiencing solidarity from local community members, and having good and accepting friends, who do not discriminate against them, many second-generation migrants appreciated other positives in South Africa.

6.3.8.2. Sub-theme 2: Privileged to be raised in South Africa compared to Zimbabwe

In addition to experiencing solidarity and acceptance from their peers and community members, many second-generation migrants and key informants talked about the adverse social and economic environment in Zimbabwe, as well as the better habitable South African context. Second-generation migrants displayed a deep understanding of the Zimbabwean unfavourable circumstances, even though they were being raised in South Africa.

Both second-generation migrants and key informants highlighted the latter's privilege of being raised in South Africa instead of Zimbabwe. For example, in a conversation about access to services in his community, a young participant living in a middle-income area shared the following:

P14: *I think it is beneficial to be here because in Zimbabwe ... Zimbabwe does not have the things [that]... South Africa has, in general. So, I am happy to be here coz there are a lot more opportunities, services ... that Zimbabwe really doesn't have.*

Another participant from a middle-income area provided reasons why he felt privileged to be growing up in South Africa, rather than in Zimbabwe:

P8: *I feel a sense of relief because being raised in Zimbabwe is not easy. You see, people, they don't have the same mindset [that] you have when you are raised in South Africa.*

R: *When you say mindset, what do you mean?"*.

P8: *Like, they will take a shortcut to life, and they think lowly. When you are here in South Africa, you plan for the future, and you have big dreams, while in Zimbabwe, people just give up on their dreams.*

A teacher supported these views when speaking about access to resources in Zimbabwe:

K12: *I think in a way, they are similar because children have to work hard, and the South Africans, they are more privileged in a way, because the resources, they have got many resources. They have got access to a lot of resources, so much that you even wish that if these resources were taken back to our country, most of our children could be passing. Like, the experiences that I had in Zim [Zimbabwe]: Some of the children that were failing in Zim, if you bring them here, they would pass, definitely, because of the resources. The resources and the support that they are given – here, the children are given a lot of support, but they don't take advantage of that, most of them.*

The negative issues identified by child participants and the key informant are in alignment with the factors that drive migration discussed by Crush and Tevera (2010:1) who highlight that since the early 2000s Zimbabweans have been pushed into migration by the negative social, political and economic difficulties unfolding in their country. The findings on migrants having access to resources they do not have in their home country link to the views that Zimbabweans are also pulled to South Africa by better social, political and economic conditions (see Crush & Tevera, 2010:1; Misago et al., 2021:4). Although the living conditions in South Africa are indeed better compared to Zimbabwe, it is worth mentioning that compared to the findings in themes four, six and seven, not all children of migrants have access to services and resources. Still, access is better than in their home country.

Although participants talked about the privilege of growing up in South Africa mainly with reference to the negative conditions in Zimbabwe, they also acknowledged that life in South Africa is not completely ideal:

P4: *I feel good because it's better than in Zimbabwe, because there are a lot of bad things happening. I am not saying ... there are no bad things happening [in South Africa], but they are better.*

P2: *It's mixed feelings by the way, I take it as an opportunity that I got, that other people didn't get a chance or won't get a chance to do. Because if I am looking now the state of things that are happening back home in Zimbabwe, it's extremely tough so I actually see myself as privileged to be here because we have a lot of resources here than for some people back home who don't even get. So, I feel like it is a privilege in a way.*

While indeed the social, political and economic conditions in both countries are different, it is also important to acknowledge that life for some Zimbabwean second-generation migrants is not ideal in South Africa, particularly because they, with their families, face many difficulties and barriers. These adverse experiences even caused KI4 to believe that children of migrants, especially those who are undocumented, are better off living in Zimbabwe (see theme six). Yet, in the participants' voices, though life might have been difficult in South Africa, it was still better than Zimbabwe; therefore, this should be considered part of their positive experiences.

6.3.8.3. Sub-theme 3: Good service receiver and service provider relationships

Human relationships were central to Zimbabwean second-generation migrants' valuable life experiences in South Africa. Sub-theme one looked at the solidarity and support second-generation migrants experienced from South African friends, peers, and community members. In addition to sub-theme one, this sub-theme discusses participants' relationships with teachers, lawyers, social workers, and social auxiliary workers. Second-generation migrants from all contexts shared that they related well with their teachers, and this was facilitated by trust, professionalism, equal treatment of all learners, and having teachers from Zimbabwe. Moreover, while participants only spoke about their relationships with their teachers, the key informants - social workers, lawyers, social auxiliary workers and soccer coach – also emphasised that they had trusting relationships with second-generation migrants.

In theme one (see Section 6.3.1.3), schools were identified as important functional communities for second-generation migrants, mainly because this is where they spent most of their time. Consequently, besides their peers and friends, child participants were constantly in the presence of their teachers. It is, thus, essential to acknowledge that relationships with teachers formed an important part of their life experiences. Child participants described these relationships in various ways. To begin with, when asked about how they fitted in with their teachers at school, a participant who was enrolled in an inner-city school stated the following:

P5: Teachers at school? Yah, they are not bad. They encourage you; they don't criticise that, 'You are Zimbabwean, so for that you get low marks'. If you are good in school, you are good in school. If you get a total mark of this, you get a total mark of this ... If you ask a question you want to understand better, they will explain to you. They will come and assist you where you don't understand. So, teachers – nah, they don't criticise, or they don't discriminate you. Actually, they encourage ...

Two additional second-generation migrant participants spoke about the functional relationship being aided by the fact that some of their teachers were from Zimbabwe:

P1: With my experience, most of my teachers even from primary [school], some of them who used to teach me were Zimbabweans. So, it made me feel comfortable even to a point now, even talking to a South African teacher, I am more comfortable, as I know I have other teachers that I know are from home.

Similarly, another participant from a township school spoke about the trusting relationship with his teachers being aided by his fair treatment from all teachers and having teachers from Zimbabwe:

P13: We have Zimbabwean teachers and some Zulu teachers.

R: How is your relationship like with teachers at school?

P13: It is only one teacher that knows I am a Zimbabwean. The other teachers ... they don't know.

R: How is your relationship with all the teachers first and then we will talk about this one teacher?

P13: It's the same [equal treatment].

R: How is it with this one teacher that is from Zimbabwe?

P13: She always speaks to us – speak about us with Shona and we respond.

The participants' positive experiences with their teachers compare with findings of Onukogu's (2022:162) study of Nigerian second-generation migrants from Johannesburg, who stated that they "loved their school", and teachers were inclusive and non-discriminatory. While the Zimbabwean second-generation migrants in this study did not state their liking for school, positive teacher-and-learner relationships were facilitated by being treated equally and with respect. Moreover, while the participants in Onokugo's (2022:162) study did not discuss their teacher's nationalities, this study found that having teachers who shared the participants' Zimbabwean origin was another key factor contributing to the quality of their relationships. The participants in this study even went a step to further describe their teachers being "from home", as knowing that they were from Zimbabwe impacted how they were treated. Therefore, the point of emphasis in terms of these relationships is that in this study, teachers were reported as treating learners as equals, yet teachers of Zimbabwean origin treat them as special. Moreover, the special treatment of Zimbabwean learners shows a measure of equity, as these

learners do require additional attention and care, which only Zimbabwean teachers are able to recognise. It must be noted that such recognition might be in fact be interpreted as promoting justice in the cultural domain (see Fraser, 2009).

Supporting the second-generation migrants' views, the teachers in this study provided their accounts of their relationships with learners. As one explained:

K11: You can actually see a child when you are with them in class that they are now ... free with you, and they can trust you when they begin to tell you little problems. Even if they have a problem at home ... they are even free to come in the morning and say, "Teacher, we didn't have food yesterday ..." Once you start by making them comfortable around you and them, it become easy for them to trust you enough that they can tell you their problems ... You do not embarrass a child ... Some of them they even have issues that they can't tell their parents, but they come and tell you as a teacher ...

Another teacher spoke about how the duration of knowing their learners facilitated the relationships with their parents as well:

K14: ...I think in the first years or when they are new into the system, they won't be open enough. But as we get along with time, they become very free that they can open up. They become very free to tell me what they are going through. If they are angry, they will tell me, "Today, ma'am, I am very angry because of this and that". If they come to school without food, they will let me know, "Ma'am today I don't have food". So with time, children begin to see me as a mother figure. They get very comfortable around me; they will open up and tell me the challenges that they are going through. The joy of life that they experience, ... the long-term relationship makes the children to trust me and to be open. It even goes as far as parents, coz I would have had interaction with them for a long time. So with time, I become like a sister, a friend, or something to them. They would open up to a point that they at times tell you the problems that they have at home.

These findings show that teachers highlighted trust as an important element to relationships with learners. This trust, according to the teachers, emanated from not embarrassing learners, and from knowing each other for a long time. This is central because it enabled learners to disclose information, they would have not otherwise shared with anyone. Additionally, trusting relationships extended from teacher and learner to teacher and parent, this helped give context to the second-generation migrants' struggles.

Trust aiding the building of long-term relationships seems to be characteristic also in other fields of service. For example, a social auxiliary worker stated the following:

KI5: *Children, I think, they are opening up, neh, the moment you visit the family regularly. They see you; they know you. You come [to] talk to them, you comfort their mother. They see how the mother trusts you ... It depends, most of the relationships you have with the parent ... They see how you relay with their parent, and from they take it also. And normally, it depends on how you relay with them during home visits ...*

Similarly, a lawyer shared the following about the importance of trust in building relationships with children of Zimbabwean migrants:

KI6: *We do earn a lot of trust from our clients, mainly because we deliver on the mandates. If they request documents, by helping them then, you gain their trust. It's not like we try gain their trust by sugar coating things. We gain their trust by helping them with what they need. By doing our job, ... establishing a reliable reputation, that's how they end up trusting us and being open that, "... we have lawyers there and they [are] always willing to help us". We can always refer to someone we trust to help us, but it is strictly professional.*

Trust built on professionalism and service delivery highlighted by both participants and key informants relate to professional ethics. Although the researcher is writing from a social work perspective and social work ethics and principles, ethics according to McAuliffe (2014) are found in all human services professions, for example, lawyers and teachers. Specifically, ethical standards pertaining to the delivery of competent and dependable service regardless of service users' backgrounds pertain to all professions, in that all service users are deserving of equal respect and human dignity no matter their backgrounds.

In summary, the key findings in this theme are, first, second-generation migrants received support and solidarity from their peers, friends, and community members, and this provided them with a sense of belonging, especially in instances where they were discriminated against. Secondly, participants stated that they felt privileged to be raised in South Africa where there was access to better services and resources; however, this privilege did not come without barriers. Thirdly, second-generation migrants talked about their positive relationships with their teachers whom they experienced as respectful, non-discriminatory, and in some instances, supporting them with additional attention and care. Like teachers, service providers such as social workers and lawyers reported having good and trusting relationships with the children of migrants, which were also built on trust, professionalism, as well as competent and dependable service delivery.

Adding on to the key findings, a return to the question of integration, which is at the centre of this study, is necessary. This theme's findings are, arguably, an example of how second-generation migrant integration should be. Authors writing about integration highlight that for migrant-receiving communities to be wholly cohesive, different role players such as the state, civil society, service providers, migrants and natives, have to work together (De Waal, 2019:46; Entzinger & Biezeveld, 2003:6; Westin et al., 2019:46). Even where, despite being the key role player, the state is missing, this study has found that community members, peers, friends, service providers, and the second-generation migrants themselves can work together – not only to help accommodate the children of Zimbabwean migrants, but also for the whole community to function better on the whole.

