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## **Lost in Transition**

The Barriers to Educational Access for school-age Zimbabwe Migrant Children in South Africa and the influences of institutional and social networks on overcoming them

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2011

I hereby declare that this thesis has not been and will not be, submitted in whole or part to another University for the award of any other degree.

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DOCTORATE IN PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION

**LOST IN TRANSITION:****THE BARRIERS TO EDUCATIONAL ACCESS FOR SCHOOL-AGE ZIMBABWE MIGRANT CHILDREN IN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE INFLUENCES OF INSTITUTIONAL AND SOCIAL NETWORKS ON OVERCOMING THEM**SUMMARY

This thesis aims to deepen our understanding of the barriers that migrant children face in accessing quality education in their host country. It has identified gaps in the research on education of cross-border migrant children in a setting which promotes integration into the host community, and which does not use camps. The research is based in a small border town in northern South Africa and focuses on the recent influx of Zimbabwean migrants into South Africa as a result of political crisis and economic collapse in their homeland. This community was chosen because it is believed to be illustrative of the broader problems faced by cross-border migrant children.

The thesis is structured around three central questions, focusing on (i) understanding who these migrant children are and their reasons for migration, (ii) the barriers they face in accessing quality basic education and (iii) the social and institutional networks that influence these children and the role the networks play in overcoming these barriers. The research examines the role of the state and the international community in the provision of support for this marginalised group. It further assesses the influence of social and institutional networks on migrants and the tactics they employ to overcome the barriers to educational success.

The study used both quantitative and qualitative research methods, with the majority of data collected through an in-depth survey of 100 migrant children, between the ages of 6 and 17, and 35 parent/guardians. In addition, focus group discussions with teachers and interviews with 12 school principals were conducted. The views of members of the local Municipality involved with migrant children were also sought.

The literature review revealed that, while there has been some research on barriers to education in camp settings, there is very limited research on educational access for migrant children integrating into host communities. This study has been able to contribute to this thin body of knowledge by demonstrating that as well as facing the traditional educational access barriers (lack of infrastructure, educational costs, enrolment requirements and social exclusion), integrating migrant children are faced with additional access barriers largely linked to their legal status (civil status, residence, status of guardians).

The research identified the difficulties of obtaining the necessary legal status and some important shortcomings of the current migrant classification system. Getting the right documentation to obtain legal status often placed unreasonable burdens on the children and forced them into a catch 22 situation where they needed to return to their homeland to procure documents required for admission to school but doing so automatically invalidated the claims to refugee status. This particular study also highlighted the difficulty in classifying migrants who have fled from a country (Zimbabwe) that is not officially recognised as a conflict zone despite the characteristics of the Zimbabwean migrant situation being largely indistinguishable from classical conflict driven migration.

The thesis concludes by recommending steps to change the definition and typology of migrants and points to the policy changes, with regard to support of migrant children that are required. The definitions should be changed to cater for the individual needs of the children so that legal and bureaucratic requirements do not present such an impediment to education.

The thesis identified the large role of both the social and institutional networks of the migrant children in overcoming access barriers. This points to an area of valuable further research, which could provide a foundation for better policy development and implementation strategies that recognise the social and institutional dynamics that influence the decisions and choices made by migrant children and their parents.

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## Abbreviations

AIDS	.....	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ADB	.....	African Development Bank
ANC	.....	African National Congress
BEAM	.....	Basic Education Assistance Module
CIA	.....	Central Intelligence Agency
CIO	.....	(Zimbabwe) Central Intelligence Organization
CLC	.....	Comprehensive Learning Centre
CNN	.....	Cable News Network
CoRMSA	.....	Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa
CREATE	.....	Consortium for Educational Access, Transition and Equity
DHA	.....	Department of Home Affairs
DoE	.....	Department of Education
DRC	.....	Democratic Republic of Congo
DSD	.....	Department of Social Development
EFA	.....	Education for All
EMIS	.....	Education Management Information Systems
ESAP	.....	Economic Structural Adjustment Program
FMO	.....	Forced Migration Online
FMSP	.....	Forced Migrations Studies Program
GBP	.....	British Pound
GDP	.....	Gross Domestic Product
GMR	.....	Global Monitoring Report
HSRC	.....	Human Science Research Council
IDMC	.....	Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre
IDP	.....	Internally Displaced People
IMF	.....	International Monetary Fund
INEE	.....	Inter-agency Network for Education in Emergencies
INGO	.....	International Non-Governmental Organization
IOM	.....	International Organization for Migration
IRC	.....	International Rescue Committee
IRIN	.....	Integrated Regional Information Networks
LiEP	.....	Language in Education Policy
MDC	.....	Movement for Democratic Change
MDG	.....	Millennium Development Goals
MOU	.....	Memorandum of Understanding
MOVC	.....	Migrants, Orphans and Vulnerable Children
MSF	.....	Medecins Sans Frontiers
NGO	.....	Non-Governmental Organization
OECD	.....	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
OVC	.....	Orphan and Vulnerable Children
PF-ZAPU	.....	Patriotic Front – Zimbabwe African Peoples Union
PTA	.....	Parent and Teacher Association
PTA	.....	Parent Teachers Association
RA	.....	Research Assistant

RCP	-----	Refugee Children Project
RRO	-----	Refugee Reception Office
RSA	-----	Republic of South Africa
	-----	Southern and East African Consortium on Monitoring
SACMEQ	-----	Educational Quality
SADC	-----	South African Development Community
SAPS	-----	South African Police Service
SASA	-----	South African Schools Act
Save-UK	-----	Save the Children UK
SGB	-----	School's Governing Body
SMG	-----	Soutpansberg Military Grounds
SMT	-----	School Management Team
UN	-----	United Nations
UNESCO	-----	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNESCO-	-----	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
IBE	-----	– International Bureau of Education
UNHCR	-----	United National High Commission for Refugees
UNICEF	-----	United Nations Children's Fund
UNRWA	-----	United Nations Relief and Works Agency
UP	-----	Universal Primary Education
UPE	-----	Universal Primary Education
URC	-----	United Reform Church
USD	-----	United States Dollar
WFP	-----	World Food Programme
Wits EPU	-----	University of Witwatersrand Education Policy Unit
ZANU-PF	-----	Zimbabwe African Nation Unity – Patriot Front
ZAR	-----	South African Rand
ZD	-----	Zimbabwe Dollar

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**Abstract**

A significant body of research defines many of the barriers to education access faced by school-age children around the world. This thesis examines a gap in the research related to the unique access barriers faced by cross-border migrants integrating into the host community. This research examines both the traditional access barriers that migrant children are faced with and additional obstacles along their pathway to attaining quality education, and argues it is the social and institutional networks of these migrants that influence their success in overcoming these barriers. Firstly, this research identifies the characteristics of a specific migrant group in South Africa to gain a full understanding of who these children are. Then, the barriers to education are examined through an evaluation of current education policies in South Africa, their implementation, and the implications for migrant children. The influence of institutional and social networks is further analysed through the breakdown of the barriers these children face and the involvement of these networks along the way. This study also identifies the additional access barriers faced by migrant children, and the key role of institutional and social networks in overcoming these barriers.

## **Chapter 1: Introduction**

Globalisation, economic crises, conflict and environmental catastrophes have a strong impact on patterns of migration. With the influence of these factors, South Africa has seen an increase in migrants over the last decade. As a result, the South African government is faced with the challenge of an ever growing migrant population, including children needing basic services and access to education. South Africa, a developing country, already struggling with the provision of these basic services, including education, to its own people, is now faced with the additional strain of supporting an increasing migrant population.

Almost all countries struggle with the challenges of population displacement, whether internal or cross-border, and its consequences for education provision and access. The debate and international discourse on educational access has not sufficiently reflected the growing problem of migrant populations and their educational needs. If the MDG goal of universal primary completion is to be achieved, this growing problem needs to be seriously addressed. This study offers further understanding of the barriers to educational access for integrated migrants, examining in particular the gaps between official policy and its implementation, and providing further understanding of the formal and informal network structures that exist within integrated migrant communities. This understanding will facilitate better policy and implementation strategies to support migrant access to education.

Understanding the value and importance of education for children, this thesis uses the example of Zimbabwean migrant children in South Africa. The thesis examines the barriers which limit access to education faced by migrant children, and compares various pathways used by children who have managed to negotiate access to education. Having a better understanding of these pathways and barriers could help support this marginalised and growing group of children with targeted policies to improve access to education development and implementation.



### **1.1. Background**

Access to education has been high on the international agenda since the Education for All (EFA) Declaration at the 1990 World Conference on EFA in Jomtien. Ten years later the 2000 World Education Forum in Dakar, Senegal, developed the Dakar Framework for Action, which proposed formal steps and agreements towards meeting the EFA goals by 2015. The basic premise of the Millennium Development Goals (MDG), Universal Primary Education (UPE) and the Education for All (EFA) goals was the States' recognition of and commitment to education as a basic human right (Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948; the Convention of the Rights of a Child, 1989). These government declarations and goals made States responsible for the provision of education and access, along with the development of relevant strategies and policies to support this, to all within their borders. South Africa showed its commitment to the provision of education for all through the South African Constitution and the South African Schools Act.

Over the last twenty years the international community, including Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), United Nations (UN) agencies, and universities have focused research on the identification of educational access barriers. Studies in developing countries have identified that these access barriers include: physical access, poverty (economic), lack of documentation (birth certificates, immunisation records and proof of legal status), and social exclusion (language of instruction, racism, sexism, disabilities, xenophobia, teenage pregnancy and harassment) (Evans, 2002; Human Rights Watch, 2005; Ahmed et al, 2007; Akyeampong et al, 2007; Motala et al, 2007; Bandhopadhaya, 2008).

Governments and humanitarian assistance agencies have used many of these studies to support the development of various strategies and policies to aid in the removal of these barriers and ensure access to quality education. Examples include Government initiatives in Ghana, Sierra Leone and Angola, supported by international funding including the World Bank, African Development Bank (ADB), and UNICEF. These initiatives have led to the construction of additional schools and classrooms providing

more opportunities of physical access to many (Akyeampong et al, 2007; Jabbi, 2007; UNICEF, 2002). To reduce the economic barriers, countries such as Malawi, Kenya, Ethiopia, Ghana, Mozambique and South Africa are among the countries who have abolished school fees (Kadazmira and Rose, 2002; Oketch and Rolleston, 2007; UNICEF and World Bank, 2009). The governments of Sierra Leone and Angola, with donor support, provide teaching and learning materials to further reduce the education costs for those accessing schooling (Jabbi, 2007; UNICEF 2002). Burkina Faso and Côte d'Ivoire have launched initiatives with the United Nations to promote birth registration, attempting to remove this as an access barrier (IRIN, 2009; UNHCR, 2009). In an attempt to remove language as a barrier to receiving education, the government of South Africa implemented their Language in Education Policy (LiEP). This provides that, during their foundation years children are taught in their home language (RSA, 1997).

Although steps have been taken to remove access barriers in developing countries, more recent on the international agenda has been education provision for children affected by emergencies (conflict, natural disasters and humanitarian crises). As the number of countries affected by crises has risen, so too has the number of displaced children whose education has been affected. In 2009, the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNCHR) estimated that 43.3 million people worldwide (16.2 million refugees and asylum seekers and 27.1 million internally displaced people) had been forcibly displaced, the highest number since the mid-1990s (UNHCR, 2010). Of these refugees and asylum seekers, 41 percent were identified as children under the age of 18 (UNHCR, 2010). Large numbers of these displaced children are out of school, being denied their human right to education due to factors beyond their control.

Emergency Education, a relatively young field, has focused on the educational opportunities of children affected by conflict, natural disasters and humanitarian crises. The field has not only created an awareness of the value and importance of education to create stability and protection for the children (UNHCR, 2001), but has begun to identify strategies to overcome access barriers to ensure these children have equal access to quality education even during times of crisis. While Dryden-Peterson

(2010) demonstrates that migrant children face similar access barriers to those in developing countries, she identified displacement to be the greatest challenge for access to education.

Research by the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC) reported that displaced children were unable to attend school largely due to the high cost of education or lack of schools in the areas of displacement (2009). These barriers are heightened due to the extreme poverty and marginalisation of this group (Dryden-Peterson, 2010; Horst, 2006; Jacobsen, 2005). Horst (2006) found their restricted movements result in a lack of livelihood opportunities, which in turn increase migrants' inability for self-sustainability, and create reliance on the international community. Xenophobia in host countries further marginalises the displaced children (Dryden-Peterson, 2010). Migrants who integrate are often unable to gain access to the services in their host country (Jacobson, 2005). Although displacement is a fast growing world problem, Dryden-Peterson (2010) noted that there is limited research on education and displacement and it is an area in need of further study, especially with regard to the impact of the relationship between host community and migrants on education access.

Approaches to education access and education policy for migrants are critically influenced by the state's refugee (migrant) policy. Refugee (migrant) policy generally falls into one of two broad categories: camp and integration. Sierra Leone, Tanzania, Jordan and Palestine have adopted a "camp" policy in which the UN and humanitarian/aid agencies provide for the migrants basic needs – food, shelter, health care and educational support. In countries with a policy of "integration", such as the United States of America, United Kingdom, Uganda and South Africa, migrants are left to their own devices to satisfy their basic needs (food and shelter). Once registered and legal they are then granted the permission to access public social services such as health care and education.

There has been active discussion about the pros and cons of both approaches since the 1960s. Recent research further fuels the debate and offers evidence that there has

been an increase in the number of migrants living within host communities (Black, 1998b; Harrell-Bond, 1998; Fielden and Crisp, 2008; Harrell-Bond, 2000; Crisp and Jacobson, 1998). UNCHR has found that since 2007 refugees living within the host communities (integration) outnumber those living in camps, and this gap has continued to increase in favour of integration (UNCHR, 2010).

With the literature on forced migrant access to education largely focused on education provision in refugee camps, there is a need to better understand educational access for those integrating into the host community in order to provide better feedback on the current policies and their implementation on the ground.

Camp settings provide an environment with formalised structures and networks that are designed to work together to best support the refugee (migrant). Formalised networks between the humanitarian/aid agencies are organised and structured, to support the migrants during their displacement (Harrell-Bond, 2000). In situations of integration, migrants rely on the support and information from other migrants or sympathetic locals to meet their basic needs (food, shelter) and to access social services (health care and education) (Massay et al., 1993; Polzer, 2008). These social networks are invaluable for these migrants (Polzer, 2008). There may be institutional arrangements for humanitarian assistance set up, but links between the structures are usually informal or slow to develop. Understanding the links between these actors in these institutional networks, and their perceptions and involvement with the migrants, may help further understanding of the barriers to educational access for this marginalised group. With more than two thirds of the world's refugee population integrating into host communities (UNHCR, 2010), there is a need to further understand these institutional and social networks and the nature of their involvement in facilitating educational access for migrants.

## **1.2. Migrants and Host Community**

The Zimbabwean migration into South Africa provides a rich context for this study, for several reasons.

Zimbabwe, a country once hailed as an African success story, is now facing the impact of a failed economy, political unrest and a collapse of the education system. All these factors have resulted in a mass exodus into the surrounding countries. Much of this migration has been presented as economic, which is not classified as a reason for asylum thus making gaining legal status (asylum/refugee) in the neighbouring countries challenging. On closer evaluation of this migration, however, the important factors driving the exodus include violence, human rights violations and political persecution (see Chapter 3, Section 3.1.1).

South Africa has undergone, in a surprisingly brief time, a significant national evolution. Despite its discriminatory past, the country is committed to providing non-discriminatory equal quality education to all. Following the collapse of the apartheid regime, the government has shown its commitment to education as a human right, working to fulfil the MDG goals through policy reform and development. These policy reforms include the Fee-Free Schooling policy (RSA, 2008), policy for government subsidies for uniforms and transportation (RSA, 2009), and the implementation of the Language in Education Policy (RSA, 1996a). Each of these policies and its implementation has its own challenges, but each shows the government's commitment to the provision of education for all in South Africa.

The policy reforms on education do not take into account the demand for education from an ever increasing migrant population. Currently the government has no policies specifically designed to help with the integration of these non-nationals into South African culture and society. The response to the large numbers of refugees in South Africa, with the support of UNHCR (and its implementing partners) was to develop a 2009 strategic plan to address the issues of documentation, employment, shelter, food and education (UNHCR, 2009). Arrangements to implement the plan are slowly being developed and put into place. Until there are formalised institutional frameworks and strategies, migrants must rely on their own social networks for survival. Given that this transition is under way, South Africa provides an interesting context for a better understanding of educational access of migrants in a less formalised, less structured

system than a refugee camp.

### **1.3. Research Questions**

The research questions for this study focus on developing a better understanding of the challenges to educational access that migrants face in an environment where they integrate into their host country's society.

The first question has an anthropological focus designed to further our understanding of who these children are and to identify the differences and similarities with other children. This question is broken into two parts. The first part focuses on their identity, who these migrant children are, while the second part focuses on their educational beliefs, experiences and expectations before and after migration.

#### **Research Question 1:**

*a. What are the characteristics of Zimbabwean child migrants?*

The focus of this question is to understand: (i) which groups of children are migrating (age, gender, family status, livelihood status etc.), (ii) their geographic origins in Zimbabwe, (iii) their home-language, (iv) their motivations for migration, (v) their legal status and (vi) their movements once in South Africa. All this results in a picture of exactly who these children really are and the barriers they may face.

The second part of this question is:

*b. What are their experiences and perceptions with regard to education?*

Having experienced the collapse in the Zimbabwe education system, and forced or voluntary migration into South Africa, the second part of this question is to understand (i) their experiences and perceptions with regard to education, (ii) the educational experiences of the children in their home country (Zimbabwe) and in their host country (South Africa), (iii) the migrant children's aspirations and values with regard to education in their home country, (iv) the way those values interact with their desire for education and experiences of continuing education in South Africa. All this leads to an

understanding of the barriers to access these children faced while in Zimbabwe and the barriers they now face in South Africa.

Having a better understanding of this migrant group – who they are and the barriers to educational access they face – leads to question 2.

**Research Question 2:** *What are the social, institutional (schools and DoE), political and economic factors that interact to determine what access the Zimbabwe child migrant has to education within South Africa?*

This focuses on the diverse groups and individuals (nodes) who help migrant children gain access to education. The purpose of this question is to examine (i) the challenges, (ii) responses to the education needs of migrant children, (iii) the interpretations of the policy and the perceptions of the migrant access of those groups working with the migrant children. The literature review highlights that it is not formal policy alone, but rather the interpretation and implementation of that policy that removes barriers to education access (Jansen and Sayed, 2001; Kahn, 1996). The analysis necessitates a review of how South African education and migrant policies are interpreted and implemented in the schools, and their effectiveness in meeting the access needs of the migrant children.

The identification of various people and institutions involved in the education access of migrants, and their perspectives on the challenges faced by these children, lays the foundation for the final research question.

**Research Question 3:** *What are the social and institutional networks that migrant children interact with and what is the nature of their engagement with these networks in relation to seeking access to schooling in South Africa?*

This question focuses on: (i) the roles and perceptions of different actors and their responsibilities with regard to education of the migrant children, (ii) the ways in which social and institutional networks influence the pathways to educational access for migrants, (iii) the role these networks play in filling policy gaps and examining what is actually happening on the ground level, and (iv) how these networks facilitate

educational access. All this supports a careful examination of policy and practice to identify the changes needed for improvement of policy development and the educational access for migrants.

#### **1.4. Structure of the thesis**

This thesis consists of 8 chapters, including this introduction (Chapter 1).

Chapter 2, the Literature Review, uses a review of the international literature to develop an analytical framework for this study, providing a structure for the data collection and analysis. The literature covers educational access barriers, facilitators for access and the responses of governments in developing countries to these barriers of access. It exposes the limited research on internally and externally displaced children and their educational access. The thesis then examines the governments' responses and the policies and procedures in place, and how they influence access. This approach exposes the challenge of policy development and implementation and highlights how further research into these challenges could provide a broader understanding of access barriers. The literature review goes on to analyse the involvement of social and institutional networks in the migration process, and their influences on access to education. Finally, the review identifies the gaps in the empirical and theoretical literature in the field on which the study focuses.

Chapter 3 provides a more detailed context for the empirical research, by exploring the background behind the mass exodus from Zimbabwe. This section explains the crisis in Zimbabwe: the country's economic collapse, the political unrest, the rise and fall of the Zimbabwean education system, and how these factors resulted in the migration of its people. The chapter also examines the implications for the South African authorities and their response to the crisis in Zimbabwe and the subsequent large influx of migrants. Chapter 3 reviews South African educational access barriers, government responses, and how these affect the migrant children, setting the scene for the empirical work.



Chapter 4 details the research questions, methods and methodology. The political and legal scope of this research raised significant ethical and security issues, which required the development of a unique methodological approach. Also established is the author's role and identity as a researcher, delving into the reasons for and background to this study. The section concludes by identifying and explaining the limitations and challenges of collecting data in this context.

Chapter 5 explores the first research question through an analysis of the field research results, to provide a broader picture of who these migrant children are. The chapter develops a basic understanding of a sample of these children in terms of their age, gender, reason for migration, beliefs, experiences and expectation of education, and how migration has affected these beliefs and expectations. Using the empirical evidence, the chapter highlights the barriers of access the children have faced, including dropout in their home country and attempts to access schooling in South Africa. It also examines the expectation and experiences of those currently enrolled in education in South Africa, as opposed to those who are not, providing a framework for understanding the experiences and motivations of the two groups.

Chapter 6 addresses the second research question by examining the empirical evidence provided by non-nationals in the initial surveys, highlighting the impact the existing education policies in the host country have on them. The chapter examines each of the major policies in light of their intended outcome and success in implementation in the field. From this emerges a graphic illustration of the gaps between policy and implementation, and how those discrepancies influence educational access of migrant children.

Chapter 7 addresses the third research question. The analysis of the fieldwork provides the groundwork for an understanding of the involvement and influences of social and institutional networks in supporting the pathways to educational access for migrant children. It explores how understanding the various groups and individuals (nodes), their connections (ties) and influences of these institutional and social networks on

migrant children could help to better design and implement policy for migrants is addressed. Chapter 7 uses interviews with various actors involved to construct an analytic-descriptive map of the networks to understand better their links to and influences on educational access.

Chapter 8 concludes the research. It highlights key themes and makes policy recommendations for the government's and international community's responses to the challenges faced by non-nationals integrating into the education system in South Africa.

## **CHAPTER 2: Review of the Field**

Chapter 2 is a literature review of topics related to the research in this thesis. The chapter is divided into two broad themes: educational access and cross-border migrants.

Section 2.1 reviews the vast literature on educational access, including (i) education as a human right, and (ii) defining 'access' and 'exclusion' from education, which provides an understanding of terminology (Section 2.1.1). This is followed by a review of the literature on (i) the traditional access barriers to education and accessing quality education once in schools (Section 2.1.1.1), and (ii) government responses to these barriers (Section 2.1.1.2).

With the focus of this research on migrant children, Section 2.1.2 reviews the limited literature on the educational access of migrant children, with special attention to the barriers this marginalised group faces, followed by various governmental responses to these challenges.

Section 2.2 reviews the literature of migration and cross-border movements to give a better understanding of who these migrant children are and the challenges they face. Section 2.2.1 reviews of the theories of migration, and thus is a background to a key aspect of this research - the development of Network Theory. Elaboration occurs through a review of the literature on (i) the definition of migration, (ii) the types of migration, (iii) the international agreements made and (iv) the rights of migrants (Section 2.2.2).

Section 2.3 summarises the links between the two sections and identifies the gaps found in the literature, establishing the framework for this thesis.

## **2.1. Access to Education**

### **2.1.1. Access and Education - A Human Right**

Since the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Article 26) was ratified in 1948, the international community has struggled to deliver on the pledge ensuring education as a human right. Subsequent to the 1948 pledge on education, the international community's growing commitment to this cause has been further strengthened through additional international policies and agreements: (i) the United Nations conventions and charters; (ii) Article 13 of the 1966 International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (United Nations, 1966); and (iii) Article 28 of the 1989 United Nations Convention of the Rights of a Child (United Nations, 1989).

At the 1990 Education for All (EFA) meeting in Jomtien, the international community committed to supporting this right and ensuring educational access for all. The 2000 Dakar World Education Forum Framework for Action (UNESCO, 2000) renewed this commitment, and established strategies to support the initiatives to achieve universal primary education by 2015.

Despite the international community's agreements to ensure education for all and strategies to help achieve this goal, large numbers of children still do not have access to quality education. In its 2009 Millennium Development Report, the United Nations stated that in 2007 "...72 million children worldwide were denied the right to education..." with the vast majority of these found in developing countries (2009: 15).