6.3.9. Theme 9: Second-generation migrant identities in South Africa

The concept of identity is central to both integration and assimilation theories. In the literature review in Chapter 2, classical assimilation theory was described as juxtaposing a 'receiving country's identity' with a 'migrant identity' in binary terms, contending that over time, the latter identity would be lost (Crul & Schneider, 2013:1; Gonzales & Lee, 2013:2; Gordon, 1964:69). In the words of Gonzales and Lee (2013:2), second-generation migrants were assumed to ultimately become "indistinguishable" from native children in the receiving country (see Section 2.2.1.1). Departing from classical assimilation theory, which prescribes a single identity, segmented assimilation theorists Portes and Zhou (1998:89) highlight that migrant identities are never lost, as various identities can be found in a receiving country (see Section 2.2.1.2).

Borrie (1959:93) claims that in integration, there was an equal exchange of cultures and identities between natives and migrants and, consequently "...each element has been changed by association with the other, without loss of its own cultural identity, and with change in the resultant cultural amalgam, or civilization if you will..." (see Section 2.2.2). This study's findings reveal complex dynamics in the identities of Zimbabwean second-generation migrants, which are discussed in this theme in relation to assimilation and integration theories. Zimbabwean second-generation migrants' identities are discussed, first, with reference to the seven foregoing themes. Secondly, it is explored in how this study's participants perceived and defined their identities with reference to both the South African and Zimbabwean contexts of their lives.

The researcher is mindful of the importance of the previous themes in this discussion about identity because it is where second-generation migrant identities were explored in relation to the community, state and community members. In other words, second-generation migrant identities are first defined by others. Therefore, in this respect, the social group identity of second-generation migrants is formed with reference to other groups in the community (Young, 1990:43). On this matter, Young (1990:43) denotes that, “social groups of this sort are not simply collections of people, for they are fundamentally intertwined with the identities of the people described as belonging to them”. Thus, Young (1990:42) argues that structural oppression occurs in the context of these social groups. As a result, “... one finds a group identity as a given, and the takes up it in a certain way” (Young, 1990:46), and this is evident in findings from themes one to eight.

Theme one shows how the perception of children of migrants’ identities were influenced by the home and school environments. In theme two languages related to many aspects of Zimbabwean second-generation migrant identities. Moreover, languages in this theme are synonymous with who second-generation migrants are. Second-generation migrants being considered an outsider identity is apparent in theme three, as here Zimbabwean identities are not only marginalised by their peers and their friends, but they are also defined in negative terms. Notwithstanding the other three themes, perhaps the most important is theme four because, the South African state, as the legislator, defines who the children of migrants are in terms of documentation status. As a result, they are labelled as either documented or undocumented children of migrants, and in the most severe circumstances as stateless. Beyond this, the state basically outlines, based on their migrant documented and undocumented statuses in the receiving country, who belongs or does not belong. Put differently, the state decides who possesses an insider and who possesses an outsider identity.

Accordingly, in theme five, it was discussed that there are parents and their children who lead a life of invisibility and hiding out of fear of being identified by the state because of their undocumented status. In this instance, second-generation migrant identities are not only marginalised to hidden parts of society, but children of migrants also learn from their parents to internalise that theirs is a lesser identity. In theme six, the parents and their children’s identities are legally, politically, economically and culturally interconnected. Consequently, although they are viewed as two separate individuals, that is, the parent and child, their identities always remain misframed as interconnected and intertwined (see Fraser, 2009:19). In

theme seven, second-generation migrants outline that their migrant identity determines if they will achieve their goals, hopes and dreams in South Africa. Because of their identity, some second-generation migrants' dreams will end at matric, others will migrate to another country and there will be those who will settle for menial jobs in the receiving country. Thus, the second-generation migrant identity is embedded in every aspect of the children of migrants' lives in South Africa. Thus, the findings from the above seven themes indicate the "coloniality of being", which is hierarchising of identities highlighted by Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013a:8). The coloniality of being is found in every aspect of their lives.

As has been highlighted in the introduction of this theme, besides being able to express their perceptions of the influences on who they, as children of Zimbabwean migrants, were meant to be, the research interviews also provided participants with an opportunity to state who they felt they were, and where they felt belonged. When asked to explain who they were with reference to the South African and Zimbabwean contexts, second-generation migrants provided a variety of answers. There were participants who identified as Zimbabweans. This affiliation applies for them regardless of whether they were born in South Africa or Zimbabwe. However, there were some participants who viewed themselves as South African. For this group of participants, their identity was linked to the receiving country as their place of birth. Finally, there was a third group of participants who identified as both South African and Zimbabwean, which again was regardless of their place of birth.

6.3.9.1 Sub-theme 1: Second-generation migrants are Zimbabweans

It has been highlighted in the introduction that there were participants who identified as Zimbabwean, even though they were being raised, and some were born in South Africa. Among the Zimbabwean-born second-generation migrants who had migrated to South Africa was one who had moved at the age of one. When asked which nationality he identified with and why, he stated that:

P2: Oooh!!! No, I see myself as a Zimbabwean, proudly Zimbabwean.

R: Why do you say so?

P2: Because I know who I am. At the end of the day, I can be in South Africa, I can be living here. I have a lot of South African friends but deep down I know my roots and I know where I am from and I know what I stand for no matter what is happening in our country, let it be good or bad, I know where I am from.

Similarly, a participant who had migrated to South Africa at the age of four spoke about the pride of being identified as a Zimbabwean:

P9: *I am a Zimbabwean, and I am proud of it ... Because everybody has their own label. We cannot all be from one place; we all come from a different place. But in terms of South Africa and Zimbabwe, I really feel like we are just the same people, it's just a border that separates the locations. If the border was gone, who was going to tell me that Zimbabwe is over that line? So, I just feel I am a Zimbabwean, being a Zimbabwean is something special, not a lot of people have it, and I have the experience of speaking about it as I have experienced it. So, people can learn from you about a different country because they will never really know how it is over there, different cultures over there, attractions, different struggles of people. They can just learn what changed about their home country.*

The findings show that irrespective of place of birth, some second-generation migrants identified as strictly Zimbabweans. On one hand, it seems the strong and emotional ties to the Zimbabwean identity were the result of the hard social, political and economic circumstances in South Africa. On a positive note, identifying as Zimbabwean is connected to the uniqueness of the identity and the country. These findings contradict Schneider's (2016:3) view that it is the first-generation migrants who have stronger links to their home country. Instead, this study's findings support Valtonen (2008:66), who contends that second-generation migrants do hold onto their home countries' social, cultural and political identities. Another point raised by P9 is that while her Zimbabwean identity was unique, there was at the same time little difference between Zimbabwean and South African identities, but it was the border that divided people. This perception correlates with Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Mhlanga's (2013:2) observations regarding the 'artificiality' of colonially drawn borders between countries such as Zimbabwe and South Africa.

6.3.9.2. Sub-theme 3: Second-generation migrants are South Africans

Still, some participants stated that they identified as South Africans. As already highlighted, regardless of their migrant background and being born in Zimbabwean, some young people identified as South Africans. A young person who had moved to South Africa at the age of one shared that:

P8: *I see myself as a South African because all my life I have been here, and I was raised here.*

Another young person who was also born in Zimbabwe and migrated at the age of one noted his South African and Zimbabwean dual identity. However, between the two identities, he emphasised being South African:

P11: I am a Zimbabwean, but I feel like since I have been in South Africa for so long, I have immersed myself with the South African culture. I feel like more South African than Zimbabwean because I call South Africa home. I feel at home in South Africa than in Zimbabwe” (P11).

Both P8 and P11’s accounts suggest that their identification as South African was linked to the duration of stay and the fact of raised in the country. These particular findings support those of Simsonen (2018:12), whose participants’ experiences felt Danish because they were born and raised there. Additionally, similar to Schneider’s (2016:3) observations, these second-generation migrants had stronger ties to South Africa, as they were raised in the receiving country. Contrary to P2 and P9’s experiences described above, who identified as Zimbabweans, even if they were growing up in South Africa. Identifying as South African is also linked by P11 to acculturating into the country’s culture. Participants identifying as South African substantiates Gordon’s (1964:69) contention that migrants and their children normally assimilate to their receiving countries culture and assume its dominant identities. Subsequently, the findings confirm Berry’s (1997:9) claim that acculturating individuals distance themselves from their own cultures, preferring the dominant culture and other cultures.

6.3.9.3 Sub-theme 3: Second-generation migrants are both Zimbabweans and South Africans

There is a third group that identified as both Zimbabwean and South African. They, like the first two groups, were able to provide reasons as to why they identified with both countries. When asked for the reasons which country he identified with, a participant born in South Africa stated that:

P12: I think I see myself as both.

R: Firstly, how do you see yourself as a Zimbabwean?

P12: So, obviously people make jokes here and there, and my family might go through things like discrimination. So, I feel that’s what makes me feel like a Zimbabwean, is how close I am with my family. Also, going back to Zimbabwe.

R: Okay, and how do you see yourself as a South African?

P12: *I grew up here and for most Zimbabweans, they were born there and then migrated to South Africa, but as for me, I was born here in South Africa. I wouldn't know what it feels like living in Zimbabwe because I only visit there.*

R: *Would you say your identity is more South African than Zimbabwean?*

P12: *I think it is both.*

Similarly, a young person who identified as both Zimbabwean and South African, and migrated at the age of eight shared that:

P6: *I see myself as both because when I am inside the house, we speak Shona and then, when I go outside, I am different. I even change the way I walk because I am adapting. My parents don't like that. They always say, "If you are a Zimbabwean, you are a Zimbabwean, nothing changes". So, I see myself as both: Here [at home], I am Zimbabwean and outside, I am a South African.*

In another instance, P6 shared that at some point he had to falsify his identity, and this was because of the circumstances that were prevailing in his environment. He recalled:

P6: *School is the most difficult part because I joined this school in grade seven. Before that, I was in another school ... where there were a lot of migrants. But when I moved here, I realised that there are only two Zimbabweans, and since they mocked me before saying "You Zimbabweans, you come here with Lacoste crocodiles; you don't even have passports", but that was before, when I was still young. I even lied that my daddy is Zulu, and my mother is Zimbabwean So, I had to lie in primary school that I was Zulu, and some believed me, and some did not. Now I am fine.*

P6 and P12's self-perceptions were different from those of the other second-generation migrants because they identified as both Zimbabwean and South African. In this regard, this study's findings are similar with Borrie (1959:93), who highlights that the migrant, and the native country's identities influence each other. Also, P12 linked his identity to being born in the receiving country, and according to him, this made him more South African than second-generation migrants, who were born in Zimbabwe. Compared to P12, P6 had other reasons for identifying as South African, which were about fitting into the receiving country's context. Additionally, both participants discussed the issue of discrimination and tied it to their identities. However, the impact of discrimination on these two participants' identities differed: For P12, discrimination drew him closer to his Zimbabwean identity and his parents, who felt more Zimbabwean, while P6 ended up identifying more as South African, thus causing conflict with his parents, who continued to insist on him maintaining a Zimbabwean identity. P6 and

other participants are not confined to the one migrant identity. They, instead choose their own identities, and like Young (1990:45) being perceived as belonging to a certain identity, "... does not mean that persons have no individual styles, or are unable or reject group identity. Nor does it preclude persons from having many aspects that are independent of these group identities".

In summary, second-generation migrants as a social group are first defined by the state, community and community members. Then, when discussing their own perceptions of who they are, the country that second-generation migrants were born in does not exclusively determine how they define their identity. Of course, it is important to acknowledge that there are those second-generation migrants who identified themselves as South Africans because this is where they were born. Nevertheless, there are factors that determine their identification as South Africans, namely, being raised in the country, "immersion" into its local cultures, and living only in South Africa. Meanwhile, this study also revealed why some participants identified as either Zimbabwean or as both Zimbabwean and South African, they gave the following reasons for identifying this way. These were being born in South Africa, originating from Zimbabwe, being connected to parents, the uniqueness of Zimbabwe, regular travel to Zimbabwe, and discrimination that faced in South Africa.