Strategies for improving access are largely dependent on the definition of access and the government's initial response to the problem. Many developing countries, like those in Sub-Saharan Africa, have dedicated their resources to a rapid expansion of their education systems, offering free primary education and constructing additional infrastructure (Lewin and Akyeampong, 2009). This rapid expansion of the education system often results in degraded, uneven education quality and education budgets in deficit.

Zimbabwe provides a graphic illustration of this phenomenon (Chung, 2008). Despite system expansion increasing enrolment, gross and net enrolment does not define 'access', since these measures fail to capture the attrition rate and the quality of education and its outcomes (Lewin and Akyeampong, 2009). They point out that this limited definition of access disguises 'silent exclusion' (children who are enrolled but not learning), and "...conceals patterns of participation related to household income, location, gender and disadvantages..." (143). Access is more than just physical access to and enrolment in a school. It includes quality education, attendance, learning and progression through the schooling cycle (Lewin, 2009). Lewin (2009b) believes meaningful access includes (i) regular attendance, (ii) progression through grades, (iii) learning, (iv) access and transition to post-primary education and (v) equitable opportunities to quality education. But these indicators are hard to measure, while high enrolment rates offer a simple, if limited, signal to donors and the international community, thus obscuring some of the harsh realities behind gross enrolment gains.

The Consortium for Research on Educational, Access, Transitions and Equity (CREATE) has developed the concept of "Zones of Exclusion" to categorise and graphically represent spaces where children are being excluded from, or at risk of being excluded from, education. Understanding these zones provides a better understanding of who these children are and what strategies could be implemented to ensure their access to education.

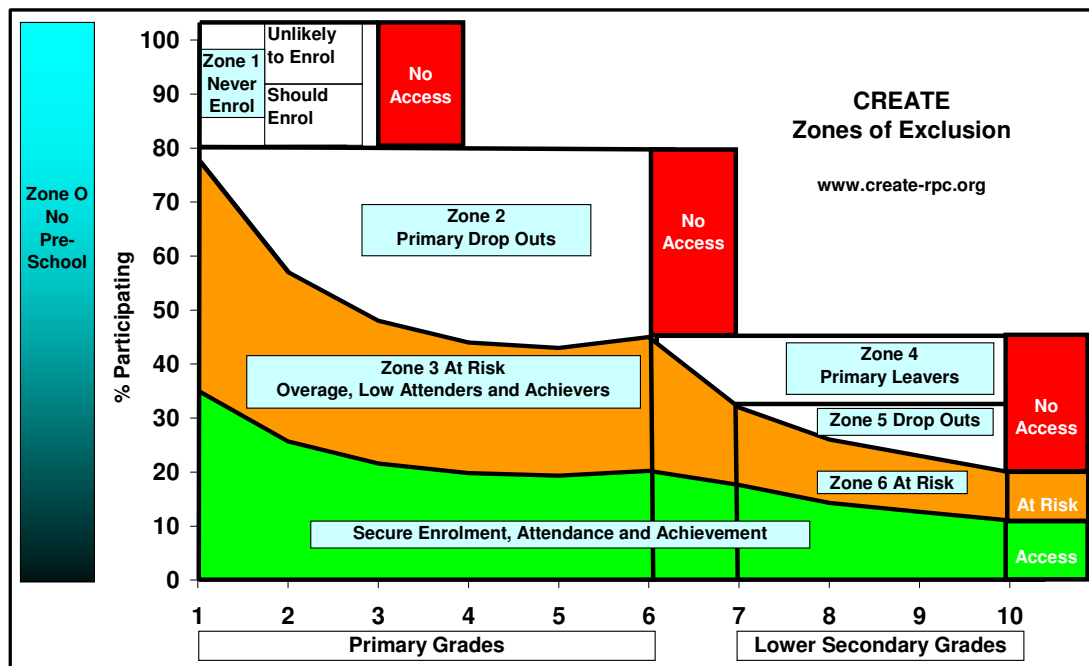


Figure 1: CREATE Conceptual Model of the Zones of Exclusion<sup>1</sup>

Zone 1: children who have been denied the opportunity to access education, and have never enrolled.

Zone 2: children who have accessed education but then were excluded after initial entry and drop out.

Zone 3: children currently enrolled but at risk of dropping out

Zone 4: children excluded from accessing secondary schooling

Zone 5: those who entered secondary schooling but dropped out

Zone 6: those enrolled in secondary schooling but at risk of dropping out

For governments to meet the EFA and MDG goals of universal primary education and ensure children are benefiting from education access, it is essential to provide support to children at all levels in the Zones of Exclusion. The barriers to education are not only physical access (affecting Zones 1 and 4), but also include barriers that affect retention, progression and drop out (Zones 2, 3, 5 and 6). Lewin (2009) found that although supply and quality of schooling (such as school location, teacher development and provision of learning material) is important for those who have been excluded from education, it is the demand side that shapes schools entry, progression, completion

<sup>1</sup> Image available from CREATE webpage: <http://www.create-rpc.org/about/background/>

and transition. It is therefore important for access improvement strategies to focus on both the supply and demand side of education, to ensure all six zones of exclusion are addressed. Migrants fall into all of the categories, often denied access to schooling in the host countries due to legal status or because they have lost years in transition due to complicated lives and have become over age in grade as a result (Zones 1, 2 and 4). Others who gain educational access in host countries are at risk of dropping out or do drop out for many of the same reasons as the vulnerable poor non-migrant students (Zones 3, 5 and 6).

Research by Evans (2002), Human Rights Watch (2005) and various studies by CREATE<sup>2</sup> have identified barriers excluding children from access to quality education. These barriers include (i) lack of infrastructure (physical access), (ii) inability to cover educational costs (economic), and (iii) inability to meet enrolment requirements (lack of documentation: birth certificates, immunisation records, proof of legal status). In addition, the quality of education received, which affects progression and drop-out rates, includes quality of teaching and learning, and social exclusions (language of instruction, sexism, racism, xenophobia, teenage pregnancy and harassment, and disability). Migrants experience these more common barriers along with those more specific to their position, for example, the requirement to provide documentation of their legal status for access.

#### **2.1.1.1. Barriers to accessing schools (Exclusion Zones 1 and 4)**

##### **a. Physical access to schools**

Physical access has largely been presented as **the** major barrier to access. With the push of EFA, the international community, especially governments and donors, have responded by focusing their attention on increasing the number of schools and facilities available. World Bank supported projects in Ghana, the African Development Bank (ADB) supported programs in Sierra Leone, and UNICEF's support in Angola are examples of this (Akyeampong et al., 2007; Jabbi, 2007; UNICEF, 2002). CREATE

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<sup>2</sup> Consortium for Research on Educational, Access, Transitions and Equity - <http://www.create-rpc.org/>

research in India, Bangladesh and Ghana indicates physical access is still the major barrier for many, in particular marginalised groups such as girls and poor children in remote areas (Akyeampong et al., 2007, I, Ahmed et al., 2007). Although agencies are working together to ensure that physical access is no longer the leading barrier to access, resolving this problem alone is only a first step towards solving the problems of exclusion from education. In many cases this only becomes a barrier for migrants when they migrate. The migrants may have had physical access before they migrated, however they may lose this if they migrate to a place where the schools are over enrolled or they do not have the documentation required for access.

b. Economic barriers: Poverty and financing schooling

The direct costs of schooling and the inability to cover school fees have been identified as a significant barrier for education access globally (Evans, 2002; Ahmed et al., 2007, Bandhopadhyay, 2008; Human Rights watch, 2005:8, UNICEF/World Bank, 2009). This barrier affects the poor and marginalised groups. In Malawi, Kenya, Ethiopia, Ghana, Mozambique and South Africa, where governments have abolished school fees, rates of enrolment in schooling have increased dramatically (Kadazimira and Rose, 2002; Oketch and Rolleston, 2007; UNICEF and World Bank, 2009). Although this enrolment increase resulting from fee abolition represents an increase in initial access to schools, research has consistently pointed to a consequent decline in the quality of schooling provided, and often higher drop-out rates and declining attendance (Aventrup et al., 2004; Deuvger, 2003; Oketch and Rollerston, 2007; Kadzamira and Rose, 2002; Somerset, 2007; Ohaba, 2009).

Akyeampong et al. (2007), Rose (2002 in Ohaba, 2009), and Bodewig and Sethi, (2005) argue that even with the removal of school fees, education is not actually “free” to households and economic barriers still exist. Tomasevski (2006) and Motala and Sayed (2009) found that many school management teams or Parent Teacher Associations (PTAs) charge levies to help cover the running costs of the schools. Fleish and Woolman, (2004), Ohaba (2009), UNESCO-IBE (2009), Akyepmong (2009), Akyeampong et al. (2007) identified additional costs such as uniforms, books, stationery and



transportation, along with other hidden costs, which add to the financial constraints of households and the economic barrier of educational access. Rose (2002) found that when schools in Malawi became fee free, families were sending more children to school. However, this increased their household expenditure on education because they now had to provide school uniforms, learning materials and transportation to children, putting further financial strain on the household. In Sierra Leone and Angola, additional government initiatives, with donor support, such as the provision of teaching and learning materials has helped to reduce some of the educational costs of the children (Jabbi, 2007; UNICEF, 2002).

These additional educational costs have an impact on the families of children who are in school, not only in terms of the cost of schooling but also the loss of income from labour foregone; either directly from child labour income, or from the loss of income to adults who have to perform the child care/wood gathering/cattle herding that the children would usually perform if not in school.

This loss is also dependent on the age of the children and their gender. Females are often discouraged from attending schooling as they are needed at home to cook, clean and care for other children. This pattern may be reversed where school-aged boys are traditionally required to tend to livestock, such as in rural communities in Lesotho. Older children are often more likely to gain employment, and thus not be sent to school.

Given the economic hardships affecting most migrant households, children (and/or their families) need the income from the work to survive, and thus education is a lower priority than survival. Often, the opportunity cost of sending a child to school is simply too high for the family to bear. In addition migrants are often charged higher fees as they are outsiders. The United States and the United Kingdom are examples of two countries that charge “International Student Fees”.

c. Official barriers: Admission requirements and documentation

In many countries, birth certificates are a requirement for school admission, used as a form of identification, and to help determine age and nationality. Many people in developing countries do not have birth certificates and are thus denied access to schools (EFA GMR, 2009). There is international literature on the use of birth certificates in the process of school registration (Dow, 1998; Farid, 1999). Cases in India, Somalia, Zambia and South Africa highlight the denial of access due to lack of birth certificates (Asante, 2004; IRIN, 2009; Plan, 2005, Bandhopadhyay, 2008). The literature revealed that many births go unregistered due to the cost of certificates and the inability to acquire them (Sharp, 2005; Bandhopadhyay, 2008). In 2009 in Côte d'Ivoire, UNHCR was working with the government on a campaign to get children birth certificates, and removing that as a barrier to educational access (UNHCR, 2009). And in 2005 the UN launched a program for free birth registration in Burkina Faso (IRIN, 2009).

Birth certificates are the first documented connection between a child and the state. Having these certificates allows the state to provide for an accurate number of children in its territory and improve the chances of children accessing their legal right to social services. The rationale for requiring birth certificates for school entry is usually premised on proof of age, but it can also serve to exclude on grounds of national origin or other educationally irrelevant factors (Polzer, 2007). The extent to which it constitutes a barrier to access for migrant children will be considered in this research.

**2.1.1.2. Barriers to learning once in an education system – (Exclusion Zones 2, 3, 5 and 6)**

a. Quality of teaching and learning

Studies show that while the rapid expansion of education systems and fee abolition have resulted in increased facilities and increased enrolment, it has usually also led to a decrease in quality of education provision (Lewin, 2009; Lewin and Akyeampong,

2009; Avenstrup et al., 2004; Deuvger, 2003; Oketch and Rollerston, 2007; Kadzamira and Rose, 2002; Somerset, 2007; Ohaba, 2009). Lewin (2009) links low quality education provision with high dropout rates, and less progression to the next grade level.

#### b. Social exclusion

Language of instruction has been identified as a barrier to quality educational access in many countries, especially for minority groups and migrants. In Bangladesh, for example, there are 45 ethnic groups with their own languages. However the language of instruction is Bangla, and thus children whose mother tongue is not Bangla have additional challenges in accessing education (Ahmed et al, 2007). Bodewig and Sethi (2005) found the Roma children educated in Serbia and Montenegro who did not speak the mother tongue of the majority, faced additional challenges with educational quality access. Francophone refugees (Congolese, Rwandan and Burundi) in Uganda often struggle with the English medium of instruction, and, even if they do gain access to a school, they are usually placed in a lower grade due to inability to understand the teaching (Dryden-Peterson, 2003). As Fraser (1997) identified, the challenge is implementing mother-tongue education in multilingual countries where the variety of languages is large. Thus children whose mother tongue is not that of the school in which they are enrolled are at a disadvantage for receiving quality education. These children may have physical access to schools but they are still barred from access to learning.

### **2.1.2. Emergency Education: Education for Displaced Children**

#### a. Policy and theory

With over 50 percent of the world's "out of school children" from countries in conflict affected fragile states (Bird 2007; Dryden-Peterson, 2010; Save the Children, 2009b), there is a strong demand from the international community to ensure educational access for this large and growing marginalised group if the world is to meet the MDG and EFA goals by 2015.

Independent of this goal, there is a demand from the parents and children for education to improve their lives and reduce their poverty levels. These children have a right to education, just like all other children. The first push for this right to education for refugees and those in the “gravest” of situations was in UN conventions: The Geneva Convention for the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War (United Nations, 1950) and the Convention regulating the Status of Refugees – Article 22 (United Nations, 1951). These rights were further supported with inclusion in more recent international agreements such as the Jomtien Declaration (1990) and later the Dakar Framework for Action (2000), both including countries affected by emergencies. The Dakar Framework saw the international community identifying this challenge and specified that all countries should commit themselves to:

*“...meet[ing] the needs of education systems affected by conflict, natural calamities and instability and conduct educational programmes in ways that promote mutual understanding, peace and tolerance, and that help to prevent violence and conflict”*

(UNESCO, 2000).

Sommers (1999) argued that although the awareness has been raised and the commitment is there, the more recent international commitments to education (Jomtien in 1990) still failed to include strategies for response to the educational needs during or immediately after conflict or emergencies. In later years, Kagawa (2005) and Munoz (2008) agreed with Sommers (1999), adding that despite the commitment to education as a human right there is no consensus on whether education should be part of the humanitarian response, or if it should be seen purely as a development issue.

It was the path breaking “Machel Report” on “The Impact of Armed Conflict on Children” in 1996 led to the establishment of the Mandate of the Special Representative for Children in Armed Conflict, and a renewed focus on the rights of all children, including refugees and other displaced persons affected by conflict. Debate stimulated by this report led to description of education as the “fourth pillar” of humanitarian response (Machel, 2001). Even where there has been recognition of education’s important role as part of humanitarian response, its actual

implementation in humanitarian response is low – largely due to limited funding by donors (INEE, 2009; Munoz, 2008; Dolan, 2007) and the fear of the instability and uncertainty about the long-term impact of investments in education during crises. This highlights the need for the education of donors, and also the active participation of those involved (including refugees and internally displaced people) in the provision of education during emergency times (INEE, 2009, Kagawa, 2005).

In addition to failure of donors to deliver on their financial commitments to education funding (Dolan, 2007), the 2009 UN General Assembly debate pointed to a gap between policy and its implementation by member states (INEE, 2009). This was brought to the forefront on 18 March 2009 at the UN General Assembly debate on Education in Emergencies, where emphasis was placed on the need for education to be integrated into humanitarian response and even into peace agreements, laying the foundation for quality education beyond the emergency phase (INEE, 2009).

Smith and Vaux (2003) were amongst the first who suggested that education is not always beneficial during conflict, pointing to examples where education had served to create, fuel to support conflict. This need for a balanced understanding of the potential benefits and risks involved in education provision in conflict-affected contexts was taken up in a seminal 2005 work from the World Bank (World Bank, 2005). The bulk of the literature, however, focuses on the benefits of education: (i) helping with psycho-social support, (ii) providing safe places, (iii) supporting normalcy and (iv) providing stability (Sommers, 1999; Machel, 2001; UNHCR, 2001; Sinclair, 2002; Davies, 2004; Bird, 2007; Winthrop and Mendenhall, 2007).

#### b. Emergency education: Barriers to access

Multilateral agencies (such as UNICEF, UNESCO, World Bank), Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) (such as Save the Children, the International Rescue Committee and Norwegian Refugee Council) and other members of the Inter-Agency Network on Education in Emergencies (INEE) have dedicated time, resources and money to strengthen the case for education for those displaced and affected by emergencies

(conflict, economic collapse, extreme poverty, environmental disasters or disease). These organisations have not only strengthened the awareness of education to create stability and protection for children (UNCHR, 2001), but have helped in the identification of barriers to access for this marginalised group.

Dryden-Peterson's (2010) review of the literature on education access in conflict-affected fragile states points out that there was no complete body of literature on the barriers to educational access for this group of children. Through her review Dryden-Peterson (2010) concluded that the access barriers of children in fragile states were similar to those found in other developing countries, but these barriers were compounded by displacement and the factors behind it (such as insecurity, discrimination, extreme poverty and environmental degradation). The Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC) found that often children were displaced to areas where there were no schools, resulting in almost automatic exclusion unless specific arrangements were made to address the needs of displaced children. In some cases NGOs or even refugees themselves develop informal and formal arrangements to remove these barriers. An example of this can be found in the refugee camps in Guinea, where Liberian and Sierra Leonean teachers worked together and began education for 12,000 children. With the help and support of the International Rescue Committee (IRC) and UNHCR, this grew into a formal education "system" for 75,000 migrant children (Machel, 2001).

#### c. Refugee policy and education: Camps versus Integration

The most common government response to displacement is to place the group in camp settings. The consequences of this action (i) restricts their movements, (ii) limits livelihood opportunities, (iii) forces the migrants to be reliant on humanitarian response, (iv) increases poverty levels and (v) increases the inability of this marginalised group to cover educational expenses (Horst, 2006; Jacobsen, 2005). Xenophobia often further marginalises these groups (Dryden-Peterson, 2010) preventing them from pursuing livelihood activities, which can have the effect of further increasing economic barriers to access.

The idea behind the policy of integration is that migrants live and coexist amongst their national counterparts as part of the community. Jacobsen (2005) found that refugees who integrate into the host community are at a greater security risk and are less likely, if ever, to get support in healthcare, shelter and education, than their counterparts in camps.

Access for migrants is largely dependent on the host government's migrant (refugee) policy. Migrants located in camps are more likely to be registered and documented, while those integrating into the host community often slip under the radar and remain unregistered. Without documentation migrant children are frequently barred from access to schools (Mooney and French, 2005). The government argues that registration and documentation of migrants is essential to determine entitlements, along with providing the government with an indication of the magnitude of the demand for social services, which requires some form of legal status. Migrants and refugees in all countries are required to have documentation of their status – either through visas or asylum paperwork. This is not unusual and most countries require legal documentation in order access education. Amnesty International (2006) reports that Palestinian refugees in Lebanon who were not registered with the state or with UNRWA were barred from education, so there was a big push by the international community to ensure that these children were registered so they became entitled to the education provided.

This requirement for legal documentation bars many children from accessing education in various countries, including developed countries. France and the United States have addressed this barrier by developing policy that states that school attendance is compulsory and discrimination against undocumented children is not allowed; thus their right to education is not compromised by fear of deportation (Forced Migration Studies Programme, 2007: 7).

For those who are able to gain physical access to schools (whether in camps or in host communities) there is still the challenge of receiving education. For cross-border

migrants, curriculum and language may be different (Perry, 1997). Perry (1997) also notes the need for psycho-social support, as these children have often experienced major trauma, a challenge to local teachers who are not trained to deal with it. These children, due to their migration, may also not have full year enrolment due to repatriation or gaps in education due to missed schooling (Perry, 1997).

#### d. Limitations of Education Interventions

The education of refugees and migrant children has often been promoted as a positive influence on refugee children. Education is seen to promote structure and routine for the refugees, providing the children with not only physical protection from exploitation and recruitment as child soldiers, but also providing these children with psychosocial support and stability (Nicolai and Triplehorn, 2003). Ferris and Winthrop (2010) believe that the benefits of education go beyond the time of displacement; the education supports the development of the refugee children providing essential human capital to rebuild the nation upon repatriation (29).

There are however two sides to every story and these educational interventions come with their limitations:

1. The scope of the education interventions (and the children that can be helped) are limited by the agenda of the agency providing the support. For example, the mandate for Save the Children – UK in South Africa, was to provide support to the unaccompanied Zimbabwean migrant children crossing the border. Thus Save the Children was unable to provide support to those children who came with their parents but still required additional help. In these cases they had to refer the children to other agencies.
2. The education interventions and programs are influenced by the donors. As funding for these interventions comes from donors, the donors have a say in how the money is spent, and in some cases, how the donor wishes to see their money spent is not always in the best interest of the people involved.



A large scale project in West Africa that I worked with was funded by donors who wanted to see an innovative education intervention, bringing new age educational ideas to Africa. This despite the needs identified by the locals in this post conflict area being school buildings and qualified teachers. The money would have been better spent on providing teacher training and school infrastructure, than developing an innovative initiative for education in a developing country context.

3. Funding itself limits the scale, scope and sustainability of educational interventions in refugee settings. Program parameters and measurable objectives need to be set with the limits of the funding in mind. This often limits the groups that the program and funding can support, often marginalising many who are in need of support. The sustainability of the provision of education initiatives is also limited. Often in refugee settings when the emergency is over, the funding for programs ends, leaving those who are unable to repatriate without access to an education program.

#### e. Research gap

Most of the research on educational access for displaced children has been done within the context of refugee or Internally Displaced People (IDP) camps. Jacobsen and Landau (2003) note there is a gap in research on “self settled” migrants, who have integrated into the local community. Although this population is more of a challenge to access for research, UNHCR (2010) has found that since 2007 the number of migrants integrating is higher than those in camps situations. Dryden-Peterson (2010) believes there is a need for more research on displacement and education.

## **2.2. International (Cross-border) Migration**

### **2.2.1. Theories and Drivers of Migration**

International migration theory has its roots in work by Ravenstien (1988), who postulated migration was solely based on push and pull factors. These pull factors

include employment, family and a better standard of living, while the push factors include unemployment, poverty, conflict and economic collapse. When we add such factors as globalisation, interwoven markets, and the increased number of conflicts and natural disasters are added, the reasons for migration become more complex. Massey (1993), who believes there is no one coherent theory of international migration but rather a variety of theories developed from different contexts, theorised two categories: (i) micro-level – where individual and family choices influence the reasons for migration and (ii) macro theories – reflecting factors from the global market and global economy that influence migration pattern (Ravenstein, 1988; Lee, 1966, Massey et al., 1993). More recently Faist (1997) introduced the notion of a meso-level, highlighting the influence of social networks in migration choices (Portes, 1997; Faist, 1997).

On a micro level, Ravenstein (1988) initially analysed migration in terms of basic push and pull factors. Later Lee (1966) supported this, but argued that “push” factors had a larger influence on migration, encouraging migrants to move. These neoclassical theories rest on an assumption that migration choice is influenced by the individual undertaking a cost-benefit analysis largely based on income maximisation (Sjaastad, 1962; Todabro, 1969, Massey et al, 1993). “New Economic of Migration” theorists will argue that migration of an individual is influenced by risks and benefits of migration influencing the family as a whole (Massey et al., 1993). Massey, et al. (1993) and Zolber (1989) argued that these micro-level theories do not take into account larger political factors, globalisation or the growing global economy.

Macro-level theories examine migration patterns on a larger scale, incorporating the push and pull factors of the labour markets, and the systemic consequences of economic globalisation (Massey, et al., 1993). Neoclassical theory was developed to explain labour migration, based on the idea that migration is influenced by the supply and demand of labour, mainly from low wage countries to high wage countries (Jemissen, 2006; Staaastad, 1962; Todor, 1969). Gaps in countries are then filled by migrants from other countries (Massey, et al., 1993). Piore (1979) theorised that many economically advanced countries have a segmented labour-market, with higher wage

technical jobs for the national people and lower waged menial jobs which attract the migrants. Sassen (1988) saw migration as a by-product of global capitalism with migration mainly flowing from the developing to more developed countries. Macro-level migration theory examines migration largely in terms of economic movement, often influenced by political will of country of origin and the host country.

Faist (1997) has more recently introduced the idea of meso-level migration theories. This is a more sociological and anthropological approach to migration theory, combining micro and macro level influences, with the influences of the social ties and networks of the ever growing migrant groups. Forced migration due to civil war, food insecurity and disease often play a role in push factors from the country of origin. Family ties and allegiances can influence migration on the micro-level. But in Faist's (1999) theory, it's the support and involvement of the social networks that inevitably aid in the migration process.

Kirtz and Zlotnick (1992) support this approach and suggest that networks are embedded in migration systems and strongly help influence movements, a cycle of migration supporting networks, and the networks supporting the migration. Massey et al. (1993) define this in terms of "Migration Network Theory" which they used to identify the influence of networks on migration. While the micro and macro factors remain the underlying reasons for migration, however, the networks of the migrants can influence and encourage the migration. The networks connecting migrants, former migrants and non-migrants in both the country of origin and destinations, encourage cross-border migration, because they reduce the cost of migration, lower the risks and improve the possibilities of employment (Massey et al., 1993: 448; Boyd, 1989). These networks expand and provide social capital (resources) that people can draw upon to gain access to foreign employment (Massey et al, 1993: 448) and other basic needs such as food and shelter. Espionza and Massey (1997) found that these networks also influence types of movement across borders, as migrants who had previous experience often showed new migrants preferred routes and techniques for underground entry.

Migrant networks vary in size and quality: as more migrants access a network, it begins

to grow in both size and quality. Newman and Massey (1994: 1) identified “quantity” as the number of social ties that each contact has, while the “quality” focuses more specifically on how useful each contact is in helping, by providing support or connections to employment. Newman and Massey (1994: 12) found that these social networks increased the likelihood of finding jobs and raised the economic benefits of employment. Bandhopadhyay, (2008: 57) identified the importance of these migrant social networks and found in their work in India that migrant women and children who did not have family and community support networks tended to suffer more and were often more likely to be denied access to basic services, including education. Thus, the larger the network a migrant accesses, the more likely the chances are of gaining good quality contacts and of accessing basic services, with greater access to employment. Once these networks have been established, the government has greater difficulty controlling the migration. This literature draws heavily on the Mexican – United States migration research as an example of this (Massey, Gorring and Durand, 1994; Massey, Durand and Malone, 2002).

These networks consist of individual actors, referred to as nodes, who are linked together through their relationships, referred to as ties. The ties between nodes differ in type and strength, though each has their place in the social network. In his work, Granovetter (1973) argued that most network analysis focuses on the value of strong ties despite his belief that emphasis on weak ties provides for a deeper analysis into the social structure of the network.

The review of the research identified a gap in the literature in relation to network theory and education access. The focus on network theory is largely on migration and employment.

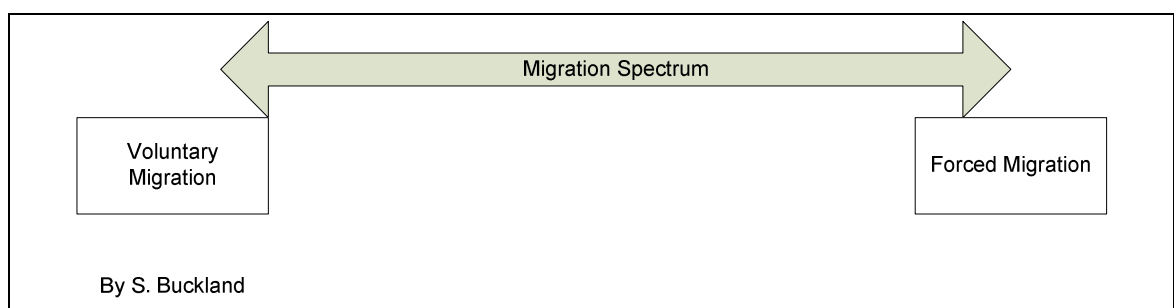
### **2.2.2. People on the Move**

People migrate for different reasons and with globalisation there is a greater international movement. To help regulate and control the flow of movement across borders, governments rely on legislation and regulations. Shaw (2007) found that

though governments have established immigration policies these are often problematic and, in the countries he reviewed, he found that the borders were hard to control. Governments often have bilateral agreements with neighbouring countries allowing for easier cross-border movement between the two (Shaw, 2007). There are also some regional agreements to support “freedom of movement”. The South African Development Community (SADC) has set up a visa waiver for 90 days between SADC countries (Madakufaumba, 2005). Countries in the European Union and Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) also have agreements to facilitate freedom of movement.

Mason (2000) places migratory movements on a spectrum ranging from voluntary migration (usually for economic reasons) to forced migration (fleeing conflict, human rights abuses or displaced by natural disasters).

Government regulations and agreements, and the policing of them, are largely dependent of the types of migration and what drove the movement in the first place.



**Figure 2: Graphical representation of Mason's (2000) Migration Spectrum**

#### a. Voluntary Migrants

At one end of Mason's (2000) spectrum are the voluntary migrants. This includes migrants who choose to migrate (either internally or cross-border). This migrant group have time to make decisions about the movement and develop a timeline and strategy for moving, examining the push and pull factors to formulate a decisive move.

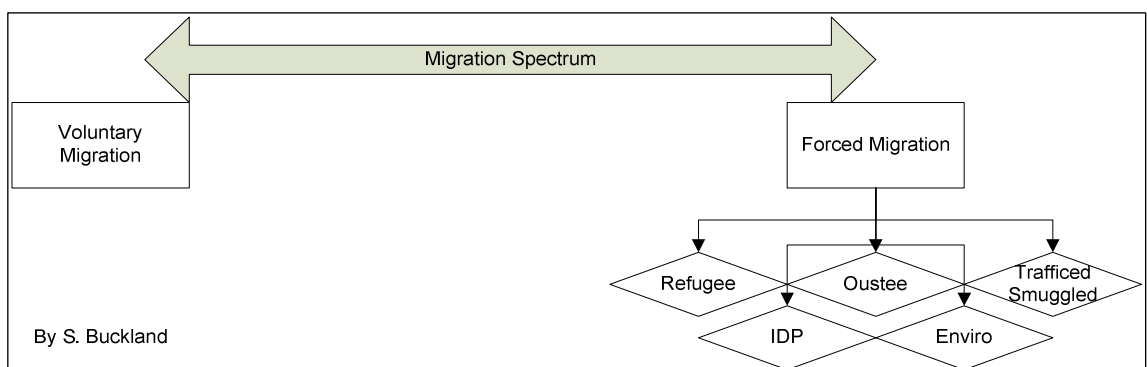
## Responses to Voluntary Migrants

Governments require migrants to attain legal status in their country. Voluntary migrants would need visas or documentation to attain employment or access to education in their host country. These migrants integrate into the host community and are responsible for the provision of their own basic needs, without officially drawing from the resources from the State.

### b. Forced Migrants

Forced Migrants, on the other end of the Mason (2000) spectrum, are those who do not have a choice to leave their homes (Peterson, 1958). They are migrants who are forced to move due to: persecution, disasters (natural and industrial), development projects, environmental degradation, war and conflict, and ethnic discrimination (Mason, 2000). The FMO (2010) combines these to form three main categories of causation for forced migration: (i) conflict; (ii) development policies or projects and (iii) natural disasters.

An alternative breakdown separates forced migrants into five distinctive groups.



**Figure 3: Breakdown of Forced Migration**

*Refugees* have been recognised internationally since the 1951 Refugee Convention which defined a "refugee" as someone who has left their country of origin for fear of

persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, being a member of a particular social group or holding a particular political opinion. The rights and resources of these groups are clearly described in the Convention. Individual state policies regarding response to refugees are guided by the 1951 Convention. The category includes *Asylum seekers*, who are those who have migrated for the reasons described above but not yet received their refugee status.

*Internally Displaced Persons* (IDPs) are those forced to flee their homes due to conflict, human rights violations or man-made disasters but remain in their country of origin (Commission on Human Rights, 1998).

*Oustee*, a term introduced by Cerera (1996), refers to those who have been displaced through government intervention, usually for development reasons. FMO (2010) refers to this group as “*development displacees*”.

In recent years, as the field of study begins has grown, additional groups of forced migrants have been introduced. These include:

*Environmental refugees or displacees* (FMO, 2010) are those displaced due to environmental disasters. Recent large scale examples include: Haiti - displacement due to earthquake, Pakistan– displacement due to flooding.

*Smuggling* and *Trafficking*, both illegal, are also included in this category. *Smuggled* are those migrants who have paid for a person (or group) to help them move across the border. *Trafficking* involves the movement of people who are forcibly moved and exploited for the profit of others (FMO, 2010).

## Responses to Forced Migrants

Government response, policies and laws with regards to forced migrants varies from one country to another. The refugee policies of all countries draw heavily on the 1951 Refugee Convention and the 1969 Protocol relating to the status of Refugees (UNHCR,

1992). Countries such as Sierra Leone, Tanzania, Jordan and Palestine have a “camp” policy, while the United States of America, the United Kingdom, Uganda and South Africa are amongst those countries that have a refugee policy of “integration”, through which refugees “self-settle” and integrate into local communities. The policy debate between camps and integration dates back to the 1960 and 1970s, and has been continuously revisited further fuelled by, amongst others, Crisp and Jacobson (1998), Black (1998), Harrell-Bond (1998), Fielden and Crisp (2008), and Harrell-Bond (2000). Harrell-Bond (1998) argues that the development of camps is largely donor driven. Black (1998) and Crisp and Jacobson (1998) would argue that it is the governments that set camp policies. Crisp and Jacobson (1998) point out that the refugees themselves frequently form camp-like settings before humanitarian response arrives.

In her review, Harrell-Bond (1998) found common arguments against camps tend to revolve around the strain placed on the local resources, along with the problems associated with the provision of basic services in camps that are often better than those of the locals in the surrounding community. Camp systems also attract the local skilled workers, as the salaries and wages paid by humanitarian agencies are often higher than the local rates. This deprives the local community of its trained and skilled personal (Harrell-Bond, 1998). Harrell-Bond (1998) also found that some critics believe camps provide environments that are breeding grounds for violent behaviour, and the close-quarter living increases the threat of the spread of disease, while she argues that these camps confine refugees and thus make them reliant on donor support and aid.

Crisp and Jacobson (1998) contend the current research is largely focused on the negative impacts of camps, and it is a common assumption that self-settlement is better for migrants. There is little evidence for this. They argue that camps provide a safe and secure environment for these refugees, providing them with aid and support until they are able to repatriate (Crisp and Jacobson, 1998). Camps provide for the refugees’ basic needs (food, shelter, education) that they could not otherwise receive while in exile from their home country. Despite Black’s (1998a) argument that those who self-settle will settle in areas where there is provision of aid support, services that cater to basic needs are more easily accessible in a camp, especially as refugees do not



have to prove their legal status. Camps also help regulate the migration process and assist the refugees with registration, along with providing more accurate statistical data from the services they provide.

Although the debate still continues today, UNHCR has found the number of those self-settling (integrating) is considerably higher than those who are in camps, and this number is continuing to grow. Since 2007 UNHCR found that the number of refugees integrated and living in urban areas outnumbered those in camps. In 2009 UNHCR estimated that of the 8.8 million refugees<sup>3</sup> more than 50 percent are integrated and in urban areas, while only about one third were living in camps (UNHCR, 2010).

The education of migrants is largely dependent on the host governments' policy regarding refugees. To encourage the provision of education for forced migrants, the field of "Emergency Education" was established. This field brings international attention and funding to the plight of forced migrants and their educational access. Migrants who are in camps tend to receive education supported by humanitarian organisations. Examples are the camps in Sierra Leone, Guinea, Liberia, and Uganda. In countries which support integration, such as South Africa, policy stipulates that children with legal status of refugees may have access to schools; however, in practice this might not always be the case. The challenge for those migrants in a country with an integration policy is finding pathways to accessing education and gaining legal status. Research conducted by various groups (Save the Children, UNICEF, the International Rescue Committee, UNCHR, etc.) are largely on the education provision to those in camps. It is only recently that groups like Forced Migrations Studies Project (FMSP) have begun to explore the educational access of those migrants who integrate.

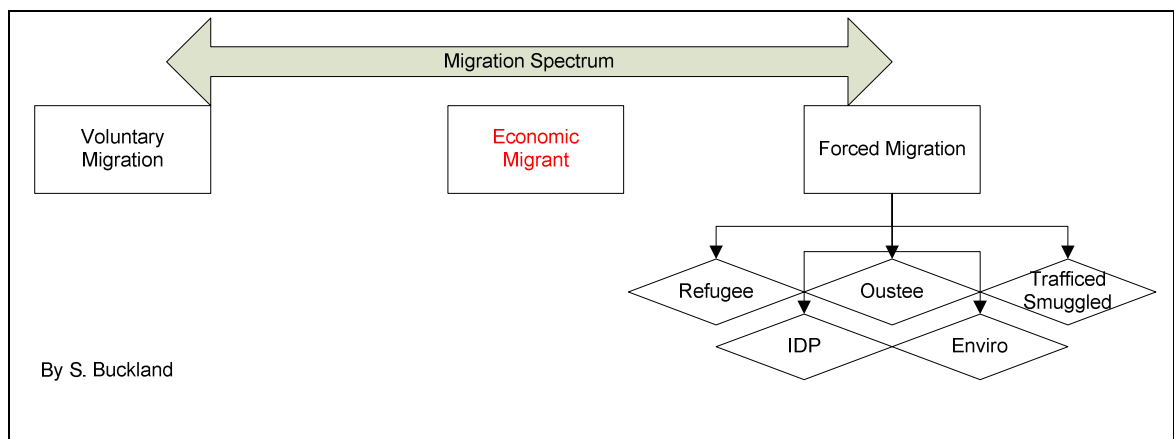
Polzer (1998) found that in the case of Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa, where government and international community support were lacking, the social networks of the migrants have filled the gaps by providing for the basic needs, welfare and

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<sup>3</sup> This number does not include asylum seekers and internally displaced persons. In total there were 43.3million forcibly displaced people worldwide at the end of 2009.

protection the migrants needed. These networks provide a flow of information about migration movements and how to gain legal status, along with the provision of basic services helping the migrants settle. Polzer (2008) highlights that, because these networks are decentralised and informal, they increase the migrants' vulnerability. She also feels that there is a need to better understand these networks and their impact and response to migration (Polzer, 2008).

### c. Economic Migrants



**Figure 4: The inclusion of Economic Migrants in the spectrum**

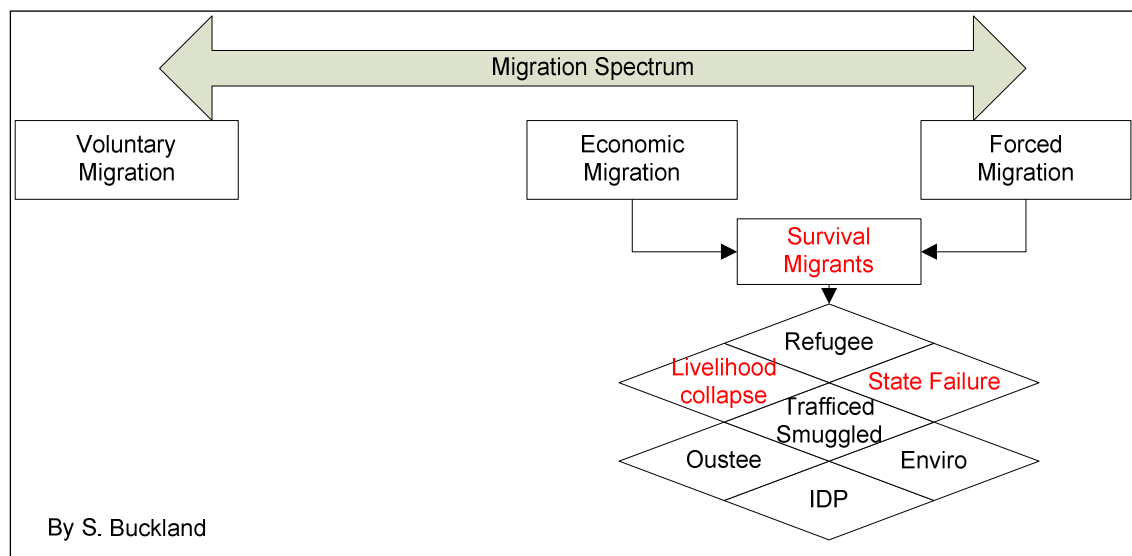
The Economic migrants, who fall between the Voluntary and Forced migrants in the migration spectrum, are a new area of debate. Chiswick (2000) defines economic migrants as those who move voluntarily for their own economic benefit - which may be true for many. Harris (1995) argues however, that some of these migrants are fleeing from absolute poverty, and are thus “Economic Refugees”. Mexican and El Salvadoran migration into the United States (Stanley, 1987) is an example of this economic move, i.e. migration for survival rather than purely for economic motivations.

Those who led the xenophobic attacks in South Africa in 2000 would argue that many migrants are just capitalising on the opportunity to take the jobs of nationals, and that economic refugees are really immigrants rather than refugees (Maharaj, 2001). The international convention of refugees does not include extreme poverty as a base for classification as a refugee. A shift in policy in this regard could have profound

implications for “economic refugees” in South Africa and across the world.

#### d. Survival Migrants

Survival migrants, a concept recently introduced to the field, challenges Mason’s (2000) linear categorisation of migrants. Defined as “people who flee existential threats to which they have no domestic remedy”, it includes refugees, who are fleeing from state failure, and livelihood collapse (Betts and Kaytaz, 2009). Examples include those fleeing from Zimbabwe, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Haiti in the last five years. The international community is becoming aware of the restricted definition of refugees, and UNCHR believes that the term “survival migrants” encompasses both forced migrants and economic refugees, or all those fleeing their own country for survival because there is no domestic support.



**Figure 5: Survival Migrants, a challenge to Mason's (2000) liner migration spectrum**

Immigration policies and obligations of the state to the migrants vary by migrant category. As part of their international commitment, state obligations are more intrinsic for those forced migrants who are fleeing persecution, natural disasters or political unrest. Those who move voluntarily for employment or education are perceived as less dependent on the State, although this may not be the case for economic refugees, and face stricter immigration regulations.

### 2.3. Overview

The first part of this chapter reviewed the literature on access to education and the well-researched access barriers. The research highlighted the value of education, and that education is a basic human right, with states working towards the provision of education for all. The available research exposed that, even with the states' responses, many children, especially cross-border migrants, are still being denied access to education. Even where policies have been developed to address the access issues, the literature revealed there were failures in the implementation of the policies. Feedback loops to help enrich the policy and ensure the policy is being implemented to meet the intended outcomes are not always functional. The literature review revealed a gap in the research with regards to “self settled” migrants and the education barriers faced by this group of children, something that this thesis aims to further investigate.

The second part of the chapter (i) examined the literature on migration; (ii) reviewed the theories of migration and the typology of people moving; (iii) highlighted that migration patterns have changed over the years; (iv) called attention to the need for the international community to redefine the term “refugee” in order to provide better support to those who are suffering, but do not fall into the 1951 definition of a refugee; and (v) illustrated the states' responses to education of migrants are largely dependent on the determination of a migrant's status in the host country, with policies varying depending on the legal status of the migrant and the individual states' refugee policy.

The literature revealed the value of networks in migration, especially into countries with an integration refugee policy, as opposed to a camp policy. The review explored the importance of networks in the migration process, and how networks support the movement of voluntary and economic migrants, as well as self-settled forced migrants. However, there seems to be a need for a deeper conceptualisation of networks, their characteristics and types. In addition, analysis of the literature identified a gap in

understanding how these networks support the integration of migrants into their host community with regard to educational access.

The empirical work in this exploratory study begins to evaluate the barriers of educational access of the “self-settled” Zimbabwean migrant children in South Africa. This research has examined the literature on educational access and that of migration, looking at the links between migrants, migration and educational access both in country of origin and the host country.

The empirical work of this research will aim to initiate research to fill the gaps with regard to (i) access barriers encountered by migrants not in a camp environment, (ii) the policies developed to support this access and (iii) the challenges of their implementation and locus of responsibility, with a deeper understanding of the influences of networks in the educational access of migrant children. A review of these policies, barriers to access, the government’s response and these social networks could provide support for policy changes, and the inclusion of more children in school.

### **CHAPTER 3: Exploring the Context**

Chapter 3 provides the background and context from which the empirical work has evolved, and provides a base from which the research methodology evolved. The chapter examines the relevant literature on access and migration in the context of Zimbabwe and South Africa, laying further foundation for this research.

The first half of the chapter (Section 3.1) focuses on Zimbabwe - the migrant country of origin. The chapter explores the history and background to the Zimbabwe-South African migration. The section assesses the role of (i) the economic collapse, (ii) the political struggle and (iii) the collapse of the Zimbabwean education system as the key factors influencing the migration pattern of the Zimbabwean nationals.

The second half of the chapter (Sections 3.2 and 3.3) focuses on the host country – South Africa, where this research is based. Section 3.2 begins by looking at the South African government's response to the crisis in Zimbabwe: First through an examination of their foreign policy and involvement with Zimbabwean politics (3.2.1), and second through a review of the South African government's response to the Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa (3.2.2). Section 3.2.3 reviews South Africa's migration policy, reviewing the history and recent developments with regards to migration into South Africa.

The focus then shifts to a discussion of education and educational access in South Africa. Section 3.2.4 studies the education of migrants as it relates to South Africa's policy of education as a human right, and the government promise of education for all. Section 3.2.5 examines the literature on access barriers identified in South Africa, and a review of the literature on the government policy response to these barriers and the influences of the migrants. Section 3.3 reviews the literature on the discrepancies between the educational intentions of the refugee and education policies developed and the outcomes from their implementation at the ground level.

The chapter concludes in Section 3.4 where is a summary of the key points raised in

the literature studied, and the issues that will be addressed through the empirical work.

### **3.1. Country of Origin – Zimbabwe**

Zimbabwe, formerly the British self-governing territory of Southern Rhodesia, declared itself independent from British authority in 1965 (Kanyongo, 2005). This independence never gained international recognition, and led to a 15-year resistance struggle between the Rhodesian regime and liberation movements. 1980 brought about regime change; the country was renamed Zimbabwe and Robert Mugabe came to power (Kanyono, 2005). According to World Bank Development Indicator the population in 2008 was 12,462,879, and there were three official languages: English, Shona and Ndebele. Zimbabwe is landlocked, being surrounded by South Africa (South), Botswana (West), Zambia (North) and Mozambique (East). Over the years Zimbabwe developed strong political ties with South Africa, initiated by Mugabe's support of the African National Congress's (ANC) fight against apartheid. Zimbabwe provided refuge and support for those in exile during the apartheid struggle, and further support of the government of national unity, which came into power in 1994. This common fight for freedom and independence serves a strong bond between the two countries.

#### **3.1.1. The Zimbabwe Crisis: Factors influencing Migration**

##### ***a. The Economic Collapse***

The collapse of Zimbabwe's economy has been largely blamed on economic mismanagement and corruption. After independence in 1980, and throughout the 1980s, the Mugabe led government provided the world with hope and the positive growth of a developing country in Africa. The international community saw the new Independent Zimbabwe as a beacon of hope for Africa's future (Clemens and Moss, 2005, Sachikanye, 2002), an example of an African country progressing forward after independence. To support their new "golden child", the international community gave their support in financial investments and aid to help recapitalise the economy

(Sichone, 2003). Once in power, the new government began high spending to fulfil election promises, such as free schooling for all. This free education resulted in rapid expansion of the education system and with that a rapid increase in spending. Government spending on education went from 4.4 percent of the government's annual budget in 1979 to 22.6 percent in 1980. Government resources, however, rapidly became inadequate (Kanyongo, 2005). Although the drive to attract foreign investments proved successful and Zimbabwe reintegrated into the world economy, it was still faced with a large economic struggle (Sichone, 2003).

By October of 1990 the government gave in to donor pressure to implement the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) five-year Economic Structural Adjustment Program (ESAP) (Sichone, 2003). This program liberalised the economy by welcoming international trade (Kanyongo, 2005) and encouraging the notion that less government interference in the economy would allow the private sector to help guide development (Chung, 2008). But the implementation of the ESAP heightened the de-industrialisation of the country, leading to further factory closures, and increased unemployment and deterioration of living standards (Mlambo and Raftopoulos, 2010; Kanyongo, 2005). The ESAP also required government to cut expenditure on social services, including education (Kanyongo, 2005; Chung, 2008). Although critics blame the ESAP program for the economic downfall of Zimbabwe (Sachikonye, 2002), and the World Bank agrees this was a harsh implementation, it was not the entire, or even main, cause of the economic collapse. The main downfall, according to Sachikonye (2002), was government overspending.