6.3.10. Theme 10: "We are all human": Messages from Zimbabwean second-generation migrants to South Africans

Beyond second-generation migrants defining themselves in relation to Zimbabwe, South Africa, or both, they spoke about what it means to be human. The conversation about the importance of being human ensued mostly at the end of the interviews and it was relayed as messages. Children of migrants felt that it was important for them to share these messages with the South African public. The researcher, however, notes that beyond South Africa, these messages from the second-generation migrants in this study hold relevance also for other migrant-receiving countries from human rights and social justice-based approaches. In addition to these messages, key informants discussed the interventions they put in place to encourage respect of human worth and dignity when working with learners from different backgrounds.

Article 1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights asserts that "all human beings are born free and equal in dignity" (United Nations [UN] General Assembly, 1948). Accordingly, the United Nations Commissioner of Human Rights (UNCOHR, n.d.) states that "human rights are the rights we have simply because we exist as human beings – they are not granted by any

state”. Connected to Article 1 of the Universal Declaration (UN General Assembly, 1948) and UNCOHR’s (n.d.) definition of human rights, second-generation migrants in this study spoke about the importance of the humanity of migrants and their children being respected. A 15-year-old male participant commented on being human throughout the interview. In one of the responses, he said:

P3: We are all human beings; we all have brains. So, it does not matter you are a foreigner ...

In comparison to P3, who shared his message as part of a conversation with the researcher, a 15-year-old male participant explicitly stated at the end of the interview that:

P6: I would like to share ... a message with South Africans that we are all humans, and we are all Africans ... We all praise the same Jesus Christ. So, we should not treat each other differently because most Zimbabweans come here to work as there are no jobs in Zimbabwe. That is why my parents came here. I have seen the most xenophobic people say, “We are xenophobic because foreigners come here and sell drugs”, but it’s not only foreigners doing that. They say, “Nigerians do drugs” and stuff, but it’s not all Nigerians that do that. We should not treat each other differently. Because you saw one foreigner doing drugs or doing crime, it does not mean every foreigner does that.

Similarly, at the end of his interview, a 14-year-old male participant shared his thoughts on what it means to be human:

P8: I think there shouldn’t be a big fuss or commotion for Zimbabweans because at the end of the day, we are made of the same God, we live in the same earth, we are conceived the same way, the same colour, sex male or female. I feel like everyone should be the same, there shouldn’t be killing. It shouldn’t be a big deal of people coming into the country illegally, but they shouldn’t kill or burn them.

The participants’ perspectives of what it means to be human were in support of Article 1 of the Universal Declaration (UN General Assembly, 1948) and UNCOHR (n.d.) definition of human rights above.

More specifically, these perspectives connected with the underlying principle of respect for the dignity and worth of human beings and further correlate social work’s professional principles, that it is important to “recognize the inherent dignity and worth of human beings” (IFSW, 2018). Correspondingly, all humans are deserving of respect, worth and dignity regardless of “race”; ethnicity; national origin; religion; sexual orientation; disability; and socioeconomic

status (SACCSP, n.d.:6). Importantly, the human dignity and worth of migrants as per the participants apply regardless of the way migrants entered the country. The participants highlighted that migrants should neither be stereotyped nor discriminated against, including being made victims of violence because they originate from another country. In this part of the findings, the participants' perceptions of what it means to be human are connected with Article 2 of the Universal Declaration (UN General Assembly, 1948), which states that:

Everyone is entitled to all rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration without distinction of any kind ... Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation to sovereignty.

Finally, participants refer to their religious understandings of being human. In this respect, their comprehension of human rights confirms McAuliffe (2014) and Nipperess' (2023:291) views that indeed, an important origin of human rights can be found in all major religions. Ultimately, this means that the human rights of migrants' children are based on their religion.

Human rights are accompanied by responsibilities (see Section 8 (1) of the Constitution), and this aspect can also be identified in this study's findings. According to the second-generation migrants in this study, such responsibilities pertain to both South Africans and fellow members of migrant communities. For example, a 16-year-old female participant highlighted the following:

P7: I think we need to just accept each other. It is not hard to see the people as the same as you because we all have the same opportunities. Sometimes we don't, and that is why we need to help each other to have the same opportunities, such as my aunt [the helper]. Since ... we have a stable financial situation [the family], then we can also help [her] to become stable.

Mutual care as highlighted by P7, affiliated with respecting human dignity and worth discussed by P8 and P6 above. On a separate point, P7 encouraged aiding her fellow migrant community members. This value position by P7 is related to the findings, presented in theme eight (see Section 6.3.8.1), that Zimbabwean migrants do find support from South African community members. However, in this case, it is not about solidarity from South African community members but migrants assisting each other.

In contrast to P7, a female 17-year-old participant raised another point that is related to human rights, which is the importance of peaceful co-existence between both South Africans and Zimbabweans as people living in the same country. She explained how this could occur:

P5: My thoughts with Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa is that Zimbabweans, even ... maybe ... they see that they have a misunderstanding between them and South Africans, [so] they must just try and ... fix things between ... themselves. They must not just blame each other because they might find that in blaming one another ... you try to prove yourself right. And by trying to prove yourself right or arguing with people you might see that, no ... it might cause destruction or hatred between the two people ... from South Africa and Zimbabwe ... You are just pointing fingers at each other than trying to solve that certain problem between the two of you. Because to me, ... if you are living in the same country, don't try and blame each other ... Try and find a solution to that certain problem that you have between the two of you ... They must try and find peace between themselves.

P7 slightly departs from, yet still connects with the other sentiments shared in this theme because finding better ways to live together and resolve conflict contributes to people's peaceful existence and the upholding of human rights.

In addition to the second-generation migrants, key informants such as teachers, who engage almost daily with second-generation migrants in the school environment, shared that they taught both South African and migrant children about the importance of respecting human rights. One teacher spoke about how they went about it:

KI4: Like ... these small ones, we have tried like give them lessons that we are all the same. We may be different in looks but we are all human. Like, you bring in examples of people with disabilities: That this person may have a disability, but still what? – still a person. This one is Indian but is still what? – a person. This one is white – this one is black. So, we are all different but in being different, all of us we are still what? – human beings. So, I think these lessons do help them to a certain extent feel ... okay, I may be different; I may be coming from another country but still I am the same with him or her.

A school social worker spoke about how she would emphasise respect of differences in situations where children of migrants were bullied:

KI8: It's too lonely to do this on your own; you need a team of people helping you confirm your self-worth ... With the children that was bullied because of their skin tone, you know, I always made it a point to compliment them, to show them we different and that inside we the same, and that your darker skin tone doesn't give you less worth than other black child who has a lighter skin tone: They are not more successful.

The idea of respecting human rights and human dignity and worth, as outlined by both the social worker and teacher related to the views of second-generation migrants. Furthermore, professionals teaching and encouraging respect for human rights and diversity to all learners, especially in the case of social workers follows professional principles and ethics (see IFSW, 2018; see SACCSP, n.d:6).

The importance of human rights, and accordingly, human dignity and worth of all migrants and their children in South Africa was explicitly outlined by second-generation migrants and key informants. Thus, from an anti-oppressive point of view, these findings once more show that like in theme four; five and seven (see Sections 6.3.4.1; 6.3.4.1; 6.3.4.7), Zimbabwean second-generation migrants experience themselves as an underclass. In Young's (1990:68) terms, as members of a powerless group that is sometimes rendered invisible due to their migrant identity, they feel they must explain to their South African counterparts that they, too, are human. In voicing out that they are human, participants were, in terms of Fraser's (2009:14) theory of social justice seeking recognition from community members, in the sense that beyond the migrant identity, people are left with their humanity, which deserves to be acknowledged and respected. The findings are further analysed using the decolonial theorists Quijano (2000a:540) and Mignolo's (2021:66) views on othering of identities and Ndlovu-Gatsheni's (2013a:8) coloniality of being. Therefore, arguably, in a space where conditions of coloniality perpetuate insider/superior and outsider/inferior identities and lesser beings, second-generation migrant's full humanity seems unattainable.

The findings reveal also that there are gaps in assimilation theories (Gordon, 1964:69; Gonzales & Lee, 2013; Portes & Zhou, 1993); integration theories (Borrie, 1959:92; Westin et al., 2015; Karim & Wilkes, 2022; Crul & Schneider, 2014) and acculturation theories (Berry; 1997, Valtonen; 2008). The gaps are specifically with reference to respect for human rights, human worth and dignity and misrecognition. Therefore, issues of recognition and human rights should be part of particularly integration theories, and arguably assimilation and acculturation theories because ultimately receiving countries are not integrating components that can be broken down as having been integrated, assimilated, and acculturated but human beings.

In sum, this theme discussed the importance of migrants' human rights, as outlined by the second-generation migrants and key informants. Participants felt strongly about human rights needing to be respected, irrespective of whether or not a person is a migrant. It is because they are human that migrants should not be discriminated against and subjected to violence. At the

same time, participants embraced the idea that human rights come with responsibilities, like mutual care and helping others and finding peaceful ways of living with each other.

6.4. Summary of the findings

In conclusion, this chapter first provided the demographics of the sixteen second-generation migrant participants and ten key informants who participated in this study. The chapter also provided an outline of the ten themes and sub-themes. Thereafter, themes formulated from the data collected from second-generation migrant participants and key informants' experiences and views were presented and discussed. The findings in the ten themes revealed a diversity of integration experiences. In theme one, second-generation migrants and their families lived in middle-income areas, townships, and inner-city communities. They also had a functional community which is a school. The four communities are accompanied by a variety of experiences. Middle-income areas are seen as generally good, quiet, safe and lonely; meanwhile, townships are considered communal and unsafe; and inner-city communities are viewed as more inclusive because of population diversity. School as a functional community brought together all the children of migrants' experiences from all three communities.

It was discussed in theme two that language is a key tool of integration, as well as of assimilation and acculturation. Language as the main tool for integration has different characteristics and challenges. These are namely language is inclusive of accent, there are similarities between a Zimbabwean language and South African languages, children of migrants are required to learn local languages and they also speak their languages carefully to avoid being marked. Theme three discussed that in the school environment, second-generation migrants were subjected to teasing, bullying and xenophobia from their friends and peers at school. The experiences of teasing, bullying and xenophobia emanate from their migrant identity. While in the first three themes, the focus was on community relations, in theme four, the focus turned to the state's role of documenting migrants. The state seems to be struggling with that responsibility. In documenting children of migrants, the status of second-generation migrants is dependent on that of their parents. People's documentation status determines their access to resources and services, therefore, documenting people or not is the state's means of (mis)framing. Documentation, links with theme five, in that second-generation migrants and their families feel pushed to exist in hidden and invisible societal peripheries where they cannot be identified.

In theme six intergenerational similarities and differences between first and second-generation migrants' experiences of and attitudes towards integration were discussed. The first intergenerational difference was found in who decides that children of migrants should move from Zimbabwe to South Africa. In the same theme, the similarities and differences in experiences of documentation, solidarity and discrimination, culture, and economic standing were captured. Linked to the socio-economic position of parents are their children's goals, dreams, hopes and aspirations, discussed in theme seven. Some but not all young participants believed that if they worked hard, they would achieve their dreams in South Africa. Others were more aware of the exclusionary conditions in the country, thus considering migration to the Global North to achieve their goals, dreams, and aspirations. Overall, the findings suggested that children of migrants from poor and undocumented families could not attain a qualification higher than matric, thereby severely limiting their prospects of turning their hopes and dreams into real life trajectories.