The already fragile economy was further weakened when, in November 2007, President Mugabe declared he would fulfil overdue election promises of compensation to war veterans for their support in the liberation struggle. Mugabe ordered the unauthorised, unbudgeted, payment of ZD50,000 one-off gratuities and a ZD2,000/month pension to each veteran (compounding to about 5 million Zimbabwe dollars) (Mlambo and Raftopoulos, 2010; Sachikonye, 2002). This resulted in a precipitous nearly 80 percent drop in the value of the Zimbabwean dollar, from ZD12:USD1 before November 2007, to ZD55:USD1 by the end of November, with a



recorded budget deficit of 10 percent (Sachikonye, 2002).

Mugabe's 1998 unilateral decision to support the Kabila government in the war in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) deepened Zimbabwe's debt crisis (Mlambo and Raftopoulos, 2010). This unbudgeted support of military troops in DRC continued into 2002 deepening the budget deficit.

Political friction in 2000 brought with it further challenges to the Zimbabwe economy. The 2000 elections were the first elections since independence in which the power of the ruling party, Zimbabwe African Nation Unity – Patriot Front (ZANU-PF), had been seriously challenged. The Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) proved to be a political competitor to the ruling government. To help secure support, President Mugabe increased implementation of the controversial land redistribution plan, bringing about a spike in violent farm invasions and attacks on farmers (International Crisis Group, 2010, Human Rights Watch, 2008). Active working farms were attained often through violent measures, and then redistributed to judges, politicians and military authorities to ensure their support during the 2000 elections (Human Rights Watch, 2008: 1). Many of these recipients did not know about farming or did not care, resulting in many of the farms going feral. The agricultural industry of Zimbabwe, the largest sector of the economy collapsed. Zimbabwe went from being the breadbasket of Africa to requiring food aid from the World Food Programme (WFP) (WFP, 2010).

The collapsing economy, the violence from the land reforms and the additional election violence against opposition supporters shocked the international community who reduced their foreign investments and began to withdraw aid support (Clemens and Moss, 2005: 3). Further factory closures and lack of input caused massive increases in unemployment and continued to weaken the economy (Sachikonye, 2002; Mlambo and Raftopoulos, 2010). By the last quarter of 2001 the domestic debt had increased to USD3.5billion and the foreign debt increased to USD4.5 billion (ZIMCDD, 2001). To support the rampant overspending, and help cover the debts, the government printed money, which caused inflation to sky-rocketed to 110 percent by the last quarter of 2002 (ZIMCDD, 2001). Despite this, the government continued to print money to

support its debts, fuelling the hyperinflation.

By 2008 there was a complete economic meltdown (Mlambo and Raftopoulos, 2010). Inflation was running in the hundreds of millions of percent and rising, and the currency denominations were in the quintillions. The Zimbabwean Dollar had become completely worthless.



Figure 6: Zimbabwe Currency: One Hundred Trillion Dollar Note introduced in 2008<sup>4</sup>

A Zimbabwean national put the hyperinflation into perspective stating that she would pay for her groceries when she entered the store, before she shopped for them, because by the time she had finished shopping (20 minutes) she would not have been able to afford the goods - that is, if there were any on the shelves.

(Personal Communication, 9 December 2008).

A personal communication with a Zimbabwe national during this time stated it was cheaper to use the money as toilet paper than to purchase toilet paper from the store.

(Personal communication, 9 December 2008).



Figure 7: Sign found in toilet in Zimbabwe<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Picture from website: <http://karanarora.posterous.com/buy-an-100-trillion-zimbabwe-dollar-bank-note-0>

<sup>5</sup> Picture from Website: <http://moneytipcentral.com/inflation-in-america-what-will-hyperinflation-look-like>

In a last ditch attempt to stabilise the collapsed economy, there was an unofficial move in September 2008 to the use of the US Dollar (USD) and the South African Rand (ZAR) as the currencies of trade. The semi-official “dollarisation” in January 2009 opened up the economy for foreign trade. To the international community life in Zimbabwe appeared to regain a semblance of normality, as store shelves were once again stocked with supplies, and goods such as petrol became more readily available. Although supplies were now available the change in currency had pushed up the local costs of basic foods, fuel and medicine (Personal Communication, 9 December 2008). Unemployment and poverty were still high, and the increased cost of goods (although now available) made it challenging for many to survive. The “dollarisation” and the legal importation of foreign goods also brought about a collapse in street trading and black market supplies leaving many in the informal economy without a livelihood (Pilosof, 2009).

In the early 1990s, as the economy began to take strain and unemployment increased, there was gradual migration to the surrounding countries, largely South Africa and Botswana, in search of work (Zinyama, 2000). The initial migration was mainly men, mostly to look for work in the mines and on farms. They would work and send remittances home to support their families (Zinyama, 2000). With the collapse of the economy in 2000 there was an increase in women and unaccompanied child migrants leaving in search of work to further support their families in Zimbabwe (Zinyama, 2000, Chung, 2008, Mlambo and Raftofoulos, 2010). With the lack of food and supplies within the country, remittances began to come back in the form of food and goods. For many of this new breed of migrants, migration was for basic survival and to support those who remained in Zimbabwe. As the economic collapse continued, poverty increased. With shortages of food, and the deterioration of the health services and education system, migration movements began to include whole families and children, who had been sent for by their parents.

The dollarisation and the increase in supplies found within country led to remittances reverting to currency. There is even some repatriation, although many remain wary of

further economic decline with the possibility of presidential elections in 2011.

### ***b. The Political Struggle***

Zimbabwe has had a tumultuous political history filled with violence and unrest ever since it attained independence in 1980. The Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) won the contested 1980 elections and President Mugabe came to power after a long struggle against the postcolonial government led by Ian Smith (Sachikanye, 2002). At this time, President Mugabe established a government of national unity including Smith and the opposition party the Patriot Front – Zimbabwe African People’s Union (PF-ZAPU). However, by 1982 this government of national unity collapsed and civil war broke out in Matabeleland between ZANU and ZAPU, which claimed the lives of over 200,000 Zimbabweans over a five year period (Sachikanye, 2002). By 1987 a peace agreement was brokered and President Mugabe became the de facto head of a one party state. By 1989 the two opposition parties merged to form Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriot Front (ZANU-PF), the ruling party led by President Mugabe (Sachikanye, 2002). By the 1990 elections, ZANU-PF controlled 117 of the 120 parliamentary seats forming a hegemonic government, which then made constitutional amendments to provide for an executive presidency (Sachikanye, 2002).

The first challenge to this majority control and President Mugabe’s rule, came in the 2000 parliamentary elections, when the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) which was only formed in 1999, narrowly missed out on taking control of parliament by just five seats (Sachikanye, 2002). Although the opposition party failed to break the majority, Mugabe would no longer be able to implement constitutional reforms by presidential decree (Mlambo and Raftofoulos, 2010). The elections were not free of violence. There were numerous attacks on MDC supporters and white farmers, who were believed to be funding the MDC (Human Rights Watch, 2008, Mlambo and Raftofoulos, 2010).

The 2002 presidential election campaign brought with it further violence and attacks on MDC supporters. The MDC called for a peaceful campaign, however ZANU-PF

encouraged the formation of 'militias' to do its campaigning, resulting in intimidation and torture of opposition supporters (Sachikanye, 2002). Between January and March 2002 there were reports of 31 opposition supporters killed and 70,000 displaced (Sachikanye, 2002). During this time there were also reports of roadblocks where people were asked to show their party membership cards (Sachikanye, 2002). Further demonstration that it would not be a "free and fair" election was the composition of the Electoral Supervisory Commission, which was headed by the military, with war veterans making up the majority of the election monitors (Sachikanye, 2002). In desperation, the ruling government also passed laws that criminalised many of the MDC election rallies.

The Parliamentary elections in 2005, although won by ZANU-PF, also had an election campaign characterised by violence and attacks on opposition supporters (Sachikanye, 2002). This led, in November of 2005, to a split in the MDC over whether to boycott elections of the newly formed Senate, a system reinstated by President Mugabe after he abolished it in 1987 (ICG, 2010).

The most violent of all campaigns, with the highest degree of reported intimidation, was that of the 2008 elections. Attacks on opposition party leaders and supporters began in 2007. Reports of violence and horrific attacks on MDC supporters made news headlines throughout the world. Reports of about 50 opposition activists were beaten up in police custody were typical of the kind of incidents that became commonplace (Sachikanye, 2002). After the public beating of opposition civil leaders in March 2007, the South African Development Commission (SADC) mandated talks with the party leaders, brokered by President Mbeki from South Africa, to convince them to ensure a "free and fair", non-violent election (Mlambo and Raftopolous, 2010; ICG, 2010).

By the end of the year there was some semblance of agreement between the parties, until President Mugabe's unilateral decision that the elections would take place in March 2008, while MDC leader Morgan Tsvangirai wanted to wait for the new constitution to come into play first (Mlambo and Raftopolous, 2010). The elections proceeded in March 2008 and were, in relative terms, peaceful. The parliamentary

results came out fairly rapidly with the MDC winning the majority of the parliamentary seats. After numerous unexplained delays the presidential election results were only released a month after the elections. They showed that the MDC, under Tsvangirai, had won the majority of votes, however he had not won the 51 percent required to win the elections outright. According to the constitution, this meant a run-off presidential election was required, duly scheduled for June 2008.

Electoral violence peaked and was the worst violence the country had seen since the 1980s Matabeleland Massacres (Mlambo and Raftopolous, 2010). The violence and attacks on MDC supporters got so bad that eventually Tsvangirai withdrew from the election run-off for the safety of the people. President Mugabe became president of Zimbabwe for his 6<sup>th</sup> consecutive term. However, the government was now faced with the challenge of a ZANU-PF president and an MDC majority parliament. Negotiations between the two groups were once again mediated by South African president Mbeki, and, after months of tough negotiations, a power sharing deal was devised. On 11 September 2008 the Global Political Agreement was signed.

Part of this agreement was that presidential and parliamentary elections would be held within 18 – 24 months after the formation of the new government. In mid-2010 the elections were confirmed for May 2011, an election that is feared to be potentially as violent as the one in 2008. Migrants fleeing the country in early 2010 already brought reports of militia groups (youth and war veterans) who had started their intimidation campaigns on those in the rural communities (Personal Communication with Human Right Lawyer, 6 May 2010).

It is evident that over the years the political troubles and violence have forced many people across the border into the surrounding countries. With escalating political violence again predicted, a new wave of migrants seeking political asylum in South Africa ahead of the 2011 elections is expected.

### ***c. The Rise and fall of the Education System***

Despite a plethora of press reports and a certain amount of “grey literature” from development agencies, there is very little analytical literature on the growth and collapse of the Zimbabwe education system. Statistical data has become unreliable over the years, as recent national school census exercises have only been conducted in 2005 and, most recently, in 2009. Much of the data from the 2009 census is still not available. Information on quality of learning, especially learning outcomes, is even less reliable. The Southern and East African Consortium on Monitoring Educational Quality (SACMEQ), the most systematic and credible source of data on the level of education attainment, has yet to release the data for its 2007 survey.

Pre-independence Zimbabwe’s education system was plagued with inequality. The post-colonial government provided education for the white minority, while the missionaries provided education to the black Africans (Kanyango, 2005). The government at this time believed the education for black Africans should be of a practical nature, teaching them skills in agriculture, carpentry and building.

Independence ushered in a period of growth and development of the education system. To fulfil an election campaign promise in 1980, President Mugabe declared schools free, and compulsory primary education for all. At the time of independence, one third of Zimbabwean children were accessing schooling and by the end of the first decade of independence, enrolment was close to 100 percent (Chung, 2008). Zimbabwe had achieved universal primary education (UNESCO IBE, 2001).

With a campaign of “Education for All”, there was a surge in school construction in the marginalised and disadvantaged areas. The government focus was accessibility and not quality (Kanyongo, 2005). Along with the rapid expansion of facilities and enrolment was the demand for teachers. In an effort to increase the quality of teaching and the number of certified teachers, the government introduced the “Zimbabwe Integrated Teaching Course” was 4-year course, two terms of which were spent at college and the rest teaching in the schools. Identifying further need for certified teachers, the

government created the Ministry of Higher Education in 1988, whose focus was on tertiary education and teacher training to increase the number of trained and qualified teachers in the workforce (Kanyongo, 2005).

From 1990 – 2001, the education reforms focused on the relevance and quality of the education. The aim was to bring in new teaching methodologies and technologies and decentralise the education system (Kanyongo, 2005) to improve the quality of teaching, curricula and the examination board. During this time the Zimbabwe Schools Examination Council (ZIMSEC) was established. This meant the school examination system could be implemented and managed locally, reducing the need for foreign currency and foreign involvement (Kanyongo, 2005).

The government showed the international community educational success in independence. Educational access had increased, racial and gender equality were being achieved (reports in 1999 showed 46.9% of learners were females) and the average quality of education had improved. These factors made Zimbabwe a model of success amongst post-colonial countries early in its independence. It was known for its high quality of education, evident in its high (90.7 percent) adult literacy rate (CIA, 2009) and high enrolment rate. However, the data on literacy published by UNESCO, on which this CIA report draws, is based on a proxy indicator of the number of children reported to have attained 4 years of primary schooling. Since officially reported enrolment rates remain high, estimates of literacy since the 1990s may be unrealistically high. The government's own census data from 1992 (the most recent population census) show an overall adult literacy rate of 84%, with 74% for rural areas (67% for rural women) where the majority of the population reside (Machingaidze et al, 1998).

Zimbabwe began to produce a cadre of well-educated, internationally recognised youth, although it was largely those children from middle and wealthier classes. The international community recognised Zimbabwe's educational success. Nevertheless, the large enrolment and rapid growth of the education system in Zimbabwe was accompanied by wide disparities in the quality of education. Zimbabwe's education



policy had focused more on quantity rather than quality (Chung, 2008; Kanyongo, 2005). The schools with high education quality were the private or ex-white schools, while the rural schools, or those in low income areas, were faced with a lower quality of education. Teacher quality too was lower in the rural areas (Kanyongo, 2005; Nzuramasanga, 1999), a challenge that is faced by many developing countries.

The rapid expansion of the education system and the high cost of free education proved taxing on the already overspent government budget. This, along with the ESAP budget cuts on education, forced the government to reinstate school fees in an attempt to save the failing system (UNESCO IBE, 2001, Kanyongo, 2005). The 1991 Education Act reinstated school fees, making an allowance for rural schools to remain fee free. The rural schools, however, were authorised to collect a school levy to assist in the care and maintenance of school buildings and facilities; a levy which many in the rural areas were unable to afford (Chung, 2008).

Identifying the need, the government provided subsidies and support to orphans and vulnerable children (OVCs) who were unable to afford the costs of education, along with the commitment to the education of girls (UNESCO IBE, 2001). The government's Social Development Fund helped cover the school and examination fees of OVCs (Chung, 2008). In 2001 this program was replaced by the Basic Education Assistance Module (BEAM) which continued to provide financial support for OVCs with the support of donor funding (MPSSLW, 2000). BEAM had a huge impact for many, but began to fail in 2008 when it could not keep up with the demand, as hyperinflation devalued its funds and the economic collapse increased the numbers of vulnerable children (Ncube et al, 2010). BEAM funding ran dry and grants for orphans and vulnerable children dwindled from 2007 (Ncube et al, 2010). A revaluation was done and BEAM was reintroduced at the primary level in September 2009 (Ncube et al, 2010). Its success is yet to be determined.

As the economy imploded and hyperinflation increased, the income from school fees collapsed (MOESAC, 2010). Students and parents tell of fees increasing drastically between school terms. High unemployment, a rapidly devaluing currency and a growth

in the number of orphans brought about a large increase in dropouts as ever more children were unable to afford school and examination fees (Chung, 2008). EMIS data shows that in 2004 the primary school dropout rate was 1.4 percent, of which a quarter was for financial reasons. By 2006 the dropout rate had increased to 8.7 percent (MOESAC, 2010). Additional research conducted in 2009 by Bennell showed that 60 - 75 percent of the out of school children sampled did not attend school for financial reasons (MOESAC, 2010).

The problem was exacerbated for the children on farms affected by the land redistribution program. Not only did they face the challenge of lower quality education in the rural areas, in many cases they were also forced to evacuate their homes and leave behind both the schools on the farms and their education.

Hyperinflation adversely affected teachers' salaries so much that, by 2008, a teacher's monthly salary had slumped to the realistic equivalent of UDS2 per month, barely enough to cover bus fare and bread for four days (Raath, 2008; MOESAC, 2010). In comparison, in 1990 a teacher's annual salary was the equivalent of USD500 per month (MOESAC, 2010). Many teachers were forced to migrate to other countries in search of better pay and better living conditions (Chung, 2008), while those who remained began strikes for a pay increase. The Zimbabwe government labelled those teachers who had left the country as 'deserters', stating they would never be permitted to teach in Zimbabwe again.

With the strikes, election violence and government mandated school closures during the election period, students had very few schools days in 2008. The teacher unions reported that the children only had 23 days of uninterrupted education for the entire 2008 school year (Raath, 2008). Fearing poor examination results due to the lack of education time during 2008, the Government simply cancelled the academic year (Raath, 2008).

Since 2009 there has been a big shift in the education system. Dollarisation has allowed for a more stable economy. For the first term of the 2009 school year the

government set minimum school fees, initially at USD146 for low density urban schools (P-1), USD36 for high density urban schools (P2) and USD8 for rural schools (P3). However with an outcry from the community these fee minimums were dropped to: USD10 for P1 schools, USD5 for P2 schools and no fees for P3 schools (MOESAC, 2010). To encourage repatriation of teachers, the Minister of Education granted amnesty to teachers, who had left the country, allowing them to re-enrol without penalty (MOESAC, 2010). To further encourage repatriation, the government agreed to pay teachers and other civil servants USD100 per month, which increased to USD150 in July 2009, and a further increase to USD176 in 2010 (MOESAC, 2010). In September 2009 BEAM was reinstated at the primary school level to help the ever growing OVC population in Zimbabwe. The Ministry of Education, Sports, Arts and Culture is in the process of developing a strategic plan to halt the deterioration of the education system and restore it to its former high standards.

The collapse in education was identified by migrants interviewed during this study as an important reason for migration. Rising school fees forced children to drop out and migrate in search of work, while school closures due to strikes and political violence forced many to migrate for education. From the start President Mugabe (a former teacher himself) instilled the value of education in the country's population. This is evident in the high level of school enrolment and high level of adult literacy that the country once had. Although all the Zimbabweans interviewed believe that Zimbabwean education was of higher quality than South African education, many of them brought their children to South Africa to continue their schooling. It is hard to compare the overall quality in Zimbabwe and South Africa; both have pockets of high quality education and large areas of low quality education. There is no easy comparison for education quality between the two countries.

The best source of statistics, beyond relying solely on the migrants' experiences and stories they have heard, can be found in the SACMEQ database. What has been identified is that the breakdown of the social services, education and health systems were significant factors responsible for migration to South Africa over the last few years. But, with schools reopened and teachers repatriating many Zimbabwean

children are returning to Zimbabwe to attend schooling in their home country.

### **3.2. The Host Country – South Africa**

Bordering each other, South Africa and Zimbabwe have an intertwined political history and interest in economic stability. Both countries have played supportive roles in their respective struggles for independence and freedom from oppression. In an alliance with ZANU-PF and the African National Congress (ANC), Zimbabwe hosted South African nationals who were exiled from South Africa for their involvement in the political struggle against the apartheid regime. While the apartheid government supported the Smith regime economically, commercially and even militarily, there were strong links developed between the liberation movements in exile. Economic interdependence is evident in the fact that South Africa has provided many jobs in the mines and on farms for migrant Zimbabwean workers. And more recently South Africa has provided refuge for those fleeing the political violence and economic hardship in Zimbabwe. This must be seen in the light of the xenophobic attacks on migrants, especially Zimbabweans, in many urban centres in May 2008 (Masilela, 2008).

#### **3.2.1. Response to the Zimbabwe Crisis: South African Foreign Policy**

Economic and political stability in Zimbabwe is important for South Africa and Zimbabwe's other neighbouring countries, as it has a large impact on their economies. In response to the failing economy in Zimbabwe in 2000, just before the Zimbabwe elections, then South African President Mbeki announced a "rescue package" of ZAR1 billion (then equal to USD 167 million). This money was intended to help stimulate the Zimbabwean economy and help prevent its inevitable collapse. It is believed that little of this money actually supported economic growth, but was rather used by President Mugabe in his 2000 election campaign (McKinley, 2004), a campaign linked with violent attacks on opposition supporters and the white farmers (Mlambo and Raftopoulos, 2010).

In response to the political challenges of Zimbabwe, South Africa's foreign policy was that of "constructive engagement" (Buthelezi (1999) in McKinley, 2004). Buthelezi, from the African Institute, explains that Mbeki's "cautious" approach to the political challenges was done in order to prevent a total collapse, and he was gradually encouraging Mugabe towards political change (McKinley, 2003; McKinley, 2004).

South Africa's hands off approach of "quiet diplomacy" with Zimbabwe regarding its political crisis and human rights violations continued until 2007. The political campaign dominated by terror and the ultimate public beating of opposition civil leaders on 11 March 2007, finally sparked an outcry from the local and international community. South Africa stepped in and brokered an agreement between ZANU-PF and MDC for the 2008 elections. While there was some political violence and intimidation as the elections approached, the March 2008 elections were conducted relatively peacefully. The contested results called for a presidential run-off resulting in the worst electoral violence seen since the civil war in early 1980s (Mlambo and Raftopoulos, 2010). In response to the violent attacks on his supporters the MDC leader Morgan Tsvangirai pulled out of the June run-off elections. The international community, horrified at the violence and human rights abuses, called for a peaceful settlement of disputes. South African president Mbeki was asked to mediate the "Global Political Agreement" signed in September 2008. This agreement supported the two leaders (Mugabe as President and Tsvangirai as Prime Minister) working together toward economic and political reform in the country (Mlambo and Raftopoulos, 2010). Part of the agreement was that elections will be held once the country's political situation is stable. These elections had been set for March 2011. Although as of April 2011 has still not taken place.

### **3.2.2. Zimbabwe cross-border Migrants**

#### ***a. Scale: Number of Zimbabweans in South Africa***

There are no reliable data on the true size of the non-national migrant population in South Africa, let alone the number the Zimbabwean migrants. The numbers of documented (legal) and undocumented (illegal) non-national migrants vary by source, location and year.

Estimates of documented (legal) non-national migrants range from 26,000 officially registered in 1994 (Nduru, 2005) to 32,000 registered by September 2006 (UNHCR, 2007). By the first half of 2007, UNHCR (2007) reported another 30,000 new asylum seeking applicants, particularly from Zimbabwe, Malawi, Ethiopia and Somalia.

The undocumented numbers are more challenging to calculate and more contested. In 1994, the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) reported 64,000 undocumented migrants (90,000 migrants – 26,000 registered) were hosted in South Africa (Nduru, 2005). In 1996 the Human Science Research Council (HSRC) estimated that between 2.5 and 4.1 million people reside within South Africa “illegally” (UNHCR, 2007), and although the illegal aliens have been traced from around the world, the largest groups originate from Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Lesotho, Asia and Europe.

The most recent and accurate data available on the estimate of non-nationals in South Africa (the 2007 Community Survey by Statistics South Africa) estimated the number of foreign-born residents (including South African citizens) to be about 1.2 million people (IRIN, 2009). The number of forced migrants (those migrants forced to migrate due to conflict, emergencies or natural disasters) is likely to continue to grow, with the constant conflict in African countries like the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), and the continued struggles in bordering countries, like Zimbabwe, where economic collapse adds to the numbers seeking refuge in South Africa.

The situation may be further compounded by the impact of the global economic

recession, and the fluctuations in energy costs and commodity prices that have been a feature of recent international news.

Although the Zimbabwean migration to South Africa dates back to the early 19<sup>th</sup> Century, larger numbers have been seen since 2005, with a peak in 2008 (Betts and Kaytaz, 2009). In 2007 the Refugee Reception Office (RRO) in Johannesburg received 45,000 asylum applications (with a backlog of 87,000), while in 2008 the number rose to approximately 250,000 applications. These were largely lodged by Zimbabweans (Betts and Kaytaz, 2009). Although the true numbers of Zimbabweans in South Africa is unknown in 2009 the Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa (CoRMSA) estimated the total at between 1 and 1.2 million. This estimate may be low as the Department of Home Affairs (DHA) estimated about 2 million applied for asylum in 2009, a number that excluded those who remain undocumented.

The large number of new arrivals entering the country through unauthorised border points and not claiming asylum, makes accurate estimates of the numbers involved difficult (UNHCR, 2008a). The estimated numbers of undocumented Zimbabweans in 2006 – 2007 were largely calculated in comparison to the number of deportations occurring during the same period. In 2006, 260,000 Zimbabweans were arrested and deported, as they did not have legal status in South Africa. (Crush, 2008). A year later, deportations had increased 40%, with approximately 4,000 Zimbabweans being deported each week (Meldrum, 2007). This, however, provides a very basic estimate as many Zimbabweans report being deported several times each year, only to return to South Africa again. True numbers are unknown and near impossible to calculate but best recent estimates of Zimbabweans in South Africa is around 15 percent of the Zimbabwean population, or about 1.8 million people.

#### **b. Scope: Who is crossing the border?**

The United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) found recent changes in the demographics of those coming across the border from Zimbabwe. Before

Zimbabwe's presidential run-off on the 27<sup>th</sup> of June 2008, 90 percent of the migrants were unaccompanied males (UNHCR, 2008). Since the run-off there has been a drastic increase in the number of families (women and children) arriving as a result of the violence, failing economy and health issues (McDonald et al., 2000; Tevera and Zinyama, 2002). Save the Children UK (2007) has seen an increase in children (unaccompanied and accompanied) migrating across the border and, in most cases, in unconventional ways. This is further evidence that there is a large and increasing population of Zimbabwe migrant children in South Africa, the majority of whom are undocumented. In a news article by IRIN (2008), a South African border guard reported that Zimbabwe children often moved back and forth across the border at the official border post (at Beitbridge) freely, and without anyone stopping them. These children are 'invisible' to the South African government for a number of reasons. The majority are undocumented and thus there is no record of them in the country. Undocumented migrants are not included in the population census, and therefore excluded from school funding grants to the provinces. Lack of documentation, money and resources all contribute to their exclusion from basic access to education (IRIN 2008). For these children, basic needs for survival come before the want of education.

With the economic hardship and political tension continuing in Zimbabwe this migration flow is unlikely to end soon. In addition, there is the threat of another surge of migration due to the fear of election related violence during the approaching 2011 election campaign.

### ***c. Legal status and basic rights***

Most migrants who come to South Africa apply for legal asylum/refugee status. However, there have historically been serious delays in processing these applications and in refugee status determination (SouthAfrica.info, 2004). There are reports of asylum seekers waiting for application processing for over 10 years. In 2004 there were an estimated 52,000 asylum cases awaiting status determination (SouthAfrica.info, 2004). In the same year, to help the South African Department of Home Affairs clear the backlog, UNHCR trained forty South Africans as immigration lawyers. The cases



began to pile up again as many of the lawyers, now qualified, left for better paid employment. At the end of 2005, only 114 Zimbabweans were registered as legal refugees, while nearly 16,000 had cases pending (Kringer, 2006).

Most of these undocumented cross-border migrants continue to reside in South Africa even though it is difficult without legal status and documentation, as these forced migrants are not formally entitled to basic social services.

It has been reported that even with legal refugee status, forced migrant children face many barriers to accessing social services such as health care and basic education (Landau, 2006). For those without legal status, the challenges are much more acute and, with the growing forced migrant population without legal status and documentation, there is a large and growing population of children in South Africa who will not gain access to basic education even though it is their right. Due to the unofficial status of many of these children, there is little clear information on their numbers, distribution and, more importantly, the barriers to access that are excluding these children from schooling.

Denying these migrant children access to education is not only an issue of human rights but has serious economic and development implications. Cohorts of uneducated young people represent a serious loss of human capital and potential costs to the society. In addition, a growing population of uneducated youth has the potential to contribute to one of South Africa's greatest social and development challenges – the rampant crime rate.

However defined, there are still large numbers of migrants moving across the border, both legally and illegally, in an effort to satisfy basic survival needs. The South African government and the international community agree that there is a moral imperative to ensure the rights of the migrant children, including the rights of access to education, are met. Polzer (2008) noted that due to the “urban self-sufficiency and self-settlement refugee policy there are no institutions in place to provide large-scale shelter or welfare” (6), thus the government is not meeting the needs of the migrants.

### **3.2.3. National Response: Migrant Policy and recent developments**

Although South Africa has a history of cross border migration, with men from neighbouring countries having worked in the diamond and gold mines since the 19<sup>th</sup> century, South Africa's first experience with refugees was not until the 1980s when South Africa received those fleeing from the Mozambican liberation struggle (Crush, 2008). During this time, the apartheid government permitted the international community to establish and operate refugee camps for Mozambican refugees in the north eastern areas of the country (in the then apartheid era "homeland" of KaNgwane, now part of Mpumalanga Province). Although seen as refugees these Mozambicans were never granted official refugee status, until 2000/2001 when those who remained were given permanent residence (Crush, 2008).

South Africa did not recognise refugees within their borders until 1993, when they signed the United National and Organisation of African Unity conventions of refugees (Crush, 2008). In 1994, after the fall of the apartheid government, the country's refugee policy changed and the strategy of integration was adopted, bringing with it its own challenges and adding South Africa to the international debate on integration versus camps (Harrell-Bond, 2000; Crisp and Jacobson, 1998; Black, 1998). A policy of integration requires the government to be fully responsible for the migrants within its borders, including their right to education. The South African government opted for the integration approach – and the government would provide help and support to those classified as "refugees".

During the next four years South Africa developed a refugee policy (the Refugee Act of 1998), however this only came into effect in 2000 (Crush, 2008). Following the United Nations Protocol, the South African Refugee Act, No 130 of 1998 defined a refugee as someone who has been forced to flee and is unable to return to their country due to persecution (race, religion, nationality, membership to a particular social group or political option), or natural disasters. In the government policy "economic migrants" are not seen as refugees.

After eight years of negotiation, South Africa launched its 2002 Immigration Act. This act provided for the employment of foreign skilled labour (Crush, 2008). The act did encourage 'community policing', where local South African nationals could report undocumented (illegal) migrants in their community. This function has been seen as one of the policy factors that influenced the growing xenophobia that erupted in violence in May 2008 (Masilela, 2008).

The recent (2005 – 2008) influx of Zimbabwean migrants has challenged the South African government's "refugee" determination strategy as there have been mixed reasons for this movement (Polzer, 2008). The recent Zimbabwe migration is partially due to political persecution by militia loyal to one or other of the political groupings, especially ZANU-PF, as well as the growing economic crisis and the drastic increase in levels of poverty within Zimbabwe. Those who are fleeing political persecution may be granted refugee status by South Africa but, those moving for economic reasons are denied asylum. Polzer (2008) challenges this stance and states that the reason for this large migration is the economic collapse in Zimbabwe. People are migrating as a means to survive and elude starvation and disease in their own country, and they should be seen as humanitarian refugees. Polzer (2008) sees this migration as a humanitarian issue. Betts and Kaytaz (2009) see it as a combination of political, humanitarian and economic issues, identifying the Zimbabwe migrants as "survival migrants", "people fleeing an existential threat to which they have no domestic remedy" (1). These Zimbabweans were fleeing state failure and livelihood collapse (Betts and Kaytaz, 2009).

Whatever the reasons for migration this movement was noted to be the largest cross-border migration South Africa had ever seen (Polzer, 2008). The peak of the Zimbabwean influx in 2008 forced the South African government to re-evaluate its refugee policy and respond to Zimbabwean migration (Crush, 2008; Betts and Kaytaz, 2009). The Department of Home Affairs set up an additional Refugee Reception Office (RRO) at a common first point of entry, in a town along the border of Zimbabwe and South Africa (Betts and Kaytaz, 2009). At this point of entry the Zimbabwean migrants

were granted a “Transit Permit” under Section 23 of Refugee Act, which granted the applicant 14 days to travel from one RRO to another for further appeal in their refugee process or to submit their refugee application (Betts and Kaytaz, 2009). The challenge is that many of the migrants did not have the money to cover the cost of the transport, overstayed their visas and were deported.

As of February 2009, the RRO in the border town began to issue “Asylum Documentation” under Section 22 of the Refugee Act. This granted the migrants asylum in the country, permitting them to live and work in South Africa for up to 6 months, when their application for refugee status would be reviewed (Betts and Kaytaz, 2009). However, due to the backlog of applications, asylum documentation was often renewed 3 or 4 times (Betts and Kaytaz, 2009).

Both the Immigration Act and the Refugee Act contains a clause that could have helped the Zimbabweans obtain protection and rights in South Africa, without having to go through the asylum procedures (Betts and Kaytaz, 2008). The Immigration Act Section 31(2)(b) allows the Minister of Home Affairs, under special circumstances, to grant a category of foreigners permanent residence for a specified or unspecified period. Section 35 of the Refugee Act permits the minister to declare a “mass influx” of people to be granted refugee status (Betts and Kaytaz, 2008).

Polzer (2008) noted that the South African government had an emergency plan in place for a “mass influx” (>1000 migrants/day) of Zimbabweans during the election time, however the plan was never implemented because with a large number of illegal crossings meant the “mass influx” levels of migration were never officially reached, and the migration became classified as sustained trickle over time.

Pressure from the South African Development Community (SADC) to ensure facilitation of movement, which was signed and ratified by South Africa (DHA, 2009), encouraged a visa waiver program between the two countries. The Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) signed in May 2009 permits Zimbabweans free entrance into South Africa for 90 days, with a valid travel document (CoRMSA, 2009).

Pressure from lobbyists for temporary residence permits and the pressure on the DHA system encouraged the government to issue 12 month “Special Dispensation Permits” from April 2009 granting those Zimbabweans the legal right to live and work in South Africa (CoRMSA, 2009). During the same time, the DHA set up a SADC Reception office in Pretoria to focus primarily on permits for Zimbabweans and to help with the backlog from the Pretoria and Johannesburg RROs (Betts and Kaytaz, 2009).

During December 2010, the government allowed all migrants to apply for legal status in South Africa – either through asylum or through the Special Dispensation Permits. However, from 1 January 2011, all migrants found without legal papers will be arrested, detained and deported back to their home country.

#### **3.2.4. South African Education Commitment to Education for All**

In 1948, the year of the first National Party government, South Africa abstained from voting in favour of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights in the General Assembly (UNAC, 1998). Thus the country’s first documented commitment to education as a human right was in 1992 at the International Children’s Summit. Representatives from each of the provinces and homelands within South Africa designed ‘The Children’s Charter for South Africa’ acknowledging and declaring the rights of all children in South Africa, including their right to education (Article 8) (Republic of South Africa, 1992).

This was followed by South Africa signing off the United Nations Universal Declaration for Human Rights on 29 January 1993, and the ‘new’ democratic South African Government ratified this declaration on the 16 June 1995. These commitments to the people of South Africa were further developed in the Bill of Rights in the 1996 Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Republic of South Africa, 1996a). The government then took forward steps to ensure that policies to support these commitments were in place and to remove barriers restricting marginalised children from entering schooling. Policies for the reduction or removal of school fees for those unable to afford them, and legislation to provide for mother tongue as the language of

instruction where practical, were some of these 1996 changes (Republic of South Africa, 2009). Article 1 of the Children's charter also guaranteed the right of non-nationals to education in South Africa (Republic of South Africa, 1992).

However, policies giving these commitments and legislation effect have placed restrictions on the access of non-nationals to education in South Africa, requiring them to obtain '... a study permit, temporary or permanent residence permit or evidence of application for permission to stay in South Africa' (Republic of South Africa, 2009). Recent empirical research by the Forced Migrations Studies Program (FMSP) at the University of the Witwatersrand has highlighted the exclusion of non-nationals from basic education. This exclusion and denial of human rights is largely due to both the gaps in policy and lack of proper implementation (FMSP and CoRMSA, 2009; Lake and Pendlebury, 2009). The research also highlights the provincial DoE's reluctance to accept undocumented children into the education system, hindering the efforts of the country to meet the MDG Goal 2 and Universal Primary Education (UPE) by 2015 (FMSP and CoRMSA, 2009).

The South Africa Government made a commitment to the international community and to its people to ensure education for all, without discrimination. The challenge has been the development of policies to support that commitment, and effective implementation of those policies.

### **3.2.5. Barriers to Education Access and Policy Response**

During the apartheid regime, the South African government made small steps towards educational access for all, yet the quality and provision of the education was extremely distorted. Since 1994, there have been significant steps toward improving access and equity of quality of education (Fleish et al, 2009; RSA, 2007). These include the development of policies to open up access to marginalised groups (Motala et al., 2007). But even with these policies in place, there are still barriers preventing children from accessing education in South Africa (Fleish et al, 2009; Motala, S. et al. 2007).

***a. Economic Barriers: Poverty and Financing of Schooling***

Although the international community identifies school fees as a major barrier, South Africa's already high enrolment rates make it difficult to argue school fees are the primary barrier to children's access to education (Motala and Sayed, 2009; Fleish et al. 2009: 43). Motala and Sayed (2009) found that fees do however affect the pattern of enrolments and they have highlighted the inequity of the education systems in South Africa – since better quality schools can levy higher fees. Thus the poorest of the poor are still not able to access quality education (Motala and Sayed, 2009). In South Africa, the removal of school fees is a government strategy to improve the equity of access to education, and to provide a more equitable education system. Through this policy all schools quintiles 1, 2 and 3 are fee free, providing for many to access these schools.

The first post-apartheid policy regarding school fees was articulated in the 1996 South African Schools Act (SASA) (Republic of South Africa, 1996b). With the desegregation of schooling and the fear that middle class families would move their children to private schools, the Schools Act of 1996 empowered School Governing Bodies (SGBs) to charge fees for schooling (Republic of South Africa, 1996b). This allowed schools to charge fees to support their school development and growth. Tikly (1997) criticised the Act for reinforcing inequity, as the Act was designed to help the former "white" schools to maintain quality and standards, when their state funding was reduced to ensure equitable state funding of schools. Tikly and Mabagoane (1997) contended that these high fees at the former "white" schools discriminated against the poor who wished to access them. Bush and Heystek's (2003) research in Gauteng schools found that fees did not discriminate on race, as they found large numbers of black children in former white schools, but rather class. The poorer children were not able to access these schools due to their inability to pay fees and schools often selected children whose parents were able to pay the fees required.

To counter discrimination and to provide a more equitable education system, the South African government provided provisions in the Schools Act that exempted those who were unable to afford them from paying school fees, on the basis that no child

could be excluded from access to a public school because of an inability to pay fees. In the policy, schools were allocated extra funding according to their ranking on an index of need. There were however discrepancies between provinces (and within provinces) and between schools (Motala et al., 2007). The program encountered further difficulties as the government discovered that poorer schools, where the majority of those exempt were enrolled, did not have the training, support and transparency to handle the additional funds, and eventually the government exhausted the budget (Motala, et al., 2007). This is a classic case of policy outstripping implementation capacity.

Pampallis (2008) found that although the intended policy was to support access, implementation was not always universal and supportive. He found that with the introduction of the Schools Act, there was a large increase in parents applying for exemptions and admissions to schools in wealthier communities. As schools needed the fees to keep running at their current level and having limited capacity, there was a tendency to screen for those who could pay fees (Pampallis, 2008).

Pampallis (2008) also highlights that, in many cases, parents were unaware of the policy. Schools were not required to inform parents and besides, it was not in their best interest to do so. He also notes that the policy requires parents to provide documentation of their low incomes in order to receive exemption; in many cases the poor are unable to provide this as many work in cash paying jobs (Pampallis, 2008).

The government's response came in 2006 with the introduction of the 2005 Education Amendment act, providing legal foundation for introduction of fee-free schooling in 2007. This policy provided for those schools in the poorest three quintiles (1, 2 and 3) to be tuition free, receiving compensation in the form of non-personnel and non-capital budget allocations (Motala and Sayed, 2009), thus supposedly removing the barrier of school fees. However, in a finding that echoes trends in the international literature, Motala and Sayed (2009) and Tomasevski (2006) found that even when tuition fees were removed, there were still additional costs to schooling that perpetuated the financial barrier to educational access. In many cases, schools or



Parent Teacher Associations (PTAs) charge additional levies to help cover the costs of running the schools (Tomasevski, 2006; Motala and Sayed, 2009). And there are still the additional household costs of uniform, learning materials and transportation. To help alleviate the transport cost burdens, the South African government has made available a social grant to help vulnerable and orphaned children cover these additional costs.

Although the Fee Free policy is largely successful, allowing more children to access school, the additional costs to schooling, in relation to income, are still high for some, especially for those marginalised groups who are supposed to be benefiting from the removal of this access barrier.

A challenge to the “fee free” policy has been allocation of school quintiles. A school’s quintile is based on the affluence of the surrounding community, not on the socio-economic levels of the families within the schools. Thus some schools that have large number of poor and migrant children from the township actually fall into a higher quintile because of their proximity to more affluent neighbourhoods (from field visits with Wits EPU in Gauteng).

To eradicate this problem, the South African parliament passed an amendment in 2008, through which schools could apply to the DoE for reclassification and become a fee-free institution if they met the requirements decided by the provincial government. Pamapallis (2008) found that the implementation of this policy at a provincial level actually caused further inequity and discrepancies amongst the school quintiles in comparison to the national division.

Pampallis (2008) found further discrepancies with the implementation of the new policy, where some schools that were defined in the “fee-free” quintiles were still charging fees. Principals of the schools were unsure of the new policy, its implications for their schools and their government allocation (Pampallis, 2008). This highlights the poor policy implementation nationally.

Current schooling funding policy provides for a basic capitation grant with a poverty index enhancer. However, there is still strong evidence of poverty-related inequality of access across provinces. In South Africa, funds for schools are allocated according to data from the national census. Percentages are allocated to each province according to the census data. Funding is then allocated to each school according to per capita school-age learner enrolment and poverty level (Patel, 2004: 6).

With 88 percent of provincial education expenditure going towards personnel costs, more equitable allocation of personnel (teachers) is essential for equity (Republic of South Africa, 2009). The teachers are allocated on the basis of a set teacher:pupil ratio (Republic of South Africa, 2009). Thus, if the 'invisible' unregistered South Africans and cross-border migrant children are not included in the census, the local governments have not been allocated adequate teaching staff or required funding. The school level allocation is decided by the provincial education authority.

In provinces with large numbers of "invisible" children, provincial budget allocations will be stretched as these children will not have been included in the formula for calculating provincial grants. South Africa already spends a relatively high proportion of its GDP on education, around 20 percent of public expenditure and 5.3 percent of the GDP (Nationmaster, 2010). Without a review of the efficiency of the resource utilisation, the provision of access for large numbers of undocumented migrants could place additional pressure of already stretched resources.

#### ***b. Social and Cultural Barrier: Language of instruction***

Language policy has been a significant issue of conflict throughout its history. The Soweto uprising in 1976 was triggered by enforcement of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in schools for black pupils in Soweto. Post-apartheid South Africa faces a particular challenge as there are eleven official languages. The government has tried to accommodate all these languages with the 1997 Language in Education Policy (LiEP) which promotes the use of all eleven official languages, giving individuals the right to choose their language of teaching and learning. This decision is supported by

international evidence that children who learn to read and write in their mother tongue perform better and support further equality in education (Mda, 1997). However, the policy states that the school governing bodies are given the power to decide on the medium of instruction and the languages taught at the school.

The practical implementation is laden with challenges (Sookrajh and Joshua, 2009). The ability to provide education in the mother tongue, particularly in urban areas where urban migration has led to many different mother tongues being spoken, is limited by the number of schools and size of population speaking a particular language. As Fraser (1997) stated, implementing mother-tongue education in a multilingual society is fraught with challenges. Research by Sookrajh and Joshua (2009), Probyn (2006), and Singh (2009) showed that in South Africa the language of instruction is still proving to be a barrier to meaningful access, largely to marginalised groups in rural areas and migrants.

Preliminary research by the University of Witwatersrand Education Policy Unit (Luxomo, personal communication, 13 November 2008) found that in township areas in Gauteng, where there was a better supply of schools inherited from the apartheid era, children often would not access the school near their homes as the language of instruction was not their own. Some would travel across the township to attend another school where the language of instruction was their mother tongue. In the rural areas where schools are few and far between, children usually have access to only one school and are forced to learn in the language of instruction of that school, which could be considered a barrier to accessing quality rural schooling.

This same challenge has been identified with internal migration, where children move between the provinces. An example of this is those children who move from Kwa-Zulu Natal, with a mother tongue of Zulu, to Gauteng and attend a local school where children are mostly taught in Setswana, English or Afrikaans. In practice, mother tongue is usually taught from grades 1 – 4, after which there is a switch to English and, occasionally, Afrikaans (Kamwangamalu, 2000: 120). For those who are unable to speak or understand the language of instruction, this is clearly a barrier. For cross-

border migrants from Francophone countries (where French is the mother tongue) or even from Zimbabwe (where Shona or Sindebele are the most widely spoken mother tongues) accessing schools where the language of instruction is English, Afrikaans, Zulu, etc. presents a barrier to their access to quality education and development. South Africa has a refugee policy of integration (see section on refugee policy below). The South African government, however, has made no policy commitment to provide language education support to help with integration of these children into the community or local education.

Research by Probyn (2006) and Singh (2009) shows that even with the LiEP policy, not much has changed and English is still the dominant language of instruction. The literature brings out three themes for the gap between the implementation and the expected policy outcomes: lack of implementation strategies, English as the language of the global market and the views of the educators involved in implementation.

The policy for mother-tongue education has been examined in recent research by Sookrajh and Joshua (2009) who found that even though the teachers were aware of the policy, they had never received any training and found it difficult to understand how to implement it. Kamwangamalu (2000) and Beurkes (2009) also found a lack of implementation of the policy in schools in South Africa. Heuge (2007) related it to the governments “procrastination” in implementing the policy. A teacher in Sookrajh and Joshua’s (2009) study claimed that LiEP was not a priority of the DoE and thus they had not truly formulated an implementation strategy (Joshua, 2009: 330).

Another challenge of this implementation is the fact that English is seen as a language of power, the de facto language of business in South Africa and the language of the global market. Vesely (2000), in Sookrajh and Joshua (2009), theorise that although black learners value their mother-tongue as a symbol of ethnic identity, they see English as the language of power, and necessary to get ahead (330). Probyn (2006) supports this, citing the use of English as the language of instruction from as early as Grade 1 in some township schools. Secondary schooling is taught predominantly in English because families and educators push for English as the language of instruction,

which is a requirement for entry to both tertiary education and also the global job market. Kamwangamalu (2001) argues there is a need to promote the use of mother-tongue languages in education, while Shookraih and Joshua (2009) highlight the benefits of basic learning in the mother tongue, and a shift in perceptions of African languages. Another option is to do bilingual teaching. This is done unofficially in many of the schools at present, with teachers switching between mother-tongue and English to explain topics (Beukes, 2009).

The Sookrajh and Joshua (2009) study shows that “[t]eachers’ beliefs about policy influence their attitude and will to implement it” (330). These educators (teachers and principals) are the ones that implement the policy on the ground level and, if they do not have a true understanding of, or belief in the policy, they will struggle to implement it.

### ***c. Official Barriers: Documentation and Admission Requirements***

The 1996 South African Schools Act states that public schools must admit learners without unfair discrimination (5.1). It also states that subject to the act and provincial law, the admission policy of a public school is determined by the School’s Governing Body (SGB) (5.5) without discrimination.

In their research Bush and Heystek (2003) found there is ample evidence of admissions discrimination – factors include language competency and religious beliefs. Gilmour (2001) showed that the law providing for schools to keep their religious, cultural and language characters was opening the door for discrimination disguised as cultural freedom. Seeing this loophole, the Government responded by shifting the policy in the Schools Act to state that students could not be refused admission on the grounds of not subscribing to the school’s mission statement (Gilmour, 2001).

Although schools’ admissions policies may vary slightly, the Department of Education in South Africa, like many other countries, requires an official birth certificate (for proof of age and eligibility) and immunisation records (to ensure a child has been

immunised against communicable diseases) for school admissions (Republic of South Africa, 2009). For many in South Africa and across the continent, birth certificates are not available – births within the home often remain unregistered or parents are unable to pay the fees required for a birth certificate (Polzer, 2004). Save the Children UK (2009) found that a third of the children they work with do not have birth certificates or legal documentation. If a child is changing schools or entering secondary education, the Department of Education requires the submission of a transfer card, or last report card, for enrolment.