Importantly, this study in theme eight found positive experiences, too, characterised the lives of its participants, and these related to the support and solidarity received from their South African counterparts, their sense of privilege of being raised in better-resourced South Africa, and trustworthy service user and service provider relationships. Moreover, with theme nine, this chapter explored the identity of second-generation migrants as either Zimbabwean or South African. Participants were able to articulate different reasons for identifying as South Africans, Zimbabweans or both. In the final part of the chapter, which is theme ten, second-generation migrants' messages to South African counterparts were discussed. These messages touched on what it means to be human, and participants asserted that migrants' humanity should be respected regardless of how they entered the country or their residence status, and that no human deserved to be stereotyped and subjected to violence. Based on the findings presented and discussed in this chapter, the next chapter concludes the thesis.

CHAPTER 7: KEY FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1. Introduction

This chapter concludes the study conducted on the challenges and opportunities for the integration of second-generation Zimbabweans in South Africa. The chapter is divided into four sections, which are: key findings and conclusions; goal and objectives of the study; reflections by the researcher; and, lastly, recommendations. The first section presents the key findings and conclusions in relation to the ten themes. In the second section, the researcher demonstrates how the goal and objectives of the study were achieved. The third section presents the researcher's reflections on the study as a whole, including the research process. The fourth and final section presents the study's recommendations for anti-oppressive social work theory and practice. Additionally, the chapter presents recommendations for policymakers in the fields of social welfare, education, health care and migration.

7.2. Key findings and conclusions

This section presents key findings, which were interpreted and analysed using empirical literature and the theoretical framework. Key findings for each theme are first presented, followed by their respective conclusions. The themes are: (1) communities that second-generation migrants integrate into in South Africa; (2) language as the main tool for assimilation, integration and acculturation; (3) teasing by schoolmates and friends about Zimbabweans; (4) documentation issues and challenges; (5) hiding and invisibility amongst Zimbabwean migrants; (6) intergenerational connections and disconnections between first and second-generation migrants; (7) the extent to which second-generation migrants will achieve set goals, hopes and dreams in South Africa; 8) Zimbabwean second-generation migrant identities in South Africa; (9) positive experiences of second-generation migrants in South Africa; and (10) "we are all human": Messages from Zimbabwean second-generation migrants to South Africans.

7.2.1. Key findings on communities that migrants integrate into in South Africa

Theme one reveals that second-generation migrants are seeking to integrate into four communities, three of which are geographical. These communities include middle-income

areas, townships and inner-city migrant communities. All the second-generation migrants integrate into functional communities, which are schools. Each community has its own characteristics. Middle-income areas are generally viewed by young participants as lonely, isolated and quiet, meaning that some second-generation migrants cannot meet their age mates or make friends in these communities. At the same time, middle-income areas are experienced as private and safe spaces where the second-generation migrants who participated in this study can easily exist. Townships, on the other hand, are described by the participants as communal in nature. Townships being communal allow for community-based child-rearing, but also means that there is a lack of privacy. Meanwhile, inner-city migrant communities have diverse migrant populations, and this facilitates a sense of belonging for the second-generation migrants who participated in this study. The findings also indicate that migrants living in the inner-city is a worldwide phenomenon, but in South Africa, the difference is that they are home mostly to African migrants. Finally, school is the fourth and common community to all the participants, all of whom were aged between 14 to 21 years. Taking into consideration their age and stage of development, school is the one space where participants integrate best.

7.2.1.1. Conclusions on the communities that migrants integrate into in South Africa

It can be concluded that the three home communities cut across the segmented assimilation theory's categories because in South Africa, the middle class is aligned to middle-income areas; lower-income communities in which the natives of the country reside are similar to townships and migrant communities being inner-city migrant communities. On this basis, the three home communities that second-generation migrants integrate into at once are economic segments and products of colonial creations. Conversely, while the school as a functional community falls beyond the scope of the segmented assimilation theory, it is important for this age group (14-21 years) because of the time spent in this environment and the pivotal challenges and opportunities presented for the second-generation migrants through their integration that arise in this context.

7.2.2. Key findings on language as the main tool for assimilation, integration, and acculturation into communities

In theme two, it was found that South African languages are used by second-generation migrants as their main tool for assimilation into South African communities. The participants reportedly learn South African languages as part of their school curriculum and this is

confirmed by the teachers. Other key findings are that there is an assumed Zimbabwean accent that the participants are expected to have, which is then used to identify them, with those who do not have it being labelled as ‘white’ and ‘colonised’. In addition, the key findings also pertain to the similarities and differences between South African Nguni languages and isiNdebele, as spoken in Zimbabwe. These similarities allow for the better integration of second-generation migrants into their receiving communities. Still, second-generation migrants from both Ndebele-speaking and Shona-speaking families feel obliged to learn South African languages for their daily existence in their receiving communities. Compared to first-generation migrants, however, second-generation migrants are open to learning South African languages, while some do find themselves being coerced into learning them. At the same time, there are some South Africans who are interested in learning the languages of second-generation migrants. It is also revealed that the children of migrants and significant adults in their lives avoid speaking their home languages because there is a sense of shame and fear that accompanies the use of these languages.

7.2.2.1. Conclusions on language as the main tool for assimilation, integration and acculturation into communities

The following main conclusion can be drawn for theme two: Instead of the kind of integration espoused on paper by the DHA (2017:64), second-generation migrants in this study are found to be assimilating into South Africa. Nevertheless, it can also be concluded that the identities which are viewed as ‘colonised’ are evidence that not all second-generation migrants adopt the languages of the receiving country’s majorities, and neither do they take up the languages of their parents. They instead assume other languages and identities, which, according to Onukogu (2018), follow American and Canadian role models, thus diverting from assimilation and the expected acculturating strategies. Other conclusions are that people from Nguni language groups can belong either to the Zimbabwean or South African sides of the border. Another conclusion is that knowledge of local languages is used as a rule to determine who counts as a community member or otherwise, but even if they know these languages, second-generation migrants are not recognised as full members of their receiving communities. Overall, it can be concluded that marginalisation, cultural imperialism, powerlessness and violence are evident in (1) stereotyping the languages and accents of the second-generation migrants; (2) coercing second-generation migrants to speak South African languages; and (3) children of migrants

speaking their languages in secret or using their languages sparingly in communication situations.

7.2.3. Key findings on teasing by schoolmates and friends about Zimbabweans

Key findings for theme three pertain to the question of integration within participants' school environments. This study found that at school, second-generation migrants are teased about their Zimbabwean origins by both their South African peers and by the children of migrants from other countries. One school-based social worker attests to the experiences of teasing and bullying. They are teased about the negative social, political and economic conditions in Zimbabwe, about the irregular ways by which some Zimbabweans enter South Africa, and about the lives of the Zimbabwean migrant community in South Africa in general. For second-generation migrants in this study, teasing is considered harmful when done by friends. When coming from other peers, the same kind of teasing is perceived as offensive. Second-generation migrants in this study also participated in teasing fellow Zimbabweans, and this is again viewed as not harmful. Still, some participants perceive teasing as a xenophobic form of bullying because it is meant to emotionally harm, humiliate, and degrade the person being mocked. In view of Young's (1990:58-61) notions of cultural imperialism and violence and Mullaly's (2010:162) explanations of internalised oppression, the study's findings concur with this interpretation, even if some participants claim not to be offended.

7.2.3.1. Conclusions on teasing by schoolmates and friends about Zimbabweans

The key findings on this theme lead to the conclusion that, firstly, xenophobic sentiments are prevalent at schools, thereby confirming other empirical studies. Secondly, with reference to decolonial theorists, this study finds that there is hierarchising of identities in South Africa, with national origin being used to place South African nationals at the top of the hierarchy and migrants, particularly irregular migrants, at the bottom. Some participants internalise such hierarchising. Again, in accordance with the views of decolonial theorists, the borders between Zimbabwe and South Africa are used to determine belonging, and second-generation migrants are constantly reminded that they are the *Other* that does not belong. Thus, participants who are the *Other* or *outsider* are violated and marginalised without any consequences being meted out to the native or citizen, who is *Us* or *insider*. As a result, privilege and oppression co-exist, as seen in the case of the teasing and bullying of second-generation migrant participants by their peers.

7.2.4. Key findings on documentation issues and challenges

These key findings are drawn from theme four on documentation-related challenges and issues, based mostly on the accounts of key informants. South Africa is bound by the UNCRC, ACRWC and the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 to document child migrants, and the government is struggling to meet these responsibilities. Second-generation migrants living in South Africa, whether documented, undocumented or stateless, are known to exist, and this is noted by the key informants. South Africa is finding it difficult to document child migrants because there are barriers put in place by the DHA, documented parents are failing to document children born in the country on time and problems affiliated with the Zimbabwean documentation systems. The study reveals that while in most cases, the documentation status is passed on from the first-generation to the second-generation migrants, it can be legally overlooked if the child is born and raised in South Africa. Findings show that the following statuses are held by Zimbabwean second-generation migrants living in South Africa: They are irregular, although some of them are regular with temporary and permanent residence permits, and there are those who are stateless. Within this variety of statuses, the undocumented status is linked to challenges and barriers second-generation migrants encountered when accessing social welfare, educational and health care services. Second-generation migrants have a right to these services, and for some participants, this access is without difficulties, while for others it is riddled with challenges. Amongst the three services, social welfare is found to be the most easily accessible, whereas educational and health care services have the most barriers.

7.2.4.1. Conclusions on documentation issues and challenges

It is thus concluded that the state, as a powerful entity, impacts the lives of second-generation migrants because it makes documentation and migration laws that influence their integration into society and access to social welfare, health care and education services. Therefore, undocumented and stateless second-generation migrants are legally misrecognised; as a result, they face challenges and barriers when accessing health care and educational services and are rendered voiceless. Stateless second-generation migrants are created as an underclass that is there but cannot make social justice claims. Flowing from this is, thus, another conclusion is that South Africa is a country that, on paper, has an inclusionary multicultural integration model but, on the ground, it has documentation barriers which are characteristic of the exclusionary ethnic integration model.

7.2.5. Key findings on Zimbabwean migrants' need to remain hidden and invisible

The findings in theme five are that the need to hide and remain invisible is prevalent in almost all second-generation migrants' experiences in this study. The need to hide and remain invisible amongst migrant families and their children is also confirmed by the key informants. Hiding and invisibility amongst second-generation migrants are linked to discrimination and negative discourses directed towards migrants living in South Africa and their irregular migrant status. The participants are found to be masking their identities through learning South African languages, especially when they are coerced to do so. Second-generation migrants are also rendered invisible when trying to avoid being teased, bullied, and subjected to xenophobia. The responsibility relating to having to strike a balance between which parts of their identities should be known by their South African peers and how far they should remain invisible result in second-generation migrants developing a double conscience. Furthermore, this study's findings show that the participants' parents and other adult migrants also hide and maintain invisibility in their receiving communities, and that second-generation migrants learn from this, too, that theirs is a sub-identity. In all the experiences referred to in this theme, it is evident that deep psychosocial stress accompanied the participants' need to hide and remain invisible.

7.2.5.1. Conclusions on the need to remain hidden and invisible among Zimbabwean migrants

In conclusion, it is difficult to integrate people who are hiding and therefore invisible. Such hiding and the need to maintain invisibility are found to be prevalent in the lives of second-generation migrants of all ages and from all the communities and languages. An additional conclusion is that hiding and invisibility are linked to prejudice, as described by classical assimilation theory, without being adequately captured by assimilation, integration and acculturation theories. Thus, the final conclusion for this theme is that, in line with the segmented assimilation theory, second-generation migrants of Zimbabwean origin appear to be forming an invisible underclass, hiding on the fringes of South African societies.

7.2.6. Key findings on the intergenerational connections and disconnections between first- and second-generation migrant's integration experiences

In theme six, a variety of key similarities and differences are captured from the experiences of first-generation and second-generation migrants' and how they influence their differential integration into South African communities. This study reveals intergenerational divergences

in who decides to migrate second-generation migrants from Zimbabwe to South Africa. There is a debate on whether parents act in the best interest of their children by migrating them or if participation in the decision to migrate under the most complex migratory circumstances is allowed. Other key findings show that the two generations experience solidarity and discrimination in similar ways, but there are also instances where they encounter discrimination differently. One key informant reveals that there are also intergenerational disagreements about who has a better life between parents who grew up in Zimbabwe and second-generation migrants who are brought up in South Africa. Additionally, second-generation migrants are found dressing more liberally and have access to more rights than first-generation migrants, a scenario which would not happen in Zimbabwe. Lastly, the findings show that poverty is passed on from parents to their children and, therefore, according to the key informants, this affects second-generation migrants' ability to develop relationships with their peers at school, as some participants are excluded from participating in after-school activities. As highlighted in theme seven, poverty prevailing in migrant families is linked to barriers to employment and lack of employment opportunities faced by parents, thereby locking the participants in intergenerational cycles of poverty.

7.2.6.1. Conclusions on the intergenerational connections and disconnections between first- and second-generation migrant's integration experiences

Overall, the findings reveal that the decision to migrate Zimbabwean-born second-generation migrants to South Africa is complex because, for parents, this decision is influenced by the best interest of the child and the negative social, political and economic conditions prevailing in Zimbabwe, which second-generation migrants are aware of and acknowledge. Looking at empirical studies conducted by Midbøten (2016) and Renzaho et al. (2017), it can be concluded that the issue of first-generation migrants being said to be more prone to discrimination than second-generation migrants is subject to debate because the latter group experiences teasing, bullying and xenophobia at school. However, it can also be concluded that second-generation migrants are a unique group that has its own experiences that ought to be acknowledged. At the same time, the experiences of the two generations are inseparable because what happens to the parents trickles down to their children.

7.2.7. Key findings on the extent to which second-generation migrants will be able to achieve their set goals, hopes and dreams in South Africa

The key findings for theme seven are that the goals, hopes and dreams of children of migrants in this study are linked to the hopes and dreams that the parents have for their children and the family. An additional key finding is that the second-generation migrants who participated in this study wish to have more family time and live in bigger spaces. The participants' goals, hopes and dreams are mostly career-oriented and linked to the attainment of tertiary education. Some of the young people who participated in this study feel that if they worked hard enough, they would realise their career aspirations, while others are convinced that no matter how hard they work, their dreams would still not be achieved because South Africa has limited opportunities for migrants. Finally, there were those who feel that their dreams can be achieved if they migrated to other countries. For second-generation migrants from poor families, their goals, hopes and dreams ended at the matric level because their parents cannot afford their tertiary education (see Section 7.2.6.1.). In this study, hard work is found to be a central principle guiding participants' efforts to achieve goals, hopes and dreams in migrant families. Religion is found to be a source of resilience and hope for migrant families going through difficult life circumstances.

7.2.7.1. Conclusions on the extent to which second-generation migrants would be able to achieve their set goals, hopes and dreams in South Africa

The key findings in theme seven lead to the conclusion that second-generation migrants, whose career goals, hopes and dreams end at the matric level, are automatically relegated to the status of labour marginals capable of doing the same menial jobs as their parents. Both in terms of hopes and dreams and in terms of the structural barriers against realising them, the lives of second-generation migrants are closely intertwined with those of their parents. In this way, the conclusions of this theme further support those of themes 5 and 6, that is: Second-generation migrants' career goals, dreams and hopes prematurely ending at matric due to lack of financial means shows how class and migrant status intersect to create another underclass as indicated in Portes and Zhou's (1993:82) segmented assimilation theory, in which downward social and economic mobility is guaranteed.

7.2.8. Key findings on the positive experiences of Zimbabwean second-generation migrants in South Africa

In theme eight, the following key findings are drawn: Regardless of the challenges encountered in South Africa, Zimbabwean second-generation migrants have positive and worthwhile life experiences in their receiving country. This is confirmed by the key informants. The participants experience solidarity in their communities, as they are supported by South Africans to access various services. Notwithstanding their experiences of teasing, bullying and xenophobia, young participants also report having friends who accept them irrespective of their Zimbabwean origins. There is a privilege associated with being raised in South Africa because life is better in the receiving country compared to Zimbabwe, but this ‘better life’ does not come without difficulties. Another key finding emanating from this study is that second-generation migrants are found to have good relationships with their teachers, social workers and lawyers. These good relationships between teachers and second-generation migrants are facilitated by teachers treating learners respectfully and equally, and teachers from Zimbabwe showing an understanding of their background. Positive relationships between both social workers and lawyers and second-generation migrants are facilitated by the former’s positive engagement with the latter’s parents, being respectful and delivering valuable services.

7.2.8.1. Conclusions on the positive experiences of Zimbabwean second-generation migrants in South Africa

For this theme, the conclusion that can be arrived at is that community members and service providers are working together to assist second-generation migrants, which is an example of integration as interpreted in this study, the citizens of the receiving country, service providers and migrants are working together to make the whole society function. However, among the main role players who should be part of the integration process, the state is missing.

7.2.9. Key findings on the second-generation migrant identities in South Africa

These are the key findings for theme nine: In this study, the identities of second-generation migrants are constructed both positively and negatively and in relation to the following: the environments within which they exist; states’ definitions of regularity and irregularity; linkages in documentation, experiences of solidarity and discrimination between parent and child; and hiding and maintaining invisibility in migrant families. Some participants identify as Zimbabweans because of their parents, ties with their grandparents living in their home country,

as well as the negative discourses and perceptions affiliated with the country. However, there are also young people who identify as South Africans because they are born and raised in the country, have immersed in its culture and thus feel that they know no other life beyond this context. Finally, there are those second-generation migrants who identify as both Zimbabwean and South African because they are born and raised in the receiving country, while at the same time remaining tied to their parents who consider Zimbabwe their home.

7.2.9.1. Conclusions on the second-generation migrant identities in South Africa

The first conclusion that can be drawn from these key findings is that second-generation migrants' identities are constructed in relation to the state and other groups in the communities. At the same time, these identities can also be redefined. Young people who participated in this study are able to articulate, in their own terms, who they are and the ways in which they belong in South Africa, Zimbabwe, or both. Thus, contrary to the assumption made by classical assimilation theorists, like first-generation migrants, second-generation migrants who participated in this study have close ties to their home country, meaning that their place of birth and where they are raised did not exclusively define the identities of second-generation migrants. An additional conclusion is that the key findings confirm that identity is central to the assimilation, integration and acculturation processes. The second-generation migrant identity is another important factor that determines if they will meet their goals, hopes and dreams in South Africa. The second-generation migrant identity affects their sense of belonging, access to opportunities and their general mental well-being in terms of access to opportunities.

7.2.10. Key findings on “we are all human”: Messages from Zimbabwean second-generation to South Africans

The key findings for the last theme, theme ten, are as follows: Young people who are part of this study believe in the importance of being human. For them, being human applies to everyone irrespective of a person being a migrant, irregular and regular migrant and their way of entry into South Africa. Moreover, for these participants, having human rights comes with the responsibility of helping other migrants and co-existing peacefully with the South Africans in their communities. In addition, efforts are being made by key informants, such as teachers and social workers in the school environment, to encourage respect for the human rights of all migrants.

7.2.10.1. Conclusions on “we are all human”: Messages from Zimbabwean second-generation to South Africans

In this theme, it can be concluded that despite their young age, but based on their own life experiences, participants who partook in this study were able to articulate the strong view that all human beings are born with inalienable human rights, human dignity and worth, and that this should be respected regardless of the migrant’s country of origin and identity. The emphasis put on human rights by second-generation migrants, and even by the service providers show how powerlessness makes othered people feel, thereby further emphasising the need for just framing, recognition, and representation. The question of human rights has not yet been sufficiently captured in integration, assimilation and acculturation theories. The aspects of rights are further addressed in the recommendations section (see Section 7.5.3).

7.3. Goal and objectives of the study

Against the foregoing summary of the study’s key findings and presentation of conclusions, this section discusses how the goal, and objectives of the study were met. The study’s goal was:

- **To explore challenges and opportunities for integration of second-generation Zimbabweans in South Africa and the implications of their experiences for social work with migrants.**

This goal was achieved through meeting the following four objectives.

- **To explore the second-generation migrants experiences of inclusion and exclusion along the economic, legal, and legal political dimensions of their lives.**

This objective is met through eight themes. The findings presented in theme one show that Zimbabwean second-generation migrants are part of different South African communities (see Chapter 6, Section 6.3.1), where they reside alongside South African nationals and migrants from other countries. However, even if they reside in these communities, second-generation migrants feel a greater sense of inclusion and belonging in inner-city communities than in townships and middle-income areas (see Chapter 6, Section 6.3.3). In theme two (see Chapter 6, Section 6.3.4.4), the findings reveal that some second-generation migrants need to learn South African languages in order to fit into their respective receiving communities. In other words, in these communities, language became a criterion for both inclusion and exclusion (see Chapter 6, Section 6.3.2).

In theme three, findings reveal that second-generation migrants form part of friendship networks with South African peers at school (see Chapter 6, Section 6.3.3). In this theme, it is also found that although children of migrants are included in these friendship networks, they are also discriminated against on the basis of their Zimbabwean migrant identity, thus, they are excluded at the same time. Still, in theme eight (see Chapter 6, Section 6.3.8.1), the findings show that second-generation migrants are also accepted by some of their friends, regardless of their Zimbabwean background. The findings from theme four show that children of migrants are mostly excluded from documentation, and consequently, those undocumented second-generation migrants are struggling to access social welfare, educational and health care services (see Chapter 6, Section 6.3.4).

The findings from theme five indicate that second-generation migrants and their families sometimes exist in hiding and invisibility, as they are undocumented and are discriminated against (see Chapter 6, Section 6.3.5). Living in hiding and invisibility means that they are marginalised, and, as a result, are prevented from accessing resources, opportunities and having a voice in matters relating to their lives. The findings under theme six show that the social, legal, economic and political inclusions and exclusions faced by first-generation migrants are mostly passed onto second-generation migrants (see Chapter 6, Section 6.3.6), meaning that the experiences of discrimination, solidarity and poverty are shared intergenerationally. It is also found in theme seven that when compared to South African peers, second-generation migrants do not have equal access to studying and employment opportunities (see Chapter 6, Section 6.3.7). In other words, based on their migrant backgrounds, they are excluded from such opportunities. Lastly, compared to other themes that are dominated by exclusion, it is found in theme eight that second-generation migrants have friends who accept them, irrespective of their migrant origins (Chapter 6, Section 6.3.8.1). They also encounter teachers who treat learners equally and social workers and lawyers who provide services without discriminating.

- **To understand to what extent second-generation migrants understand these experiences as continuities, ruptures/and or gradual change along intergenerational lines.**

This objective is met as reflected in themes two, four, five, six and seven. This paragraph captures the intergenerational continuities of the migrants' experiences. Themes two (see Chapter 6, Section 6.3.2.5) and five (see Chapter 6, Section 6.3.5) show that the hiding of home

languages and migrant identities is prevalent amongst second-generation migrants, as much as it is amongst first-generation migrants. As a result, children of migrants learn from the significant adults present in their lives that they hold a second-class citizenship. Theme four reveals that in most instances, the parents' documentation status is passed on to their children (see Chapter 6, Section 6.3.4.1). This means that the exclusion from accessing social welfare, health care and educational services is aligned with the undocumented migrant status and is passed on from the first-generation to the second-generation migrants. Also, in theme six, it is revealed that the poverty and economic disadvantages of the first-generation are passed onto the second-generation migrants (see Chapter 6, Section 6.3.6.3). Lastly, theme seven reveals that the goals, hopes and dreams of the children of migrants are linked to parents' dreams and hopes for all their children and the family as a whole (Chapter 6, Section see 6.3.7).