The admission requirements for non-nationals are almost the same as those for nationals, requiring a birth certificate, school report card or transfer letter, and identity documents of parents. In addition non-nationals are required to provide documentation proving they have permission to study in South Africa, either in the form of a study permit or temporary residence permit. More recently, asylum documentation has been accepted as proof of eligibility for school admission. The Provincial DoE in the research area does allow the principals to grant a three month grace period, allowing for admission with the assurance that the child/parents will bring the required “missing” documentation within the next 3 months.

Research (Save the Children, 2009; Polzer, 2004; Polzer, 2007, FMSP, 2007; CoRSM, 2008; CoRSM and FMSP, 2009; Human Rights Watch, 2006; Landau and Jackson, 2004; Motha and Ramadrio, 2005; Motha, 2005, Nduru, 2005; Palmory, 2007; Segal, 2004) highlights the challenges of non-nationals seeking to enter education in South Africa. They challenge both the practicality of the policy and its implementation.

In most cases, non-national migrants do not have the required admissions documentation. Some entering South Africa either have never had a birth certificate or it was lost or destroyed and, in most cases, it would be impossible to obtain a new one (IRIN, 2004). Large numbers of non-nationals do not have legal status in the country; others fear showing their identification for fear of deportation or xenophobic attacks.

It is evident from various studies by FMSP and CoRMSA that legal status and lack of

documentation emerge as the greatest access barriers to affect cross-border migrants. Those migrants without the right documents may often be penalized and excluded (Hunt, 2008).

Stone and Winterstien (2003) report that even though national policy states that students need official legal status to enter school, the Minister of Education (in 2003) stated:

*'In the case where applicants do not have the necessary residence status (i.e. valid permit that clearly states their residence status), school principals would still be obliged to register or admit them to the school, but would also be expected, under the law, to report such cases to the relevant authorities, namely the Department of Home Affairs'*

(in Stone and Winterstein, 2003: 29).

This puts both principals and migrants in a predicament. Principals have an ethical dilemma; provide for the basic educational right of all, or report students who will then most likely be deported. As a result, many migrants do not access education for fear of deportation. This was evident in a study conducted by the Forced Migration Studies Programme (2007) where educational access of migrant children in the Nkomazi Municipality, bordering Mozambique and Swaziland was documented. They found that principals recognise the children's right to education, even if the children do not have South African documentation, but feel under pressure to implement documented access criteria because they will be fined or charged with misconduct if they allow undocumented children to access schooling without reporting them. Children without adequate documentation are thus often denied admittance to schooling or do not try for fear of being deported (Forced Migration Studies Programme, 2007: 5-6). For many migrants, especially Zimbabweans, attaining these legal papers is very challenging. Not only is there the challenge of getting to a refugee reception office to file claims, and the hidden costs (corruption and incidental costs) of filing claims (that should be free), but there is also the fear of discrimination and xenophobia.

### **3.3. Gaps between Policy and Implementation**

The literature review demonstrates how attempts to remove education barriers are largely through the development of education policies. Yet, even with these new policies in place, children are still facing challenges accessing schooling due to the complex relationship between immigration and education policies, which impact their right to education. States have signed international agreements to support the rights of migrants, however migrants still face human rights violations every day. The gaps identified are therefore between both immigration and education policy development and the implementation of these policies.

In 1994, the South African Government's policy agenda was a revamp of the education system, as well as the migration policies, with the aim of bringing about changes to overcome decades of racial and ethnic discrimination that was the foundation of the apartheid policy, and had become ingrained in the system (Sayed, 2001; Jansen, 2003). This political push resulted in a large array of policies for change, without sufficient consideration given to the viability of implementation on the ground level (Jansen, 2003).

Critics also highlight the need to focus attention on understanding the dynamics of implementation and institutionalisation of change (Sayed, 2001), especially in a system ingrained with opposing political will. Change takes time, and change on the extreme level investigated takes longer. Policies can be changed, but changing institutional memory and political will can take generations, highlighting the difficulties the new government faced in connecting the intended outcome with policy in practice on the ground level (Sayed, 2001: 29).

Formal policy change is usually designed at the governmental level since policies require political endorsement to have legal force and effect. However, implementation takes place on the ground. Grindle and Thomas (1990) state that one of the biggest reasons for discrepancies between policy and implementation is the fact that too much emphasis is placed on the decision making process, while implementation strategies



are not developed. Understanding, interpretation and institutionalisation of those policies is linked to identities, beliefs, experiences and skills of those involved in policy implementation at each level (teachers, principals and government officials). Implementation in the classroom is strongly linked to the teachers' response to change (Carrim, 1999; Nakabaugo and Sienborger, 1999; Jansen, 2003).

Some models of policy development are conceived as a linear process (Weiss, 1979; Neilson, 2001; Porter and Hick, 1995). More recent literature shows that this process of policy development and implementation, and the use of knowledge, is not linear, but a cycle of policy formulation, implementation and evaluation, followed by redevelopment (Porter and Hicks, 1995; Neilson, 2001, Grindle and Thomas, 1990; Jansen, 2003: 94; Kahn, 1996). Jansen (2003) argues that the "feedback loop" is in place in South Africa, yet not working effectively. Although research is being done, and results collected, Jansen (2003) feels that part of the inefficiency is the lack of the state's capacity to turn the information into useful planning information. For Weiss (1979) and Neilson (2001), this depends on the definition of 'use'. Kahn (1996) highlights the need for this feedback loop as policy analysts are seldom on the ground, but require policy feedback and evaluation to inform, adapt and improve policy development. Grindle and Thomas (1990) feel that emphasis needs to be focused on developing implementation strategies and setting up feedback loops. These feedback loops can help reduce the disjunction between the policy and the resources that are needed and available. Without these resources and the proper implementation, these policies become a wish list rather than an implementable policy.

There is a rich international literature under the rubric of "knowledge utilisation", pioneered largely by Weiss, a professor at Harvard (Weiss, 1979). Her work focused largely on the utilisation of knowledge from social science research and "policy-oriented" social science research in the context of education policy in the United States of America. But it spawned a considerable body of literature that applied some of the key concepts to other countries, including South Africa. Meyer and Hofmeyer (1995) agree on the importance of knowledge utilisation in policy development and focus on the importance of policy evaluation and knowledge input into new policy

development. They found that a major challenge in South Africa is the lack of human resources with the training and knowledge for this evaluation (Meyer and Hofmeyer, 1995), a weak link in the feedback loop. Bush and Heystuk (2003) agree, finding that the gap between policy and implementation is partly a bureaucratic problem but, more significantly, largely a challenge of the policy development process itself.

### **3.4. Summary**

The factors involved in the Zimbabwe crisis are complex. The intertwined factors of political turmoil and economic instability have caused a collapse in the country's social services, such as healthcare and education. These have had a large impact on the mass exodus from Zimbabwe.

South Africa's initial response to this crisis was slow and, as the crisis in Zimbabwe grew, so did the number of migrants in South Africa. Recent developments (policies changed and agreements reached) are showing a "more positive shift towards a rational, coherent and regionally beneficial migration management approach" to the Zimbabwean migration (CoRMSA, 2009).

The challenge South Africa and the international community now face is developing and implementing policy to provide support for the basic rights of these migrants, including education and healthcare, while supporting the growth and stability of Zimbabwe so that these migrants can repatriate. A growing concern is the planned 2011 elections in Zimbabwe and the direction the country will then take.

## **CHAPTER 4: Research, Methodology and the Methods**

Chapter 4 introduces the research methodology and methods used to collect the empirical data for this thesis. The first section of this chapter (Section 4.1) reviews the aims and focus of the research. Section 4.2 revisits the research questions that were introduced in Chapter 1, reviewing them to set the stage for the methodology. Section 4.3 identifies expected outcomes of the research. The author's identity is discussed in Section 4.4, which also explains the limitations and ethical challenges the author found during fieldwork. The political and legal sensitivity of this research provides significant ethical and security issues, which required a unique methodological approach. Section 4.5 reviews literature on the methodology of research with vulnerable groups, providing a background for the methods used in the research, which are further discussed in Section 4.6

### **4.1. Introduction to Empirical Work: Research Aim and Focus**

The growing non-national migrant population in South Africa and its impact on the country is of rising concern to government officials. The well-publicised and violent 2008 xenophobic attacks highlighted the concerns of local South Africans; that these non-national migrants were accessing employment and social services that had been promised to citizens but not yet received. With limited understanding of the true numbers of non-nationals in South Africa, there has been little research done to evaluate their access to social services and the impact of this marginalised group on the social services such as health and education in South Africa. Recognising the significant financial and social impact of large numbers accessing the education system, this research seeks to better understand the access of non-nationals to education in South Africa. With many educational barriers and challenges faced by migrants similar to those of marginalised nationals, the results of this work could inform the education authorities of gaps in their policies and systems and could help improve the access of South African nationals too.

This study explores why some non-national children are accessing education while others are not. This is done through an evaluation of the South African education policies and their implementation at the ground level. Further understanding is obtained through an evaluation of the involvement and influences of social and institutional networks of these migrant children. Literature has shown that networks aid in migration and employment and this study examines their influence in the migrants' access to education in the host country.

Since South Africa is now host to migrants from various countries (such as Democratic Republic of Congo, Sudan, China and Malawi), this study narrowed the focus to one migrant group, using the fast growing Zimbabwean migrant population as the case study group. With limited finances, resources and time, this research was not a national evaluation, but rather a localised case study conducted in a small border town, which is a microcosm of the broader issues regarding educational access for this migrant group.

The research evaluated the access barriers faced by both the documented and undocumented school-aged Zimbabwean cross-border migrant children in the town. The intended aim was to identify the official, economic and socio-cultural dynamics that shape the educational exclusion of non-nationals, along with their impact on the South African education system. The empirical work focused on challenges faced by both those migrant children in school, and those unable to access school. Further understanding of the challenges faced by these non-national migrant children, and the impact on the schooling system once these migrant children have accessed education, could further aid in policy development.

The genesis of this research reflects a progression through a series of approaches to the issue of educational access for cross-border (non-national) migrant children in South Africa. It started as a conventional investigation of the barriers to educational access, drawing on a review of current policies and the factors and forces that shape them, and analysing the ways in which the educational system functions to meet the educational aspirations of some migrant children, while failing others. Almost all the

predictable policy and system factors that one would expect were found to be significant forces influencing educational access for these children. Understanding that non-national migrant children are a particularly vulnerable group, the research evolved to further understand the barriers and challenges this particular group face.

## **4.2. Research Questions: Review**

### **Research Question 1:**

- a. What are the characteristics of Zimbabwe child migrants?

As explored in the introduction this question develops the framework for understanding who this marginalised group contains. By exploring their beliefs, values, motivations for migration and their experiences of education through structured surveys of 100 migrant children, the questions provided a platform to understand better the link between educational access and migrant children. They also provided guidelines for comparison to other marginalised groups.

- b. What are their experiences and perceptions with regard to education?

This part of the question reveals more on the migrants' experiences, beliefs and aspirations for education while in Zimbabwe and now that they are in South Africa. The investigation focused on those who were able to access education in South Africa, and those who were not. For those who were unable to access education, the question focuses on their experiences, challenges and the barriers they faced. While for those who were able to access education, the question focuses more on their experiences in the education system, and how their experiences affect their attendance and their academic progress.

**Research Question 2:** What are the social, institutional (schools and DoE), political and economic factors that interact to determine what access the Zimbabwe child migrant has to education within South Africa?

The educational access barriers of this migrant group are tackled in Research Question 2. Semi-structured interviews with principals, teachers and other actors in the town

provided insight into their understanding of the access barriers these children face, why some children are accessing education while others are not and the roles and response of each actor towards these challenges. Semi-structured interviews with teachers and principals provided information on their experience of migrant children in their schools, along with providing their interpretations of the education policies with regard to migrants' access.

**Research Question 3:** What are the social and institutional networks that migrant children interact with and what is the nature of their engagement with these networks in relation to seeking access to schooling in South Africa?

This research question explores the social and institutional networks of the migrant children. Through mapping out the institutional networks that are involved with the educational access of migrant children in the case study town, this question investigates the pathways for the migrant children to access education. This contributed to an understanding of the networks involved, the roles of various actors in the networks and the policy gaps being filled by these actors, and provided further support in demonstrating the need for policy development.

### **4.3. Expected Outcomes**

The six main outcomes for this study were to:

1. Develop a picture of the characteristics of a Zimbabwe migrant child.
2. Develop an understanding of the barriers to accessing schooling and quality education for this migrant group.
3. Gain a basic understanding of the links between social networks and their influence on educational access for migrants, and initiate further research into this area.
4. Provide insight into the policy development for the educational access of non-nationals, by evaluating the education policy and its interpretations and implementations at the field level.
5. Identify areas for improvement in policy with regard to the provision of education for migrants.

6. Develop constructive recommendations for policy changes in education and migration.

#### **4.4. Primary Researcher Identity**

My career has been focused around education. I am a trained and experienced teacher, with a work background in education and development. My interest in migrant (refugee) education was piqued during my Masters at the University of Sussex, where I focused my thesis on the challenge of learner attainment and certification in the host country and access to education upon returning to country of origin. This interest was enhanced during my subsequent professional employment in Sierra Leone, which further identified the struggles of education access for rural children and migrants in developing countries.

Watching the collapse of Zimbabwe through the news, hearing the news from family members in the country and seeing the migration of Zimbabweans into South Africa, my concern for the migrant children was heightened. As a Zimbabwean-born South African, with a parent from each country, I have attachments to both countries. I also have experience in migration myself and have faced challenges of accessing education in different countries. The benefit I had being a documented migrant was that the requirements for enrolment were attainable and I was granted access. My concern was for the Zimbabwe migrant children who were undocumented and how their rights to access were being supported by South Africa.

A benefit of having relations to both countries was the response I gained from those involved in the study. Most informants, on hearing I was “from” Zimbabwe and that I had family ties to the country, were then more willing to accept me as “one of them” and share their experiences. This group believed that I cared about their cause and that my research was a step towards restoration of their country and support for them in South Africa while they were in exile.

The disadvantage was the emotional attachment to both countries connected to the research. Seeing the devastation and the effects of the violence in Zimbabwe, and hearing the horror stories about the struggles these children faced was hard to hear and made it challenging to remain truly objective. But the stories did strengthen my commitment to the research and my resolve to ensure changes were made to help these children.

I support the belief that every child has the right to education. This study provides a context and case study from which the international community and local governments can begin to develop strategies to support migrant children. The research will provide further support to the research on access barriers for migrants, initiate further research into the involvement of networks in educational access and encourage the involvement of national governments and the international community in developing systems to support this marginalised group.

My undergraduate background in science influenced my design and implementation of this research in two ways. Firstly scientific research is largely quantitative, thus, despite the use of qualitative methods being relatively new to me, I believed they were essential to help deepen the understanding of the data and trends that were appearing in this study. Secondly, my scientific training has convinced me of the need to remain an objective observer.

It was not only my background that influenced the design of the research but also the nature of the study itself. The purpose of the study, (to understand the educational access of the Zimbabwe migrant children and the influence of their network), and the information I needed required both quantitative and qualitative methods. The quantitative data identified key areas and possible trends for further research and the qualitative data helped further understand them. For gathering the qualitative data I had initially intended to get close to the participants in a way that would have allowed me to delve into their lives, however this was not easy due to the emotive and sensitive nature of the subject of inquiry. In addition to this the focus of the study was



children and adding another level of complexity and difficulty if I was to attempt a deeper engagement into their lives.

This objective stance did prevent me from delving deeper into the communities and gathering insider stories about the challenges they face. This was taken into account during the research design and in this study the interest from the data was more in understanding how the networks operated, and not necessarily to develop in-depth accounts of the migrants' lives. Focusing the research on the networks called for methods that typically produce 'objective' data in the quantitative terms, with the qualitative data used to illuminate aspects so that better understanding of the networks and how they affected individual lives can be gained.

#### **4.5. Review of Research Methodology**

The methodology and methods of research utilised in this study were developed through analysing research conducted in similar situations. Research conducted in a developing country is difficult and differs in methods from research conducted in a developed context. This research had the additional complexity of the research group being migrants, further challenging the research methods (Colson, 2007).

Penice (1994) found research methodology with forced migrants to be controversial amongst his peers of the time. Research is often context specific, and the use of conventional methods can be inappropriate for various reasons, such as language, mobility, and cultural differences. In the case of refugee research, Colson (2007) believes that material prepared in advance, although valuable, is often impractical for the situation and that improvisation and willingness to follow the events is essential. Research in this context does not always lend itself well to methodology designed around western ideals and expectations, thus Penice (1994) and Colson (2007) note that the researcher needs to be open-minded and flexible, modifying methods according to context to ensure gathering valuable information.

Bloch (1999), Jacobsen and Landau (2003), and Thylden and Brunovskis (2005) agree there is no “best practice” for research methods with regard to forced migrants, but good background research and the development of rigorous research methods, taking into account the ethical and methodological considerations, is essential (Voutira and Doná, 2007). Jacobsen and Landau (2003) found that often the weakness in the research is from poor research design and lack of methodological rigour. In order to provide good quality research that can be used to help strengthen policy development, the research design should have sound methodological practices to ensure it is academically sound and relevant to policy (Jacobsen and Landau, 2003).

Colson (2007) and Jacobsen and Landau (2003) both felt that an additional pressure on the research methods is the ethical challenges that arise with research on migrants. Their legal status, their types of migration and the activities some may be involved with raise ethical concerns for the researcher (Jacobsen and Landau, 2003). The questions the researcher may ask and their presence in the community may put their subjects at risk, particularly in areas of high vulnerability such as conflict zones or host communities (Jacobsen and Landau, 2003).

Jacobsen and Landau (2003) found that in these cases refugees might be afraid to tell the interviewer the truth, for fear of jeopardising their safety and position in the community. The use of local research assistants could help gain access to the community, without creating too much suspicion. Also, their being local means they have better access to the communities and an easier time earning a level of trust. The local assistants also have a better understanding of the local biases and challenges that face these refugees (Jacobsen and Landau, 2003, Bloch, 1999).

Doná (2007), Colson (2007), Penice (1994), Jacobsen and Landau (2003) and Voutira and Doná, (2007) all agree that one of the most challenging parts of research with migrants is gaining access to the informant group. Migrants who have self-settled (not in camp environment) are harder to identify and gain access to. Jacobsen and Landau (2003) found in their research in urban areas that, when questioning potential informants, the informants would often lie about their nationalities to avoid answering

the questions and they would be ineligible for the study. Penice (1994) found that even when someone agreed to participate in a study, gathering accurate information from them was a challenge.

Millner (2004) and Hynes (2005) assert there is a need for the researcher to gain the trust of the community and of the informants being interviewed, to gain access to true and accurate information. Bloch (1999) gained access and the trust of the community through the use of 'gatekeepers'. These gatekeepers are respected members of the community who can reassure the community about the presence and intentions of a researcher. Millner (2004) supported this, saying that once in "the backdoor" a researcher can gain data that reflects the beliefs and experiences of the refugee community.

Using local researchers to assist with the study can help with gaining access to the community. Bloch (1999) and Jacobsen and Landau (2003) agree that the use of local researchers for assistance with a study can help ensure the data is reliable and objective. Bloch (1999) believes that involving the researchers in the design phase ensures that the content is substantive and does not have any cultural biases. Bloch (1999) also suggests debriefing with the researchers to add their input, perceptions and viewpoints on the research, often providing a different viewpoint and information that is not collected in the survey.

Kosygina's (2005) research identified a correlation between the gender of the informant and researcher and the quality of data collected, finding that gender of the informant can often affect the quality of the data. Largely a cultural issue, and for reasons of comfort, women are often more willing to share more information with women, and men with men.

The challenge with using researchers is the validity of the research. Each researcher has their own identity which may influence their work. This is where debriefing can help the primary researcher understand any biases that may exist. Jacobsen and Landau (2003) suggest that back translation is helpful in avoiding bias where research

is done in the local language. Local researchers can support the language challenges that occur. However, this brings forward confidentiality issues (Penice, 1994). These researchers, who are part of the community, are now aware of personal information of this vulnerable group.

Anonymity of informants and confidentiality of their information is essential with migrant research, as this population is very vulnerable (Mackenzie et al., 2007). Western ethics demand signed documentation of informed consent for participation in a study. Migrants are often worried about their anonymity and refuse to sign documentation and prefer verbal consent (Penhice, 1994). Mackenzie et al., (2007) state that in terms of migrants the minimum is to ensure that the informants are "...informed about the purpose of the study, the methods, risks and benefits and they agree to participate fully". Much to the concern of western ethics committees, in the developing context and emergency settings this validation is often only given in the form of a verbal agreement.

Challenges to access, confidentiality and the willingness of participants often result in small sample groups for studies with migrants. There are very few large scale data sets of refugees, especially those who self-settle (Jacobsen and Landau, 2003). Penice (1994) and Jacobsen and Landau (2003) agree that sample size is a challenge for gaining a true representation of the population. Jacobsen and Landau (2003) state that although "...small samples are seldom representative ..." of the whole population, small samples can provide in-depth knowledge. However, the researcher needs to understand the limits of the data and its interpretation, thus avoiding drawing false conclusions and risking creating the wrong impression.

The study of migrants is multidisciplinary and there is a need to use a variety of research approaches (Voutira and Doná, 2007). Omidan (2000) found that refugee research lends itself well to qualitative research methods, including observation and open-ended questions to gain an anthropological understanding of the survey population. Qualitative information adds depth to the data and numbers collected from quantitative measure.

By nature, this research was both methodologically and ethically challenging due to the politically sensitive issues being addressed and the vulnerability of the informants. The methods used in this research aim to be academically rigorous and are clearly explained for replication. Both male and female Zimbabwean local researchers were employed to assist with research, helping gain access to, and the trust of, the migrant community to ensure accurate information. Various measures were taken to ensure strict confidentiality of information and the anonymity of the informant and researchers. Research methods used included: structured surveys, semi-structured interviews, focus groups and informal discussions to gather as much valid and accurate information as possible. Understanding its limitation, this study is designed to gain an understanding of the challenges migrant children face.

#### **4.6. Methods Implemented in the Empirical Work**

##### **4.6.1. General Approach to the Study**

This is a largely qualitative study intended to provide insight into the access barriers and educational challenges faced by migrant children in South Africa. The research used mixed methods, including interviews, participant observation and focus groups, to gain an in-depth understanding of the participants and the environmental aspects and socio-cultural factors that affect their educational access.

The initial surveys were used to gather basic quantitative data, identifying characteristics of the sample group and generating an overview of the challenges these migrant children face. Interviews provide more in-depth, specific information (Omidian, 2000), and were used to complement and further strengthen the results of the surveys. Jacobsen and Landau (2003) note that a challenge with open-ended and semi-structured interviews is the interaction between the interviewer and the respondent, as the interactions between the two could influence the answers given and the information collected. Thus, to help remove the variability of different

research identities influencing the collection of data, the interviews were conducted by the author, as the primary researcher.

Focus groups, led by two research assistants, helped to gather further information. The challenge with this group was to control the conversation and ensure it focused on the desired data (Omidian, 2000). Another challenge highlighted by Jacobsen and Landau (2003) is the lack of confidentiality amongst the group. This may affect the type of information shared, but also raises the vulnerability of the research group. Informal conversations held with various respondents, before or after interviews or over lunch, often provided a real sense of the problems without the pressure of a formal interview (Omidian, 2000). Although not seen as ideal academic methodology, in this study it provided a wealth of information that informants would not share during formal interviews for fear of exposure. Oral education histories and social network mapping provide an in-depth understanding of the influence that these networks have with regard to educational access.

The author was supported by a group of research assistants (see Section 4.6.2) who were trained (see Section 4.6.2) to help collect the majority of the field data. This technique helped to address the language barriers, provide access to the migrant community and minimise unwanted attention being drawn to the informants (both adults and children). These research assistants were migrants themselves and did not only aid in the collection of primary data, but also provided primary data themselves. Their experiences, views and perspectives added depth and insight to the research as well as providing a more realistic interpretation of the primary data collected. With the varied background and personal experiences of these research assistants, reliability was a slight challenge. To increase the reliability of the data collected, the research assistants were trained on the research tools and methods used in this study. The coding and analysis of quantitative and qualitative data was carried out by the author, however the results and questions raised from the data collected were passed through a group session with the research assistants.

The data collected included the study of life and educational histories given by the children as they remember them. This focused on their accounts, reflections and observations of their daily life to ensure an in-depth intensive study into the group as a whole, thus qualifying it by Mertens' (1998) definition of a case study, and enabling the researchers to piece together the migrant children's social networks. It took considerable time to access these cross-border migrant children and gain their trust before they were willing to share their stories and details of their networks, and allow their lives to be studied.

This study provides a deep and rich understanding of the dynamics of the intricate social, economic, cultural and historical factors that affect educational access. This case study also aims to identify the push and pull factors for the children's migration to South Africa. Mertens (1998) notes that personal histories are biased by the interviewee as they present the history as they themselves remember it (209). To ensure reliability the interviewer should ask clarification questions. To ensure accuracy, the interviewer should consult other sources (Mertens, 1998: 209). Triangulation was done to confirm the reliability of this study with the parents/legal guardians, siblings or friends of the interviewees being consulted by the research team.

Along with written records (surveys/interviews) the research assistants also recorded (audio) each of the interviews. For ethical reasons, if an informant requested not to be audio recorded their wishes were respected. The recording of the interviews was to ensure the validity, reliability and the consistency of each research assistant and their surveys. An additional researcher was hired to transcribe some of the interviews and to validate the written records and the translations of the research assistants. For transcription, a 10 percent random sample was taken. After review of their surveys, the research assistants were divided into two groups according to their performance. "Excellent Interviewers" had complete survey forms with in-depth reflections on each of the participants, both on the form and in oral reflection during the allocated debrief time. Those who fell in the "Good Interviewer" category, although good in their data

collection, had a few incomplete forms (which were not included in the analysis) and did not provide much reflection on each of their informants.

**Table 1: Research Assistants divided into interview quality categories**

<b>Excellent Interviewers</b>	<b>Good Interviewers</b>
Researcher 1*	Researcher 3
Researcher 2	Researcher 5
Researcher 4	Researcher 7
Researcher 6	

\*Researcher 1 filled in for Researcher 3 on Day 3 as she had a family emergency in Zimbabwe.

Ten percent of the surveys were transcribed: 10 child and 4 guardian surveys. Thus 5 child and 2 parent/guardian surveys from each group (“excellent” and “good”) were selectively audited and transcribed in order to give a comparison between the good and excellent interviewers.

To ensure the validity of the interview data collected, triangulation was carried out by interviewing other actors involved in order to gain their perspectives on the educational access. The data also examined what impact these perspectives had on the inclusion of migrants into the education system (Mertens, 1998: 183). Those interviewed for triangulation included parents/guardian, teachers, local authorities, NGO/UN/Aid employees and church officials. Observations by research assistants and colleagues, and review of documentation from agencies, schools and local authorities were also used to support the triangulation of the interview data. This information was used to help confirm the children’s accounts and gain a number of perspectives on the role of the state and various actors in the provision of education to these cross-border migrant children.

The data was collected over 2 field trips:

*Phase 1:* The first trip of 4 months (June 2009 – September 2009) was used to gain an initial understanding of the setting and what was happening on the ground. Using Johannesburg as a base, a two-week trip was undertaken to the research location on a monthly basis. These trips were supported by Save the Children–UK, who helped



provide access to the communities and housing in the Town. Initial permission to undertake the research was gained from the Department of Education at the provincial level (Limpopo DoE).

While based in Johannesburg, meetings with actors both in Pretoria and Johannesburg were organised and data captured during the field trips was correlated and analysed. The field trips included the training of the research assistants, initial data collection around education barriers and initial interviews with the key actors involved.

*Phase 2:* The second trip of 6 weeks (February 2010 – April 2010) focused on more in-depth follow-up with the various actors involved. Further, more in-depth interviews were conducted with children (both in and out of school), teachers and principals, and local and international NGOs and churches who were involved in supporting non-national migrant children. These interviews were conducted by the author, aided by a research assistant for language translation, and helped to gain a better understanding of the influence of social and organisational networks in the provision of education to these children. This field visit also helped to clarify the accuracy of data collected in Phase 1.

#### **4.6.2. Research Assistants**

This research was conducted by the author, as the primary researcher, aided by a group of 7 trained research assistants who helped to collect the majority of the field data in Phase 1. These research assistants were male and female adult non-national (Zimbabwean) migrants themselves. Non-nationals were used as research assistants as they were able to access the non-national communities more easily and gain the trust of the migrants. As a result of the xenophobia in South Africa, many migrants are afraid to identify themselves as non-nationals (especially Zimbabweans) so using researchers from within the non-national community really helped. Using Zimbabweans also helped to address the language barriers and reduce unwanted attention being drawn to the informants (adults and children).

Identification of the research assistants: With the help of the NGO network eight (8) potential researcher assistants were identified. I reviewed their resumes and conducted interviews with each applicant. From this, seven Zimbabweans, all of them fluent in Shona, Ndebele and English, were identified to assist with the research.

**Table 2: Basic Information of the research assistants used in this study**

Research Assistant #	Gender	Age	Highest Formal Education Level	Relevant Work History/Background
1.	F	35	Diploma in Education (2005) Currently studying Bachelor of Science Psychology	Untrained Teacher - Zim (1998 - 2001) Trained Teacher – Zim (2005 - 2008) Researcher IOM (2008) Transit Centre Child Assistant - SCUUK (2008)
2.	F	33	Computer Literacy and Business Management (2005)	Researcher IOM (2008) Shop assistant/cashier; Admin Clerk  (Zimbabwean although now South African (by marriage) and mother of 3)
3.	F	43	Bachelor of Commerce Certificate in Local Government Administration	Researcher IOM (2008) Temporary Teacher (1987-1989) Committee Secretary - Municipality of Gwanda, Zim (1991 - 2007)
4.	M	34	BSC in Psychology (2006) Diploma in Education (1999)	Teacher Zim (1993 - 2008) HR Assistant - DoE Zim (2008)
5.	M	23	Diploma in Applied IT (2005) Certificate in Customer Relations Management (2005)	Support Consultant - Learning Resources Zimbabwe (2005-2007)
6.	M	28	Bachelor of Science (2006) Honours in Geography and Environmental Science	Teacher - Zim (2006 - 2007) Tillage Secretary for District Development Fund (2006)
7.	M	43	O'level (1985) Chef Cert (1985)	Temporary Maths Teacher Zim (1986 - 1988)  Lots of experience with Malaicha with transportation and versed in local knowledge of the migration and struggles of non-nationals in South Africa.

A mixed group of males and females varying in ages from 23 – 43 were selected. Three of the identified research assistants had recently helped conduct interviews for a study on non-nationals in South Africa by IOM (Table 2). The majority had had teaching experience and worked with children. Research Assistant 7, although having a lower education level and less experience with children and research, had excellent knowledge of the non-national community in South Africa, with many years of non-

formal experience working with them, and was a highly respected member of the non-national community.

**Research Assistant Training:** The research assistants participated in a rigorous 3-hour training session (see Appendix 1). The training was broken up into three parts. After initial introductions to each other, part one introduced an overview of the research, study expectations and individual compensation, and each research assistant signed a “Work and Confidentiality Agreement” (see Appendix 2). This formal document reinforced the understanding that all the information/data collected was to remain fully confidential. The anonymity of the informants was to be protected, unless the informants were at risk and their lives were in danger. In this case, the research assistants were to notify the primary researcher, who would then follow up with the proper authorities.

Part two introduced the research assistants to the research tools: the Child Survey and the Parent/Guardian Survey. After a review of the surveys, each research assistant was asked to add their input and give feedback on the research tools to ensure that the right information would be collected and that there were no cultural faux pas. In order to ensure common translations of the questions, a short discussion was held to decide on the best translation for each question, though they all felt the survey was pretty straightforward.

The third part of the session involved training the research assistants in the use of the digital voice recorders (*Centon 2GB moVex MP3 Player with voice recorder*). After a few practice rounds they then conducted surveys on each other, thus practising the use of the digital voice recorders, along with the research tools.

**Briefing and debriefing during Data Collection:** Over the four days of data collection, the research assistants were required to attend a morning briefing to discuss the locations for the day’s surveys and to voice any additional comments or concerns. Daily evening briefings were held, in both individual and group settings, allowing the

research assistants to share their experiences of the day, raise any questions or concerns and to share their interpretations of the data collected.

#### **4.6.3. Methods Used according to Research Question**

Various approaches were employed to tackle each of the research questions introduced in Section 1.3 and reviewed in Section 4.2.

##### **Research Question 1:**

- a. What are the characteristics of Zimbabwe child migrants?
- b. What are their experiences and perceptions with regard to education?

##### **a. Children and Parent/Guardian Surveys:**

The survey questions focused on the children's or guardians' social background, educational background, networks, migration to South Africa and their access to, or exclusion from, education. The survey provided vital information on the children's and guardians' perspectives regarding the characteristics of Zimbabwe child migrants and their educational access, along with their perceptions and beliefs of education; if and how they have changed within South Africa.

For those who were accessing education, this survey further explored the challenges they face within the education system, and how it affects their attendance and progress. For those who were not accessing education, the survey attempted to examine the reasons behind this and the barriers to access. As many of the children surveyed were not able to read or write in English, these structured questionnaires were conducted by the research assistants in the mother tongue of the informant. Each interview was recorded. The research assistants were asked to take 10 minutes after each questionnaire conducted to reflect on their observations of the informant.

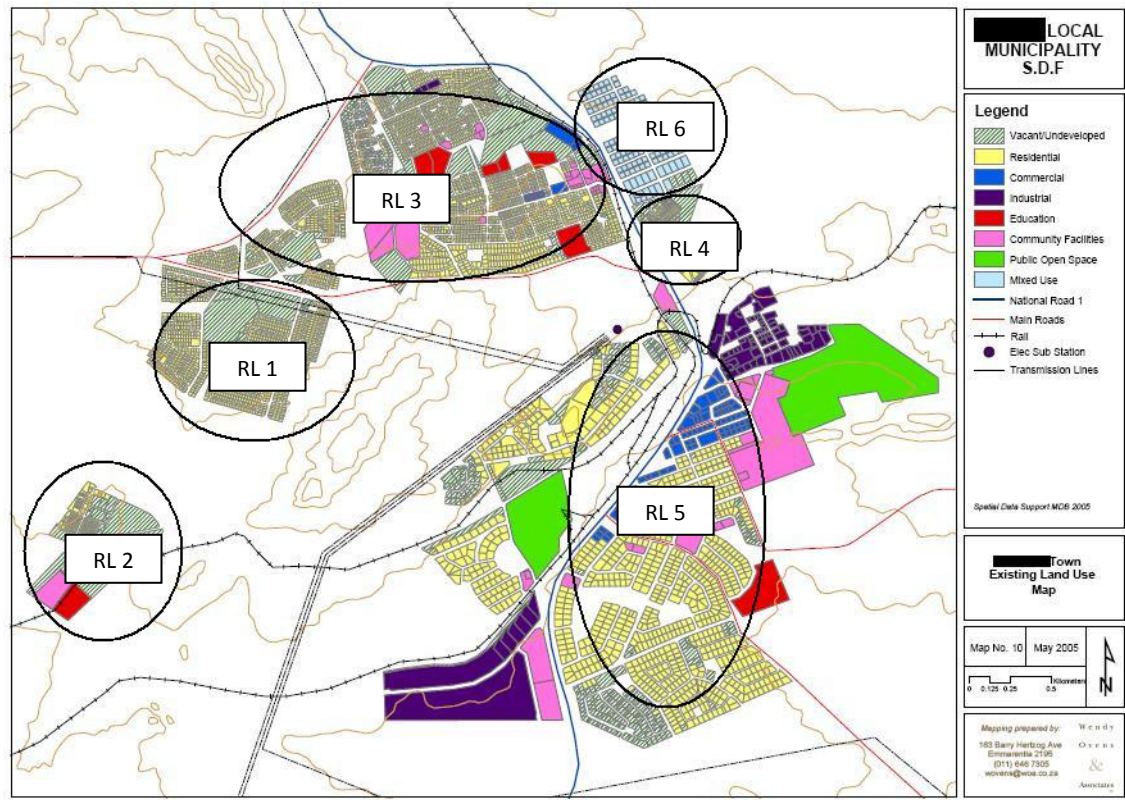
**Piloting of Surveys:** The initial surveys were piloted by the author, in early July 2009. The child survey was piloted on 5 unaccompanied minors based at the NGO/Church

sponsored Transit Centre in the research town, where food and shelter were given to a large number of unaccompanied minors. Permission to conduct the survey was granted by the Transit Centre head and the children themselves. As the centre manager had a better understanding of the children, and their migration and psychosocial experiences, she nominated the five children she felt would best support the research. Three of the children were unable to speak or understand English, so a centre worker aided in the translation of the questions. With results from the pilot and further suggestions from local NGO co-workers, modifications were made to the survey to arrive at the final version (Appendix 3).

Due to initial access issues and fear of cultural faux pas, the Parent/Guardian survey was piloted amongst six of the author's Zimbabwean co-workers, who volunteered to support the pilot and who had children both in Zimbabwe and in South Africa. Piloting took place in late July 2009, following which the results were analysed and the survey modified to arrive at the final version (Appendix 4).

Implementation of Surveys: With the final versions of the surveys completed, the main research was conducted over a four-day period from Friday the 31<sup>st</sup> of July 2009 to Tuesday the 4<sup>th</sup> of August 2009 (research did not take place on Sunday 2<sup>nd</sup> April 2009). Three pairs of research assistants conducted surveys between 09h30 and 15h30 each day, eventually surveying 116 Zimbabwean migrant children, ranging in age from 6 to 17 years, and 42 parents/guardians. From this data set, 100 child surveys and 35 parent/guardian surveys were used for the final analysis (see Appendix 5 and Appendix 6).

South Africans and Zimbabweans living in the case study town identified nine distinct locations in the town, each identified by a 'local' name. For the purposes of the research, some of the smaller, adjacent locations were grouped together to result in six research locations, as shown in Figure 8.



**Figure 8: Map showing the breakdown of the Research Locations (RL), where the Child and Parent/Guardian Surveys were conducted**

The distribution of the research teams in each location and the days spent in each location were decided by geographical size, estimated non-national population size and input from the research assistants themselves. Table 3 gives a breakdown of which locations were visited on which day, and how many surveys of each type were conducted by the research assistants in each area.

**Table 3: Research Days, Locations and RA groups, including the number of surveys conducted each day**

Day	Research Area (See Map for details)	Research Groups	# Child Surveys		# Guardian Surveys	
			Individual	Total	Individual	Total
<b>1</b> <b>Friday</b> <b>31/7/2009</b>	Research Location 1 (Township)	RA 2	4	11	2	4
		RA 6	7		2	
		RA 3	8	17	1	2
		RA 4	9		1	
	Research Location 2 (Township)	RA 7	4	4	4	4
		RA 5				
<b>2</b> <b>Saturday</b> <b>1/8/2009</b>	Research Location 3 (Township)	RA 2	5	10	2	3
		RA 6	5		1	
		RA 3	2	6	8	13
		RA 4	4		5	
	Research Location 4 (Township)	RA 7	2	9	3	5
		RA 5	7		2	

<b>3</b>  <b>Monday</b> <b>3/8/2009</b>	Research Location 5 (Town)	RA 2	5	14	0	0
		RA 6	9		0	
		RA 1*	6	13	0	0
		RA 4	7		0	
		RA 7	5	13	0	1
		RA 5	8		1	
<b>4</b>  <b>Tuesday</b> <b>4/8/2009</b>	Research Location 6 (Township)	RA 2	4	8	2	3
		RA 6	4		1	
		RA 3	3	5	4	7
		RA 4	2		3	
		RA 7	3	6	0	0
		RA 5	3		0	
<b>Totals</b>				<b>116</b>		<b>42</b>

\*RA 1 filled in for RA 3 on Day 3 as she had a family emergency in Zimbabwe.

The high number of adult informants on day 2 can be linked to the fact it was a Saturday, and also month's end, so many of the farm workers came into town to do their monthly shopping or to go to the Department of Home Affairs (DHA) to claim their asylum documentation.

In contrast, the high number of child informants on Day 3 (Monday) is largely due to the number of street children or children who were looking for piece work in the Town. The low number of guardian interviews on Day 3 can be attributed to not only too many adults being at work but also because those not at work were not willing to identify themselves as Zimbabweans or participate in the interview.

This same challenge was faced on Day 4 (Tuesday), but mostly because this specific area (RL6) is known to be the area for organised crime so many were not willing to be interviewed for fear they would be arrested.

Identification of Research Informants: Research informants were identified at random. Informants were approached when seen on side of the road and, after confirming the informant's age (for the children), their nationality and gaining formal consent (either verbal or signed), interviews commenced. While this biased the results to those parent/guardians who were not at work, conducting interview on a Saturday allowed the researchers to interview a number of working parent/guardians. Children found in the streets and interviewed in the morning were usually out of school or very young.

Afternoon and Saturday surveys were intended to gather information from students after school. A further challenge with this random sampling is that only those who “looked” or “sounded” like migrants were approached, thus many migrants who remained quiet and did not identify themselves were not approached.

Even though anonymity was assured, with consent forms separate from the surveys, many informants were not willing to give written consent for fear that they would be identified as Zimbabweans or “illegals” and for fear of being attacked, arrested or deported. Those willing to participate did however give verbal consent to participate in the study. A few informants did not want to be voice recorded because of the same fear of identification. The research assistants made note of this on the particular surveys. These surveys were still included in the data set, as recording was to ensure reliability and consistency among the research assistants, not to evaluate the informants’ responses.

b. Focus group discussions:

Over a period of 2 weeks during Phase 2 (second field visit), focus group discussions were held with children in 6 schools in the Township (3 primary schools (TS-PS1, TS-PS2, TS-PS3), 1 comprehensive (TS-CLC1) and 2 high schools (TS-HS1, TS-HS2) – see Table 5) to gain their perspective of education in school and further understanding of responses to the initial data collected during Phase 1. These schools were selected due to their high volume of non-nationals and the willingness of the principals to provide access to the children. Focus group discussions were also held with children who were out of school and located at the shelters and resources centres in the Township. The discussions focused on educational access and reasons for migration. Focus groups were facilitated by the author and Research Assistant 1, and were conducted at these formal locations for reasons of access. For focus group questions guides see Appendix 11.



**Research Question 2:** What are the social, institutional (schools and DoE), political and economic factors that interact to determine what access the Zimbabwe child migrant has to education within South Africa?

c. Interviews and focus groups

*Education Institutions (Schools):* To gather initial data on each of the schools in the Research Municipality, semi-structured interviews were conducted with each of the school principals over the course of a week during Phase 1 (for interview schedule see Appendix 7). These interviews not only provided the basic school information such as fee structure, admissions policy, and the implementation of education policies. They also gave insight into the principals' views of non-national migrant children, especially Zimbabweans, in their schools and how it affects the provision of education to both nationals and non-nationals.

Phase 1 also included focus group discussions held with educators. These were facilitated by Research Assistant 1 and Research Assistant 2, who had assisted with the previous week's school principal interviews. For focus group interview questions see Appendix 8.

These focus group discussions were held at 5 of the township schools (TS-PS2, TS-PS3, TS-PS4, TS-CLC1, TS-HS1 - see Table 5). These five schools were selected as:

- They were based in the township where the largest population of non-nationals is found;
- They have a high number of Zimbabwean students;
- Principals and teachers were willing to assist with the research

The focus groups provided basic information and statistics of Zimbabwean children in their classes and the influence of these non-national children in the classes – providing information on both the benefits and challenges.

During Phase 2, over a period of a week, further semi-structured interviews were conducted with principals and teachers at schools in the Township: 3 primary schools

(TS-PS1, TS-PS2, TS-PS4), 1 comprehensive school (TS-CLC1) 2 high schools (TS-HS1; TS-HS2) - see Table 5. For interview schedules see Appendix 9 and Appendix 10. These 6 schools were selected for involvement in Phase 2 due to their high levels of non-national enrolment (identified during Phase 1) and the willingness of the principals and teachers assist in the research.

These semi-structured interviews revisited the challenges and benefits the schools face with the inclusion of non-nationals and also gathered further information on the principals' and teachers' interpretation and understanding of the national policies that influence education in their schools. Education policies in the Research Municipality had changed over the previous year and these interviews allowed for exploration of the implementation and effects of these policy changes.

Department of Education (DoE) – local and national level: During Phase 2, informal interviews/discussions were held with officials of the Department of Education at both the National and Circuit level. These discussions painted pictures of the National Department's views, experiences and the policy challenges of non-nationals in the South African education system. The interview at the Circuit level provided insight into how these policies are being implemented and challenges that are being faced by those on the ground. This provided both a top-down, and bottom-up understanding of the influences/effects the non-nationals have on the education system in South Africa.

NGO, Church officials, local actors: Informal interview/discussions were held with various actors who work with non-national children in the Town and Township during Phase 2. These interviews gave insight into the policy and practice changes over the last few years, helping to gain a true understanding of the context and the nature of the challenge. The actors further described the work that they did and their involvement and influence in the education of these non-national children in the Town. They gave insight on the challenges they faced and their ideas for change.

**Research Question 3:** What are the social and institutional networks that migrant children interact with and what is the nature of their engagement with these networks in relation to seeking access to schooling in South Africa?

d. Network Mapping

Initially this research aimed to examine the social networks of these migrants and the networks' influence on migrants in their educational access, relating the research to Network Theory. However, due to the challenging nature of this research, the secrecy of this community, and the fear that has been ingrained into the Zimbabweans, identifying their social networks proved to very challenging and not within the reasonable scope of this research.

The child migrant surveys and interviews with migrant children revealed that members of their social networks (friends, relatives and other Zimbabwean) had provided them with information regarding migration and educational access. More in-depth information, such as names and links, was much harder to gather as the interviewees did not fully trust the primary researcher, who was not part of the community. To gather this information as a researcher would require being accepted as part of the community, a process that would have taken an extended period of time.

Once these limitations were understood, the methodology was modified and the focus shifted to undertaking a basic institutional network analysis conducted using the schools as the focus and evaluating the organisational networks and individuals who were involved in supporting educational access for the Zimbabwean children.

These interviews with school principals revealed network relationships between the schools and various NGOs, INGOs and churches in the community. This provided a basic understanding of some of the organisational networks that influence the non-national children's access to education in the Research Municipality. Further discussions with NGOs, INGOs, churches, and government departments in the community helped to triangulate this information and identify other pathways involved in these organisational networks.

Table 4 provides a summary of the research questions, the methods used to address each of them, the sample group, the data collection date, and identification of who was involved with gathering data to answer each of the questions.

**Table 4: Summary of Research Questions, Methods and Sample Groups**

<i>Research Question</i>	<i>Data Collection Methods</i>	<i>Sample Group</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Data Collected</i>	<i>Data Collected By:</i>
Research Question 1:  a. What are the characteristics of Zimbabwe child migrants?  b. What are their experiences and perceptions with regard to education?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Child Survey: Structured survey</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>100 cross-border migrant children:</li> </ul> <i>Breakdown:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>32 in-school migrants – 10 male/22 female</li> <li>68 out-of school migrants – 50 male and 18 female</li> </ul>	31 July – 4 Aug 2009	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Basic information: (age, grade, gender, tribe, language, etc)</li> <li>Educational experience (RSA &amp; ZM)</li> <li>Beliefs and perspectives of education, how they have changed</li> <li>Reasons for migration</li> <li>Challenges within the school system</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>6 Research Assistants</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Parent/Guardian Survey: Structured survey</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>35 migrant parents/guardians –</li> <li>8 male/27 female</li> </ul>	31 July – 4 Aug 2009	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Basic information: (age, grade, gender, tribe, language, etc)</li> <li>Beliefs and perspectives of education, how they have changed</li> <li>Reasons for migration</li> <li>Challenges to accessing education for their children in RSA</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>6 Research Assistants</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Debriefing/Focus Group</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Research Assistants</li> </ul>	31 July – 4 Aug 2009	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Beliefs and understanding of the interviewee's experiences</li> <li>Debrief on informants and understanding of their research</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Stephanie Buckland</li> </ul>
Research Question 2:  What are the social, institutional (schools and DoE), political and economic factors that interact to determine what access the Zimbabwe child migrant has to education within South Africa?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Semi-structured Interviews</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>School principals</li> </ul>	31 July – 4 Aug 2009	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Basic School information</li> <li>Understanding of admissions policy for non-nationals</li> <li>Beliefs and perspectives of education provision for migrants</li> <li>Beliefs of challenges and benefits to the schooling system if many of these children accessed schooling</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Stephanie Buckland (supported by a Research Assistant)</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Focus Group</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Educators</li> </ul>	5 Aug – 6 Aug 2009	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Basic School information</li> <li>Understanding of admissions policy for non-nationals</li> <li>Beliefs and perspectives of education provision for migrants</li> <li>Beliefs of challenges and benefits to the schooling system if many of these children accessed schooling</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>2 Research Assistants</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Semi-structured Interviews and informal discussions</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>NGOs and international agencies (UNHCR).</li> <li>Churches,</li> <li>Local actors,</li> <li>schools and government officials</li> </ul>	22 Feb – 5 Mar 2010	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Understanding of laws and regulations for Zimbabwe migrants and education</li> <li>Beliefs and perspectives of education provision for migrants</li> <li>Involvement with migrants</li> <li>Beliefs of challenges to the schooling system if many of these children accessed schooling</li> <li>Changes in policy and implementation over the last few years</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Stephanie Buckland</li> <li>Research Assistant 1</li> </ul>
Research Question 3:  What are the social and institutional networks that migrant children interact with and what is the nature of their engagement with these networks in relation to seeking access to schooling in South Africa?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Semi-structured Interviews and informal discussions</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>NGOs and international agencies (UNHCR).</li> <li>Churches,</li> <li>Local actors,</li> <li>schools and government officials</li> <li>Children (in and out of school)</li> </ul>	22 Feb – 5 Mar 2010	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Identify connections between various actors involved in insuring educational access for non-nationals</li> <li>Understanding the flow of information</li> <li>Reasons for preventing access</li> <li>Possible suggestions for policy changes</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Stephanie Buckland</li> <li>Research Assistant 1</li> </ul>

#### **4.6.4. Limitations and Challenges faced**

The greatest challenge to this research was access to the migrants. Although there are a large number of Zimbabwean migrants in the research town, many were not willing to participate in the study. Concerns raised were fear of deportation or that the researchers were secret police and, by providing information, migrants might put themselves or their families at risk. The fear that had been instilled in them by the violence in Zimbabwe had followed them to South Africa. Many of the parents/guardians did not want to identify themselves as Zimbabweans, and, as Jacobsen and Landau (2003) found in their study in Johannesburg, many potential informants lied about their nationality. A lot of those who were willing to participate in the survey would not give signed consent but gave verbal agreement instead. In addition to this, some surveys were not recorded either at the informant's request, or because of loud background noise or equipment malfunction.