In theme six, the findings indicate that the experiences of second-generation and first-generation migrants in South Africa are not only intertwined, but are also dissimilar, meaning that there is a gradual change in the lived experiences of the two generations (see Chapter 6, Section 6.3.6). To elaborate this point further, the parents and their children experience solidarity and discrimination in both similar and different ways (see Chapter 6, Section 6.3.6.2). Meanwhile, theme six reveals the complexities and tensions between parents and their children around the decision to migrate second-generation migrants from Zimbabwe to South Africa, thus capturing the evident intergenerational ruptures (see Chapter 6, Section 6.3.6.1). There also existed an intergenerational contradiction when second-generation migrants are found to dress liberally and enjoy access to more rights than the first generation, which would not have been the case in a conservative country like Zimbabwe (see Chapter 6, Section 6.3.6.2). Therefore, although there are intergenerational continuities, gradual changes and ruptures, second-generation migrants are found to be a distinct group of migrants with unique experiences that should be captured separately.

- **To explore how these economic, legal, and political experiences are embodied, and describe how they affect the second-generation migrants' sense of well-being and social justice within the context of the communities in which they live.**

Overall, the findings of the study show that negative social, legal, political and economic migration experiences deeply affect the psychological well-being of the second-generation migrants who participated in this study. In theme two, second-generation migrants are found to internalising being coerced to learn South African languages and their home languages being

othered (see Chapter 6, Section 6.3.2.4). Second-generation migrants are also found to be developing a double conscience, especially in instances where they have to carefully strike a balance between maintaining their home languages and learning South African languages (see Chapter 6, Section 6.3.2.5). The internalisation of the negative qualities associated with the second-generation migrants' identities and its effect on their psychological functioning is evident in theme three, which indicates that they are subjected to teasing, bullying and xenophobia because of their Zimbabwean origins (see Chapter 6, Section 6.3.3). Moreover, instead of challenging such treatment, second-generation migrants are found to be continuously internalising that theirs is a second-class position that could indeed be violated without the perpetrator incurring any repercussions (see Chapter 6, Section 6.3.3).

Theme four takes a different trajectory in that it traces the effect of documentation-related challenges on the mental well-being of the second-generation migrants (see Chapter 6, Section 6.3.4). In this theme, it is reported that being undocumented at crucial points – like moving from primary school to high school – and a lack of surety for some – such as when writing their matric exams, – severely impacts on the mental health of second-generation migrants (see Chapter 6, Section 6.3.4.2). Theme five shows the heavy psychosocial burden that second-generation migrants have to carry when they have to exist in hiding and invisibility whilst in the receiving country (see Chapter 6, Section 6.3.5). Themes four (see Chapter 6, Section 6.3.4.2), six (see Chapter 6, Section 6.3.6.3) and seven (see Chapter 6, Section 6.3.7) all highlight how the physical well-being of the children of migrants is affected by exclusion from accessing basic resources and opportunities. Finally, under theme six, it is shown that lacking basic resources, such food, clothing, and uniforms affects second-generation migrants both physically and psychologically, as they again are excluded from participating at par with their peers (see Chapter 6, Section 6.3.6.3).

- **To understand the implications of the experiences of inclusion/exclusion of second-generation migrants for anti-oppressive social work theorising and practice.**

The fourth objective is links to the conceptualisation of the study's theoretical framework presented in chapter four (see Chapter 6, Section 6.4.1), as it is argued that anti-oppressive social work needed to be refined such that it fully captures the second-generation migrants' experiences of inclusion and exclusion in the Global South. The participants' accounts indeed indicate that the second-generation migrants' experiences of inclusion and exclusion should be understood using an anti-oppressive framework conceptualised and made relevant to the

context of the second-generation migrants who participated in this study. For example, with reference to the concept of marginalisation and the colonial history captured by decolonial theorists, findings in theme one indicate that places like townships and inner-city communities, where the underclass reside, are not just economic segments for marginals whom the capitalist labour system cannot or will not use, but also colonial divisions and creations (see Chapter 6, Section 6.3.1). In another example, theme two demonstrates how second-generation migrants are sometimes coerced into learning South African languages, thereby experiencing cultural imperialism, thus being rendered powerless. Additionally, it is found that where languages labelled ‘as deviant – as is the case in the experiences of this study’s participants – cultural imperialism intersects with marginalisation (see Chapter 6, Section 6.3.4.4).

Also, in theme three, it is found that second-generation migrants and Zimbabwean migrants at large experience intentional and unintentional forms of oppression when their migrant identity is stereotyped (see Chapter 6, Section 6.3.3.1). The responses of second-generation migrants and key informants show that teasing, bullying and xenophobic treatment are forms of social and psychological violence that are ultimately internalised. Theme four points out that the nation-state is a key role player in the lives of second-generation migrants because, through documentation and migration legislation, it determines whether or not second-generation migrants belong in South Africa (see Chapter 6, Section 6.3.4.1). Thus, the state decides who are *insiders* or *outsiders*, who is legally recognised or not and thus, who has access to resources and opportunities or not and who has a political voice or otherwise. Theme five shows how invisibility and hiding represents the internalisation of second-class citizenship (see Chapter 6, Section 6.3.5). Under theme nine, the identities of second-generation migrants are constructed in relation to other groups in their communities and the state, thus oppression is linked to the interrelations between social groups (see Chapter 6, Section 6.3.9).

7.4. Reflections by the researcher

The concluding reflections presented in this section relate to the process of conducting the study, my Zimbabwean nationality and my professional identity. This reflection is written in first person because it represents my subjectivity as a researcher. As already highlighted in Chapters one and five, I am part of the Zimbabwean migrant population living in South Africa (see Chapter 1, Section 1.1, and Chapter 5, Section 5.5.4). I am also a social worker trained to respect the principles of human rights and social justice when engaging with service users and people more generally. Additionally, as a social worker, I was trained to be non-judgemental.

These two identities combined to make my research journey interesting, though sometimes difficult.

Firstly, as a Zimbabwean national, I understand the social, political and economic reasons compelling people to migrate from my home country. As a result, I empathise with the reasons why Zimbabweans raise their children under sometimes challenging circumstances and why, irrespective of the difficulties encountered by migrants, they would rather keep their children in South Africa. Secondly, there were instances when, as a social worker, I found myself concerned about the South African peers of the second-generation migrants, especially because, at the end of the day, they are as young as the young participants who participated in this study, and they, too, are being raised in a complex environment, dominated by hostility towards outsiders.

Thirdly, during the data collection phase, I had a variety of experiences relating to the participants, their parents and the key informants' experiences of being interviewed that are worth reflecting on. There were second-generation migrant participants who shared the feeling that they appreciated being given the opportunity to speak about their experiences, as they had never shared them with anyone before. Additionally, parents shared with me what they thought were their children's experiences regarding their integration into the South African society and who their children were in terms of identity. Interestingly, in one of the conversations, a parent stated that his child did not have any experiences of migration, which was contradicted by his child. The key informants of migrant origins had off-the-record conversations with me about their own children's experiences. They felt I needed to know of these experiences, like those of the second-generation migrants who participated in this study.

Fourthly, I wish to reflect on other experiences I encountered when conducting the study. Notably, the data collection phase was frustrating, especially when I could not for a while access second-generation migrants. When I eventually found the participants, I engaged mostly with mothers and, prior to getting their consent, I was asked questions about my Zimbabwean origins, why I chose the research topic and why I interviewed children about migration issues rather than adults, as talking about experiences of migration was seen as a harmful endeavour. I responded to these questions by sharing my rural and city origins and stating my positionality, which is my Zimbabwean identity and commitments from social work to give children a voice. I found that stating my origins and positionality eased the fears of mothers. However, in addition, such questions made me feel extremely wary in as far as the research ethical principle

of beneficence was concerned. I ensured that the participants' identities remained anonymous and offered referrals to counselling services where participants from the cohort of second-generation migrants had their negative emotions evoked by talking about their daily lives in South Africa. Although counselling services were offered, nobody wanted to take them up.

Finally, although my subjectivity was an important resource for the study, still, at all the stages of the study, I carefully prevented having my positionality, particularly my Zimbabwean nationality, from interfering with the study. I sometimes found the need to constantly be aware of myself and keeping my positionality in check overwhelming and exhausting, which resulted in me becoming concerned about my own well-being. Mpofu (2018:114) highlights that "... it is not only research participants that can be harmed by research, but ... researchers also need to be protected from harm". Therefore, Mpofu (2018:114) recommends that "... research ethics committees also pay attention to how researchers can be supported and protected from harm during research". Often, discussions on research ethics perceive the research process as imperialist and exploitative to participants, especially vulnerable groups like migrants. Understandably, though, the importance of protecting research participants cannot be overstated. However, the well-being of researchers should be considered as well, particularly where they carry the burden of guarding against their biases as insiders. Even though the research process was challenging, I developed valuable insights into the lived experiences and struggles of migrant children residing in South Africa. These will continuously influence my work in the field of social work with migrants.

7.5. Recommendations

This section provides recommendations arising from the study's findings and the entire research process. Firstly, recommendations are outlined for anti-oppressive social work theory and the macro-level social work practice. Secondly, recommendations are suggested for social welfare, education, health care and migration policymakers. Lastly, recommendations are made to influence future research in the fields of social work and migration.

7.5.1. Recommendations for anti-oppressive social work theory

This study used anti-oppressive social work as its overarching theoretical framework. In addition, it draws on the works of feminist and political philosophers and decolonial theorists to help interpret and analyse findings on the integration of Zimbabwean second-generation

migrants into South African communities. From this contextualised theoretical framework, the researcher recommends that:

- Researchers conceptualise anti-oppressive social work in ways that help them capture the needs of and social problems faced by service users like migrants who fall beyond the scope of the nation-state.
- Researchers and practising social workers should develop anti-oppressive social work theories for implementation at micro, meso and macro levels with oppressed groups like migrants, who are also marginalised and misrecognised.
- Researchers should consider developing contemporary anti-oppressive social work theories that capture the colonial histories and everyday realities of people located in the Global South.
- In instances where there are conflicting responsibilities between the state and service users, anti-oppressive social work theories should advocate for prioritisation of the profession's ethical responsibilities.

7.5.2. Recommendations for macro social work practice

The study's theory framework argues that the social problems faced by service users, such as second-generation migrants, at the micro and meso levels are produced by social, political and economic structures at the macro level. Indeed, the findings of this study demonstrate how problems related to exclusion from accessing services and discrimination were produced at the macro-level. Additionally, social workers and lawyers faced structural barriers when advocating for and protecting children's rights, resulting in them being caught between the laws and children's rights and the need for protection. Thus:

- It is for these reasons that macro level social work is recommended for voiceless service users, like second-generation migrants.
- At the macro level, social workers should advocate for the promulgation of migration and documentation laws that champion the non-negotiability of the rights of child migrants.
- Macro level social work should advocate for policies that facilitate the inclusion of second-generation migrants in social, economic and political dimensions in their lives.

Social workers, with the help of community members and teachers, should roll out national community work programmes at schools, teaching tolerance and respect for people who are viewed as different and outsiders.

7.5.3. Recommendations for social welfare, education and migration service providers and policy markers

The findings reveal gaps in communication on documentation requirements between the Department of Home Affairs (DHA) and other service providers like social workers, teachers and health care personnel. Besides the DHA, barriers also existed in the Zimbabwean documentation systems. There were also disparities with regard to the rights conferred to the children of migrants by law versus what is happening on the ground. This study thus recommends that:

- There should be clear communication of documentation requirements and procedures by the DHA to social welfare, education and health care service providers and, where there is unclear communication, these sectors should take up the responsibility of demanding it.
- There should be a change in the political will and attitude towards Zimbabweans by the DHA, particularly in relation to children's rights.
- There ought to be education of parents about their children's rights that apply regardless of status, documentation procedures, and the implications of not documenting their children at birth, either in Zimbabwe or South Africa. The Zimbabwean state to also reduce barriers to documenting its citizens and their children residing outside the country.

7.5.4. Recommendations for future social work research in migration

Gaps that should be further researched were revealed in the process of conducting the study and by the findings. The findings highlighted challenges encountered by second-generation migrants in the school environment. Also, this study did not engage with the Department of Social Development (DSD), the biggest social welfare service provider in South Africa. Finally, this study concentrated on the experiences of integration among Zimbabwean second-generation migrants aged between 14 and 21 years. Thus, based on the above gaps and limitations, the researcher recommends that:

- Research should be done on the role and experiences of social workers at DSD providing services to second-generation migrants.
- A comparative study should be conducted with a sample of second-generation migrants from different nationalities and residence statuses.
- Research should be conducted with second-generation migrants who have completed matric, exploring their experiences after finishing high school.
- A study should be done looking specifically at relationships among all learners in different primary and high schools in South Africa.

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APPENDICES

Appendix one: Ethical clearance letter



Faculty of Humanities

Fakulteit Geesteswetenskappe
Lefapha la Bomotheo



10 October 2022

Dear Ms S Mpofu

Project Title: Challenges and opportunities for the integration of second-generation Zimbabweans in South Africa: Implications for social work with migrants
Researcher: Ms S Mpofu
Supervisor(s): Prof A Lombard
Department: Social Work and Criminology
Reference number: 19385260 (HUM017/0622)
Degree: Doctoral

I have pleasure in informing you that the above application was **approved** by the Research Ethics Committee on 10 October 2022. Please note that before research can commence all other approvals must have been received.

Please note that this approval is based on the assumption that the research will be carried out along the lines laid out in the proposal. Should the actual research depart significantly from the proposed research, it will be necessary to apply for a new research approval and ethical clearance.

We wish you success with the project.

Sincerely,



Prof Karen Harris
Chair: Research Ethics Committee
Faculty of Humanities
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
e-mail: tracey.andrew@up.ac.za

Appendix two: Semi-structured interview schedule for second-generation migrants

Semi-structured interview schedule for second-generation migrants

Goal of the study: To explore challenges and opportunities for integration of second-generation Zimbabweans in South Africa and the implications of their experiences for social work with migrants.

Biographical Details

1. Code Name:

2. Sex

Male			Female		Other		Prefer not to say	
------	--	--	--------	--	-------	--	-------------------	--

3. Age

14		15		16		17		18	
----	--	----	--	----	--	----	--	----	--

4. Home language

Ndebele		Shona		English	
---------	--	-------	--	---------	--

5. Are you attending school?

Not Attending school		Did not attend school	
Current grade		Grade completed	
1		1	
2		2	
3		3	
4		4	
5		5	
6		6	
7		7	
8		8	
9		9	
10		10	

11		11	
12		12	

6. If you are not attending school, which grade did you last complete and when?

7. Did you have gap years in between your schooling? If yes, how long?

8. Type of school

Government school		Private school	
-------------------	--	----------------	--

9. Migrant status in South Africa

Regular		Irregular	
---------	--	-----------	--

Questions

- Can you please tell me about your community you live in?
- How have you been experiencing your everyday life in the community thus far?
- What do you like about your community?
- What do you dislike about your community?
- What opportunities are there for you in the community to access?
 - School funding, after school activities – sports clubs, community activities – skills development programmes.
 - How do you utilise the opportunities that are in your community?
 - When facing difficulties, how do you overcome them?
- What services do you have access to in your community?
 - School
 - Clinic
 - Social work
 - Police
- What services do you want to access in your community that you do not have access to?
- In your experience, has being Zimbabwean mattered when it came to access to resources?
- Let us talk about you and your family in this community – do people in your community know that you and your family are from Zimbabwe?
- Do the members of your community know whether you are regular or irregular?

11. What are your community members' opinions about Zimbabwean migrants?
 - What are your community members' opinions around irregular migrants?
12. Considering your community's awareness/lack of awareness and opinions around your Zimbabwean migrant status, how do you fit in with the following people?
 - Zimbabwean peers
 - South African peers
 - Teachers at school
 - Adult community members
13. Looking at your family and yourself in the community, do you think what you are experiencing in the community is different from other Zimbabwean families?
14. Tell me about your family?
 - Composition of the family
 - Class of the family
 - Social status
 - Parents' hopes and dreams for the children and family
15. What do your parents say about their experiences of South Africa?
16. In what way do you think your parents' experiences are similar or different from yours?
17. Let us talk more about you, how did you come to be in South Africa as a Zimbabwean?
 - Were you born in South Africa?
 - Did you migrate from Zimbabwe at a young age?
 - If you migrated, at what age did you come to South Africa?
18. Going back to your community you live in and family, who do you fit in with, why do you say so?
19. How do you see yourself? Do you see yourself as a Zimbabwean or South African?
 - Why do you say so?
20. How do you feel about being born and raised in South Africa?
21. What are your thoughts on Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa?
22. Do you think you have a fair chance to achieve your goals, dreams, and aspirations as a Zimbabwean in South Africa?
23. Is there anything else that you would like to share with me?

Appendix three: Semi-structured interview schedule key informants

Semi-structured interview schedule for key informants

Goal of the study: To explore challenges and opportunities for integration of second-generation Zimbabweans in South Africa and the implications of their experiences for social work with migrants.

Biographical details

1. Code Name:

2. Gender:

Female	
Male	
Prefer to self-describe as	
Prefer not to say	

3. Nationality:

South African by birth	
South African by acquired citizenship	
Other nationality	

4. Profession:

5. Type of services rendered:

Social welfare	
Counselling	
Educational	
Legal	
Other voluntary community services	

5.1.If other, elaborate more

6. Length of working and interacting with children of migrants:

7. Type of organisation:

Government Organisation	Non-governmental organisation	Other
-------------------------	-------------------------------	-------

7.1 If other, please specify:

Questions

Professional background

1. Let us begin by talking about your work. Can you please tell me about your professional background?
2. In your line of work, do you work with children of migrants OR/AND migrant families?
 - Please explain if migrants come to you as family units OR/AND separately as children.
3. What has it been like rendering services to children of migrants OR/AND migrant families?
4. How would you describe your relationship with the children in terms of trusting you enough to open up?
 - Do you have short-term or long-term working relationships with the children?
 - How do you see the level of trust between you and the children?
 - How easy or difficult have the children you have dealt with found it to open up to you?
 - What has enabled the building of a trusting relationship?
 - What were some of the hindering factors?

Migrant children's experiences

5. I would now like us to move on to the children's daily experiences. Can you please share the key issues you encounter on a day-to-day basis when rendering services to children of migrants.
 - It can be both positive and negative.
6. What challenges and opportunities are encountered by the children in their communities and everyday spaces they exist in? For example,
 - Being a migrant.
 - Documentation.
 - Language.
 - Fitting with adults in the home environment.
 - Access to services such as schools, hospitals, and social workers.
 - Access to community resources.
7. In what ways do the relationships that children of migrants have with other people in their daily environments affect their wellbeing?

- Are the children being welcomed and embraced in these settings?
 - Are the children bullied or discriminated against in these settings?
 - How do children thrive with other children in these settings?
 - If they are not thriving, how is the children's well-being affected?
8. From your observations, in which ways are the everyday experiences of the children of Zimbabwean migrants similar or different from the children of South African citizens?
9. Also, from your engagement with the children, in what ways are the experiences of children of Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa different or similar in relation to:
- Documentation status
 - The class of the family
 - The location of their families: are they living in the inner city and migrant communities, townships, and middle-income areas?
10. In your observations, how do the children's experiences, compare to those of their parents or caregivers?
11. Overall, do you think that children have positive experiences in their everyday lives in South Africa?
- If yes or no, what do you say so?

Interventions by service providers

12. I would like us to talk about the interventions, where children face difficulties and barriers. How do you resolve their difficulties?
13. What challenges do you as a professional encounter when trying to advocate for children of migrants?
14. What positive experiences can you share from your work with migrant children?

Evaluation

I would like to end our discussion with evaluative questions:

15. In your opinion, are parents/caregivers and professionals able to fully comprehend the daily lived experiences of children of Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa?
16. What are your thoughts on regular (documented) or irregular (undocumented) Zimbabwean children of migrants in South Africa?
17. Finally, in our discussion, I might have left out some points that you would like to talk about. Is there anything else that you would like to share with me from your experiences working with migrant children?

Appendix four: Informed consent letter for key informants



23/08/2022

Supervisor: Prof A Lombard
Researcher: Sharon Mpefu
Tel: 0786428328
E-mail: st19385260@up.ac.za

INFORMED CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN A RESEARCH STUDY KEY INFORMANTS

1. Title of the study: Challenges and opportunities of second-generation Zimbabweans in South Africa: Implications for social work with migrants.

2. Goal of the study: To explore challenges and opportunities for integration of second-generation Zimbabweans in South Africa and the implications of their experiences for social work with migrants.

3. Procedures: The study will use one-on-one semi-structured individual interviews, which will last about one hour. The interviews will be audio recorded with your consent. Afterwards, the interviews will be transcribed and analysed. The researcher and her two supervisors will have access to the tapes and the transcribed interviews. The interview tapes, transcripts and informed consent forms will be stored at the University of Pretoria for 10 years and destroyed afterwards. The researcher will write a research report for the university on the research findings of the study. The data will also be used for academic journal articles. If the data is used again, it will be for research purposes only.

4. Risks and discomforts: There are no known discomforts that may be endured by you as research participant. You may be uncomfortable in sharing information about your work. The researcher will do

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Hatfield 0028, South Africa
Tel: +27 (0)12- 420 2025 or +27-2030
Email: antonette.lombard@up.ac.za
www.up.ac.za

Faculty of Humanities
Fakulteit Geesteswetenskappe
Lefapha la Bometho

a debriefing with you after the interview and if required refer you to a professional colleague for further discussion.

5. Confidentiality: The researcher will protect your identity by ensuring that it remains unknown, so that nobody can identify who you are in the reported findings. In order to achieve this, the researcher kindly requests you not to reveal your identity to her. Additionally, when reporting on the findings, the researcher will not use your name. She will instead use a pseudonym in place of the name, for example Key Informant (KI) 1, which will only be known to the researcher who it refers to. Also, the researcher kindly asks to change certain biographical details, for example your place of employment.

5. Benefits: You will not receive any incentives for being involved in the study. As a research participant, you could indirectly benefit from the knowledge obtained, which can possibly help influence social work practice with migrants. The recommendations on migrant policy could benefit different professionals' work.

6. Participants' rights: Participation in the study is voluntary and participants have the right to withdraw from the study at any time without any consequences for them. You have the right to refuse to answer any question they do not wish to respond to. You also have the right to ask the researcher to stop recording the interview should they feel uncomfortable.

7. Person to contact: If you have questions or concerns relating to the study, you may contact Sharon Mpofo at 0786428328 or send an email to u19385260@tut.ac.za

Declaration

I, ..., understand my rights as a research participant, and I voluntarily consent to participate in this study. I understand what the study is about and how and why it is being conducted.

..... Date	 Place	 Participant's Signature
..... Date	 Place	 Researcher's Signature

Page 2 of 2

Appendix five: Informed consent letter for parents and caregivers



23/08/2022

Supervisor: Prof A Lombard
Researcher: Sharon Mpofoa
Tel: 0786428328
E-mail: ul9385266@up.ac.za

INFORMED CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN A RESEARCH STUDY KEY INFORMANTS

1. Title of the study: Challenges and opportunities of second-generation Zimbabweans in South Africa: Implications for social work with migrants.

2. Goal of the study: To explore challenges and opportunities for integration of second-generation Zimbabweans in South Africa and the implications of their experiences for social work with migrants.

3. Procedures: The study will use one-on-one semi-structured individual interviews, which will last about one hour. The interviews will be audio recorded with your consent. Afterwards, the interviews will be transcribed and analysed. The researcher and her two supervisors will have access to the tapes and the transcribed interviews. The interview tapes, transcripts and informed consent forms will be stored at the University of Pretoria for 10 years and destroyed afterwards. The researcher will write a research report for the university on the research findings of the study. The data will also be used for academic journal articles. If the data is used again, it will be for research purposes only.

4. Risks and discomforts: There are no known discomforts that may be endured by you as research participant. You may be uncomfortable in sharing information about your work. The researcher will do

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Lefapha la Bumantho

a debriefing with you after the interview and if required refer you to a professional colleague for further discussion.

5. Confidentiality: The researcher will protect your identity by ensuring that it remains unknown, so that nobody can identify who you are in the reported findings. In order to achieve this, the researcher kindly requests you not to reveal your identity to her. Additionally, when reporting on the findings, the researcher will not use your name. She will instead use a pseudonym in place of the name, for example Key Informant (KI) 1, which will only be known to the researcher who it refers to. Also, the researcher kindly asks to change certain biographical details, for example your place of employment.

5. Benefits: You will not receive any incentives for being involved in the study. As a research participant, you could indirectly benefit from the knowledge obtained, which can possibly help influence social work practice with migrants. The recommendations on migrant policy could benefit different professionals' work.

6. Participants' rights: Participation in the study is voluntary and participants have the right to withdraw from the study at any time without any consequences for them. You have the right to refuse to answer any question they do not wish to respond to. You also have the right to ask the researcher to stop recording the interview should they feel uncomfortable.

7. Person to contact: If you have questions or concerns relating to the study, you may contact Sharon Mpofu at 0786428328 or send an email to u19385260@tuks.co.za

Declaration

I, _____, understand my rights as a research participant, and I voluntarily consent to participate in this study. I understand what the study is about and how and why it is being conducted.

Date Place Participant's Signature

Date Place Researcher's Signature

Page 2 of 2

Appendix six: Assent letter for second-generation migrants



23/08/2022

Supervisor: Prof A Lombard
Researcher: Sheron Mpofu
Tel: 0786428328
E-mail: u19385260@uaks.co.za

ASSENT FORM TO PARTICIPATE IN STUDY

Greetings 

Hi, my name is Sheron Mpofu. I am a social work doctoral student at the University of Pretoria. I am doing a study to understand the challenges and opportunities experienced by children of Zimbabwean migrants. In this study, I wish to understand how it is like for you living in your community as a Zimbabwean child migrant. I am inviting you to go through this letter so that you understand what the study is all about and what is going to happen if you agree to participate in the study.

What exactly will happen? 

If you agree to be a part of the study, you will sit down with me for an interview  and we will talk about all your experiences as a Zimbabwean child migrant in South Africa. The interview will be between 40 to 60 minutes . If that is OK with you, the interview will be recorded  so that I can listen again to what you said and understand your experiences more.

Is there anything to be afraid of? 

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Lefapha la Bumantho

There is nothing that you should be afraid of. No harm will come to you or your family because you shared your experiences with me. However, it may be when we are talking in the interview that you may feel unhappy about your everyday life as a child of a Zimbabwean migrant in your community. If I ask any question that makes you feel uncomfortable to answer you have the freedom to decide whether you want to answer it or not. You can also ask me to stop recording at any time if you want to. If after the interview you feel sad 😞, you can talk to me, and I will listen. If you still feel sad, I can ask a counsellor to help you if you want me to do so.

Are there benefits for joining the study? 📁

You will not receive any money or gifts for your participation. If you agree to participate in this study, you and other Zimbabwean child migrants in South Africa could benefit from the outcomes/results of the study. I will make recommendations to social workers who help migrants and people in government who make laws for migrant children in South Africa.

What rights do I have? 📖

Even though your parent or guardian have given you permission to be a part of the study, you can still decide yourself by telling me if you want or do not want to be a part of the study. If you agree to participate in the study, it should be your choice, and no one should force you. You will be free to stop talking and excuse yourself from the study at any time, and if you do so no one will be angry or punish you.

Who will know that I joined the study? 😊

Your parent or guardian will know that you are being interviewed, because they will give you permission for this. But if they give you permission, they will not know what you said during the interview. I will use the information that you give me to write a report on my research for the University of Pretoria and write papers to be presented at conferences and published in academic journals. However, I will not use your name when writing the report and papers. I will use an imaginary name in place of your name so that nothing that you say can identify who you are in any of these writings. After I have finished the study, I will submit all this information to the University of Pretoria, where it will be kept safely for 10

Any questions? 🤔 🤔 🤔

Faculty of Humanities
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 Lefapha la Bomotheo

years. Thereafter it will be destroyed. If I use the research information before then, it will only be for further research purposes.

Any questions? 🤔 🤔 🤔

Page 2 of 3

If you have any questions you wish to ask me about the interview, you can call me on 0786428328 or email me at u19385260@tuks.co.za Would you like to join the study?

Would you like to join the study?

Yes ☐ I would like to join the study

No ☐ I would not like to join the study

Name of child: _____

Date: _____

Researcher: _____

Date: _____

Page 3 of 3

Appendix seven: Positionality statement



Faculty of Humanities

Fakulteit Geesteswetenskappe
Lefapha la Bomotheo

Department of Social Work & Criminology



11 April 2023

Supervisor: Prof Antoinette Lombard
Researcher: Sheron Mpofu
Tel: 078 642 8328
E-mail: u19385260@hums.co.za

To whom it may concern

Dear Parent/Guardian,

Positionality statement: Ms. Sheron Mpofu

I am Sheron Mpofu. I am a social work doctoral student at the University of Pretoria. I am doing a study to understand the challenges and opportunities experienced by children of Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa. I would like to share with you my position on the topic that I am researching and on which I am hoping, with your permission, to engage your children. I believe it would be important to you as parents to learn about my position on the subject before considering whether to allow me to interview your children.

There are three things I would like you to know about me: I am a Zimbabwean national and migrant living in South Africa, I am a social worker by profession, and also a researcher. As a researcher, I have done a study in 2018 on the experiences of Zimbabwean migrant parents raising children under migrant conditions in South Africa. The findings from that study made me decide that it is important to do a follow-up study with children of Zimbabwean migrants living in South Africa. I would also like to say that even though I am a Zimbabwean migrant, researcher, and social worker I am not aware of all the Zimbabwean child migrant experiences in South Africa. I do not have the knowledge on what your children know who are going through these experiences. In fact, as adults, we cannot assume or claim to have full knowledge on how children

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think about their living experiences unless we allow them to speak for themselves and tell us about their experiences. However, as a Zimbabwean migrant and researcher, I am aware of some of the challenges experienced by Zimbabwean children in South Africa, and they are of deep concern to me. I am also aware of some of the opportunities experienced by Zimbabwean migrant children living in South Africa, and believe it is important to hear children's voices on these, too.

Against this background, I appreciate that as concerned parents you might still have concerns about your children participating in this study. If that is consoling to you in making your decision to allow your children to participate in my study, as I said, I am a social worker. I am legally and ethically bound not to cause harm to children but to protect them. Because I want to protect children, I respect their voices and I want to contribute to a better life for them in line with what is in their best interest. Their identities will not be revealed, and I will give them pseudo-names in my study so that no information that they share with me will be traceable back to them. My sole interest in speaking to your children is to get their views on what they think should be done to change the way forward for better integration in South Africa. The outcome of my study will make specific recommendations in this regard which will hopefully influence policies pertaining to Zimbabwean and other migrant children and families in South Africa, and beyond.

I respect your and your children's choice about whether or not they should participate in this study. Therefore, even if you give me permission to approach your child(ren) to be interviewed, I will also obtain their assent to proceed. I will answer all possible questions not addressed in this letter to facilitate your and your child's decision to participate in the study or not. I am available to answer your questions in person before and after the interviews. However, if you and your child have further questions or concerns about the study after the interview, you can also contact me on my mobile phone at 078 642 8328 or e-mail me at y19385260@up.ac.za

Yours sincerely,

Sharon Mpofu
RESEARCHER

Room 10-21.1, Humanities Building
University of Pretoria, Private Bag X20
Hatfield 0028, South Africa
Tel +27 (0)12 620 2325/2630
Email Antoinette.Lombard@up.ac.za | www.up.ac.za

Appendix eight: Consent to conduct study Jesuit Refugees Services



PERMISSION LETTER FROM JESUIT REFUGEE SERVICES

09 JUNE 2021

For attention: Prof. Lombard
Department of Social Work and Criminology
University of Pretoria

Dear Prof Lombard

RESEARCH CONDUCTED IN JESUIT REFUGEE SERVICES

With this letter, JRS is giving permission to PhD Degree Social Work student from the University of Pretoria to conduct her research in our organization.

We have a project that offers livelihood programmes to Refugees, asylum seekers, migrants and south Africans women staying in the urban cities of Johannesburg and Pretoria. JRS will be able to provide the student with a list of parents from Zimbabwe of which the student will contact and seek permission and consent for the children she will need for her research. JRS will also provide her with a venue to conduct the interviews. We think it is a wonderful research project and will give our support in any way possible.

If you need any more information, please contact our social worker, Thato Masuku on 064 903 2684

Kind regards



MS TEREDA VAN HEERDEN
LIVELIHOODS CO-ORDINATOR: JRS SOUTH AFRICA

Appendix nine: Consent to conduct study Future Families



Office Number: 073 190 1276 | www.futurefamilies.co.za
IL Village, Uvorno Suite, Building 4, Perseus Techno Park, Meiring Naude Road, Pretoria,
South Africa | NPO 084-926

Empowering families to create their own future

3 June 2022

Ms Sheron Mpofu
University of Pretoria

Dear Ms Mpofu

This is to confirm that Future Families gives you consent for:

- you to facilitate access to possible participants for the study
- you to access to review available documents at the organisation relating to Zimbabwean migrants.

I look forward to hearing when you have ethics clearing to begin your studies.

Yours sincerely

PD Learmonth

Appendix ten: Confirmation of counselling sessions Jesuit Refugee Services



Jesuit Refugee Service South Africa
13, 5th Street, La Rochelle, 2190
Tel: +27 (0)11 614 9380
Fax: +27 (0)11 614 9360
www.jrs.net
NPO 006-739

COUNSELING SESSIONS WITH PARTICIPANTS OF A RESEARCH STUDY

Dear Prof Lombard and Sheron Mpofu

With this letter, JRS is giving permission for conducting counselling services with participants of the research study conducted by the PhD Degree Social work student from University of Pretoria. These services will be conducted by registered social workers stated below. Please note that these services will be offered free of charge.

If you need more information, please do not hesitate to contact the social workers

Thato Masuku- 0649032684

Beata Sebakwiye- 0746920076.

Kind regards,

Tereda van Heerden

Livelihoods co-ordinator

Jesuit Refugee Services