The other limitations of the study were related to the child migrants surveyed. Children under the age of 10 were included in the survey in order to gain their perspective on and understandings of junior primary education. However the quality of the data provided from this age group was at a lower standard as their memories and understanding of school fees, educational costs and school experiences was less. So further triangulation with parents/guardians and primary school teachers was needed to ensure the information was correct.

Identifying the age of a child, to determine if they should be approached for interviews or not, was a problem especially amongst girls, many of whom mature quite early. This led to the research assistants interviewing a few youths aged 18 – 20 who were out of the range of the data set. On the first day of data collection one research team conducted some of their interviews right outside a (private) school (after gaining permission from the principal). Although providing relevant information for the surveys, it does bias the results with regards to the number migrant children accessing

this school as seen in

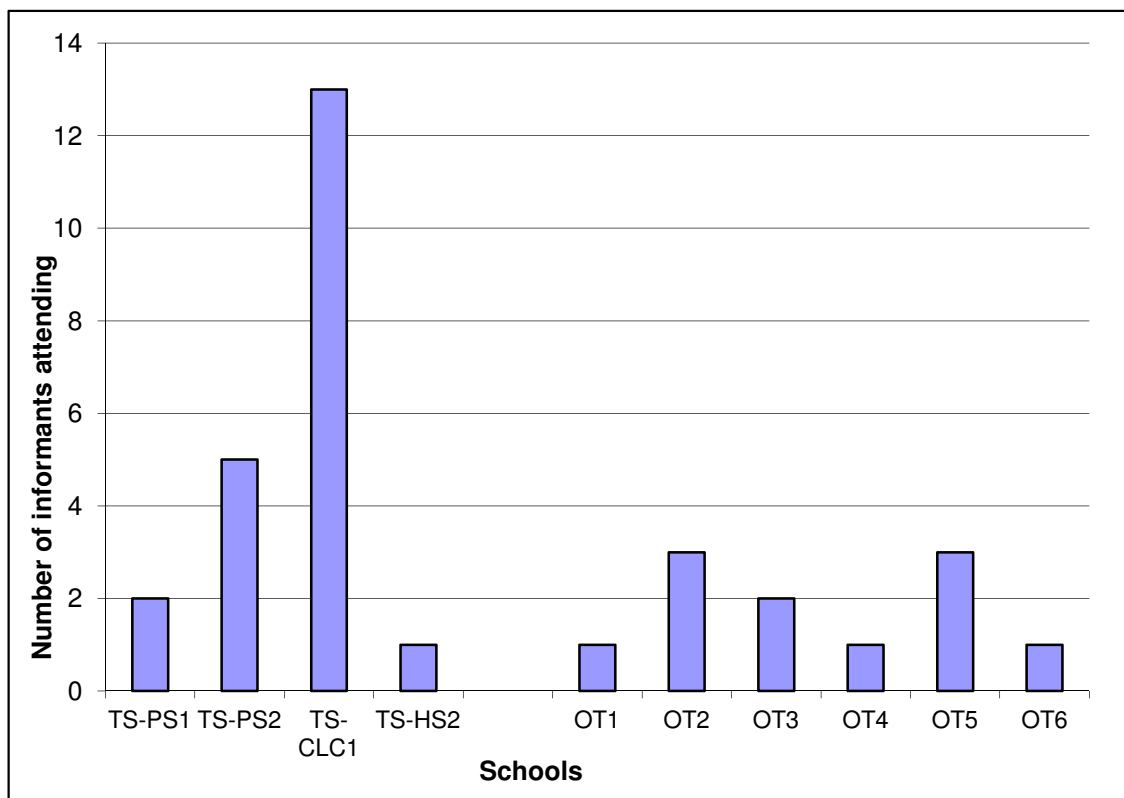


Figure 19.

A cultural challenge that was identified was the difficulty of male research assistants to interview women or girls. This is why the research pairs generally consisted of one male and one female. One pair consisted of two males, who were selected to conduct research in the more remote and 'rougher' communities.

The challenge with the approach of this study is that it limited the depth of the voices of the informants. Conducting more in depth one-on-one interviews, doing life histories and perhaps even following children for the two years could have deepened the qualitative data and would have strengthened the voices in the qualitative research. In an ideal situation, this would have been the approach followed. For fear of deportation or attack this marginalised and vulnerable community were not willing to let an outsider in. For the safety and security of the researcher and the participants I felt it was best to remain distant and gather the necessary data without putting too much focus on the migrants themselves.

#### **4.6.5. Ethical Issues and Considerations**

The political and sensitive nature of this study and its focus on undocumented cross-border migrant children raised a wide array of ethical challenges. The research worked within the bounds of the ethical requirements of the University of Sussex, along with those of the supporting agencies and those of the researchers. The ethical issues and considerations are discussed below in accordance with the six Research Ethics Standards of the University of Sussex.

1. Safeguard the interest and the rights of those involved or affected by the research

Those affected by the research included the migrant children, the parents/guardian, the local officials who provided valuable information and the research assistants who were migrants themselves.

Many of the respondents (children and adults) were undocumented and desperate to maintain their anonymity for fear of deportation. Prying into the lives of these migrants raised ethical concerns around maintaining their anonymity, and their personal security amongst the South African locals and the refugee population. Exposing the respondents as migrants could result in deportation, xenophobic attacks or attacks by other migrants, as they fear that their networks would be exposed. Using local research assistants helped reduce the risk of raising awareness in the community and identifying informants as undocumented migrants, which would have been inevitable had the interviews been conducted by the primary researcher who was an outsider and a white woman.

The research assistants signed a confidentiality agreement, stating that any information or data collected would not be shared with another party, and that they would not expose any personal information (names, age, networks, legal status or addresses). The personal information collected during this study was used for the



purpose of this study only and, the data will not be released to any third party. The research assistants were trained before the study, and being migrants themselves understood the importance of anonymity during the study.

Before each survey, interview or focus group, the respondents were informed of the study, what the study was for, how the information that they provided would be used, and also how their personal data would be protected. Respondents were also reassured that their anonymity would be maintained. To further ensure anonymity survey respondents were not asked their names but were assigned identification numbers instead. The identification numbers were constructed using the sex, then the number of the informant surveyed by the research assistant (initials included) and the research location. For example identification number M4SBNF would correlate with the 4<sup>th</sup> male child interviewed by SB in location NF (location identity concealed for data protection).

The University of Sussex research ethics require written/signed consent of the informants for their involvement and participation in the survey. For those informants who were unable to write, inkpads were provided to use their thumb print as the equivalent of a signature. These consent forms were kept separate from the interview schedules, thus connection between the interview schedule and signed consent would be challenging for an outsider to correlate, to further protect the data and the anonymity of the respondents. Even with these steps and the assurance of anonymity many of the respondents who were willing to participate in the study refused to give written consent. In these cases, verbal consent was accepted in lieu and their data was included in the results. Surveys were also recorded to help with ensuring the validity of the interviews at a later date. Interviews were not recorded without the respondent's permission, which in many cases was not granted. Most of the unrecorded interviews were included in the results.

The identities of those who provided more in-depth information from one-on-one meetings, interviews and discussion were also protected. These informants were asked if they would like their anonymity maintained or if they would prefer the use of their

names. This was decided on a case by case basis. Interview schedules, surveys and audio recordings will remain confidential and will not be released to any third party.

The research methods of interviews, focus groups and observations have their own ethical challenges. Interviews may make the respondent feel uncomfortable and that their privacy is being violated, and they may feel embarrassed by certain questions or reveal more than they intended to. Some of these memories may be painful. In these cases, it is suggested that the researcher make referrals to resources that may assist with dealing with these issues (Merriam, 1998: 214). Merriam (1998) found the ethical challenge with observations is the consent of the participants. Observations made without the participants being aware raise concerns of privacy and informed consent (Merriam, 1998: 215). Observations made in public areas are defined as 'public' observations and do not need formal consent from participants. The observations used in this study were conducted in public areas in the research town.

Being aware of the political, social and legal sensitivity of this research, extra efforts were made to ensure the anonymity of all respondents and those involved in the study. Despite the aim of the research being to gather data for a study that could help change the challenges these migrants face, ensuring the safety and security of all those involved had to remain a priority. If a research assistant had identified a respondent that was in danger or in life threatening circumstances, there was a procedure in place. The research assistant would inform the primary researcher who would, in turn, inform the correct person in the field office. Fortunately there was no need to use this procedure during the data collection.

## 2. Ensure the safety of researchers undertaking fieldwork

The Xenophobic attacks in 2008 heightened safety and security concerns for non-national communities throughout South Africa. By 2009, when the empirical research was conducted, there were fewer xenophobic attacks, although security concerns were still high. This research was conducted in a municipality which, although it had a

large number of non-nationals, had very few visible signs of xenophobia. Hence, it was deemed fairly safe by locals and various agencies.

Before starting field research, the supporting NGO provided a security briefing for the area, with safety and security procedures that the researchers were required to follow. As the research plan was often changed due to availability of informants, the primary researcher's daily plan would be shared with the research assistants and an NGO staff member, so the NGO was always aware of researcher movements on any given day. The primary researcher was also always accompanied by a local staff member or a research assistant during fieldwork interviews, both to aid with translation and to provide key local information, vital for safety reasons, and guidance through the community.

The research assistants provided valuable information about the safety of various areas in the research municipality. Researchers were paired into groups, one male and one female, not only for the value of mix-gender research teams but also for safety. The one all male group was sent to areas that were seen as less safe for women to visit. Research assistants were able to contact the primary researcher by mobile phone at any point for information or if there were security concerns, and were required to attend a debriefing session each evening. If any security risk had arisen, the research assistants were instructed to remove themselves from the situation and contact the primary researcher as soon as possible.

Being aware of the environment, the context of the research and the nature of the information required helped ensure a safe working environment.

3. Uphold the highest possible standards of research practices including research design, collection and storage of research material, analysis, interpretation and writing.

In the development of the research methods, a review of other studies on educational access, migration and non-nationals in South Africa was done. The research methods

were developed with understanding of the experiences of others in the field. The research design also incorporated location information on security and xenophobia, along with other studies in a similar context to ensure the valuable data was collected in a safe and ethical manner. The data collected was directly related to the three research questions defined at the beginning of the study and the findings were verified through triangulation and revisiting respondents for clarification of initial data where possible. During the data collection process, the paper copies and audio recordings of the interviews, surveys and focus group discussions were kept in a secure location, then stored offsite. The electronic files used for data analysis were password protected. For a full understanding of methods of analysis and interpretation of the data, please refer to Section 4.6.6.

4. Consider the impact of the research, its use or misuse for those involved in the study or other interested parties.

During the design process, the long and short-term consequences of the research were considered. Information from the research in the short term helped to create an awareness of the challenges to access in this small rural town. The long-term plan for this study is to help policy makers at the provincial and national level become more aware of the challenges this growing group of migrants are facing with regards to education, and to encourage policy development.

5. Ensure appropriate external and professional ethical committee approval is granted where relevant

The University of Sussex ethical guidelines were followed during the design of the research proposal and research methods. Colleagues and supervisors gave comments and suggestions on the research proposal and research methods during their development. Approval was granted by the University of Sussex ethics committee before fieldwork commenced.

## 6. Ensure relevant legislative and policy requirements have been met

As this research was developed by the author, as a United Kingdom based student, with the field research conducted in South Africa, legislative and policy requirements of the United Kingdom, South Africa and International bodies applied. These included the United Kingdom Data Protection Act 1998, United Kingdom Human Rights Act 1998, the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child 1989, the South African Refugee Act (Republic of South Africa. 1998b), and other immigration policies.

### 4.6.6. Interpretation and Analysis

The Child and Parent/Guardian surveys provided data to support a small quantitative analysis. The data was entered into Excel and statistics, including age, gender, education access, reasons for migration, etc., were generated. Analysis of the statistics and associates graphs provided trends that could then be followed up with qualitative data collection.

The qualitative data collected from various interviews, focus groups and discussions was coded to support the quantitative themes with more in-depth information. The case studies, life histories, education and interview schedules were examined for triangulation amongst the various respondents and to support answers to the research questions. The analysis involved comparisons between the literature and reports of the theory of what was happening with regard to migrants and educational access, and what the data showed was happening in this case.

Analysis of the data was conducted by the primary researcher. Initial results from the surveys and interviews were discussed with the research assistants to gather their understanding of the data analysis. This helped to provide further insight into any data trends that may have been missed.

The fieldwork, and particularly the initial round of interviews with migrant children, their parents and carers, and government and agency officials, highlighted three

dynamics that had a profound influence on access above and beyond the formal policy and system issues.

The first factor that emerged from the fieldwork and interviews with government and refugee agency officials was the gap between formal policy and practice. South African education is delivered in an extremely complex matrix of official policies, principally those of the national ministry and the provincial departments of education. But what emerged in the early phases of the research is the extent to which official policies at national, provincial and even local government level are frequently differently interpreted and often not implemented. In some cases officials had opted to ignore official policy requiring official documentation for school admission; in others national policies had not found their way into provincial regulations and procedures; and in many cases policies were simply not implemented, sometimes out of ignorance, sometimes deliberately. The extent of the gap between official policy and practice began to emerge as a significant factor influencing differential access to education.

The second factor emerged while trying to understand why some children succeed and others fail in their quest for learning, even though they appear to face the same obstacles. Certainly personal and socio-economic factors play a role but they did not explain the phenomenon adequately. From the initial interviews it appeared that the role of networks went a long way towards explaining the different levels of success in integrating migrants, documented and undocumented, into the society and economy, and into schools. This led to a review of the rich literature on Network Theory, and the inclusion of a component of the research that seeks to identify the ways in which networks interact with the other barriers to educational access.

The third, and best understood dynamic, was social and institutional barriers to access.

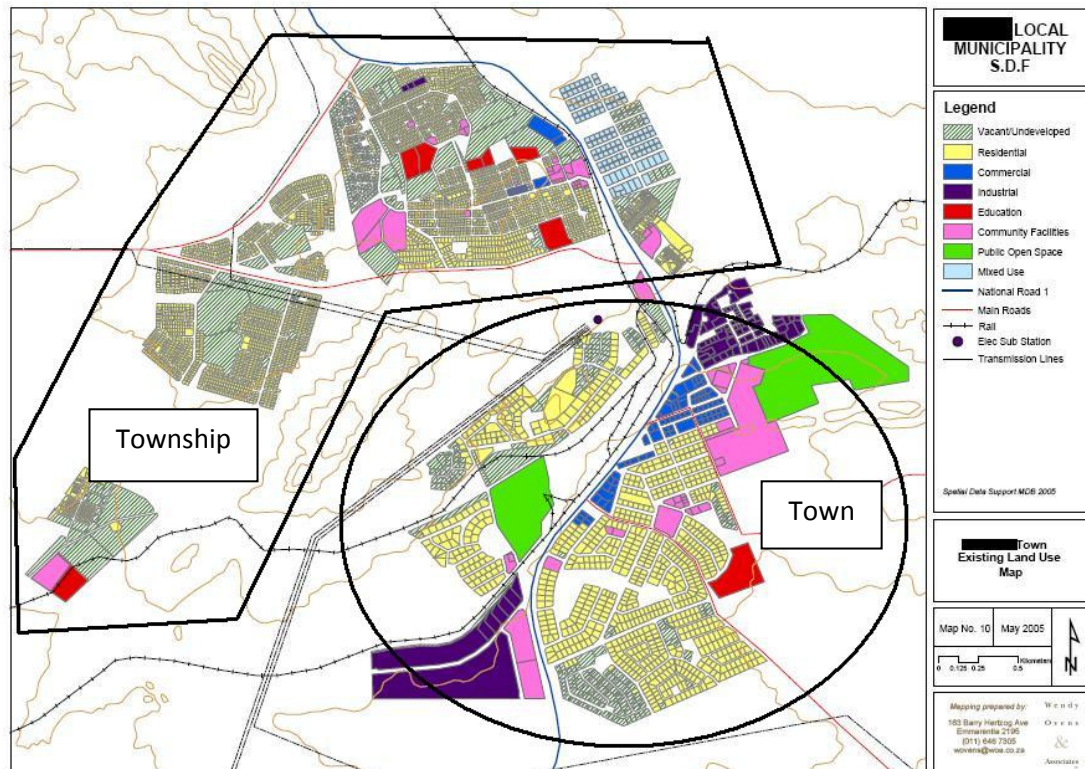
In the end these three dynamics – the social and institutional barriers to access, the gap between policy and implementation and the influence of networks interact to influence the chances of educational access for migrant children in South Africa. This

thesis builds on these three themes to offer a more rounded and comprehensive framework to inform policy development.

#### **4.7. The Research Municipality: Setting the scene for the empirical work**

As discussed previously, the Zimbabwe migration into South Africa lends itself well to this study. Their political histories, the cross-border movements over the years and the more recent forced migration provides a good context and setting for the empirical work. The empirical work was conducted as a case study in a small rural town in the northernmost part of South Africa, close to the Zimbabwe border. The area is known for mining and agriculture, over the years hosting three large mines and a number of highly productive commercial farms. The area has seen large numbers of migrant labour supporting work in the mines and on the farms. The local Municipality estimates the population to be about 20,000 locals, however it is a transient town and according to a 2009 New York Times article has an additional shifting population of about 15,000 foreigners, who are largely Zimbabweans (Bearak, 2009).

The locals in the area divide this town into two different parts: the Town and the “Location” (or Township).



**Figure 9: Visual Breakdown of the local "unofficial" subdivision of the Municipality**

The Town contains most of the commerce with banks, restaurants and stores lining the main street. During the day street children and beggars can be seen along the streets, while at night sex workers roam the streets looking for work. Branching off the main road are houses mainly owned by the mine for their managerial workers and this is prominently the more affluent area.

The “Location” or Township is less affluent, cluttered with shacks and broken buildings, with scatterings of “Reconstruction and Development” housing. There are small “spaza” shops (informal convenience shops) and “shebeens” (unlicensed bars/clubs). This community plays host to the majority of the migrants: community members rent out rooms, the churches provide shelters and food for the more vulnerable people, and the drop-in centres provide support during the day to migrants, orphans and vulnerable children (MOVC). These drop-in centres provide vulnerable children in the community with a safe place during the day, food, homework support and psychosocial support.



#### **4.7.1. Response to Cross-border migration in the Municipality**

##### **a. The Refugee Reception Office (RRO)**

In response to the large influx of Zimbabweans into South Africa, and the large number of asylum seekers making their way to Johannesburg and Pretoria to register, the Department of Home Affairs (DHA) set up a Refugee Reception Office (RRO) in the border town in 2008. The DHA used the town's Showground as a temporary location for their work. The showground not only became a place for asylum application but also the place where these migrants lived temporarily. The area quickly began to resemble an overcrowded refugee camp.

Local and international agencies responded by providing emergency support. Medecins Sans Frontiers (MSF) provided medical support, helping those who needed care and medication, with many migrants having been attacked during their travel to South Africa. UNHCR provided blankets and some food support. Save the Children–UK (Save-UK) took the area under the showground stairs to provide a safe space for the children. UNICEF and other international and local agencies each played their role in helping the migrants. People sat and waited while the application process was underway, but, as it was an emergency response the RRO was understaffed and the processing took a long time.

With lack of resources and inability to travel without asylum papers for fear of deportation, these migrants were stuck. Desperation set in and the "Showgrounds" became an unsafe environment, rife with crime. Social workers working in the Showgrounds reported seeing women prostituting themselves right next to children for ZAR5 (equivalent of GBP 0.46 or USD 0.67), because that was how much "pap and sauce" (local food) would cost.

The government's response to encourage the dispersion of the migrants was to move the RRO to a larger space. This was to help with processing of applications but did not

allow for overnight stay, and on the 4<sup>th</sup> March 2009 the government ordered the Showgrounds settlement to be bulldozed, forcing people to move to the street.

Churches and local communities responded by setting up shelters and providing food. In an informal interview, a local business man told of how each evening he would give out free “pap and sauce” to over a 1,000 people outside his restaurant. He said “the largest reason there is crime is people are hungry, so if I help to feed some people it will help to keep the petty crime down” (Personal Communication, 29<sup>th</sup> June 2009). International agencies continued their emergency response with Save the Children-UK providing temporary safe housing for the unaccompanied youth. A few months later an agreement was made with a local church shelter to help provide accommodation for these children with the support of Save the Children and UNHCR.

In January 2010 the RRO moved to their new permanent buildings located in the centre of the Town. The new building has two reception halls: one to take those with new applications and the other for those in renewal. It is a more secure location and provides more efficient support for the application process. This is no longer an emergency response; systems and procedures have been streamlined and put in place. The entrance to the RRO is open from 7:30am, with application processing starting at 11:00am.

From 7:30am till 11:00am:

- (i) forms are distributed for completion
- (ii) paralegals from a local legal NGO explain what the asylum documentation means and what procedures to follow
- (iii) Save the Children-UK talks about support for children and migrants
- (iv) International Organization for Migration (IOM) gives advice on safe movement and migration.

At 11:00am the DHA officials begin processing. Only those being processed are allowed to remain inside with everyone else (including NGO officials) being asked to leave. The grassy park outside is crowded with those waiting to apply and “maliacha”

(transporters) waiting to offer their services to those who are granted their documentation.

b. Deportation

Prior to the ceasing of deportation in mid-2009, migrants without documentation (those without asylum papers, refugee status, or visas) were being arrested and detained in the detention centres, then deported back to Zimbabwe. According to an interview with a local human rights lawyer in the Township, the South African government was deporting on average 2000 people per day (Personal Communication, 10 March 2010). He stated that these non-nationals would be put in buses and taken over the border and left with IOM on the other side. IOM would offer the migrants safe transport back to their homes in Zimbabwe. However, in most cases the migrants would turn around and return to South Africa the same day. The lawyer continued,

*“...you would find that one man had been deported four or five times in the same month, but kept coming back. Often the guards at the detention centre would know the person as he had been sent back so many times”*  
(Personal Communication, 10 March 2010).

An informal conversation with a Zimbabwean migrant revealed that on one Thursday (in 2009) when she was near the border post, she saw 15 government buses at the border post repatriating migrants (Personal Communication, 10 March 2010).

Further discussion with the human rights lawyer revealed that the government suspended deportation once they saw that it was futile and very costly, and they became aware that the migration of the Zimbabweans was because of attacks and persecution and those they were repatriating were going back to the persecution. It is a constitutional right for those seeking asylum in South Africa that they are given the opportunity to apply, meaning they could not legally be arrested or detained until they had been given a chance to apply. In an interview, a child protection specialist highlighted that the challenge was for the South African Police Service (SAPS) to identify who had applied and who had not. From his work and experiences he felt

there were no structures put in place (Personal Communication, 8 March 2010).

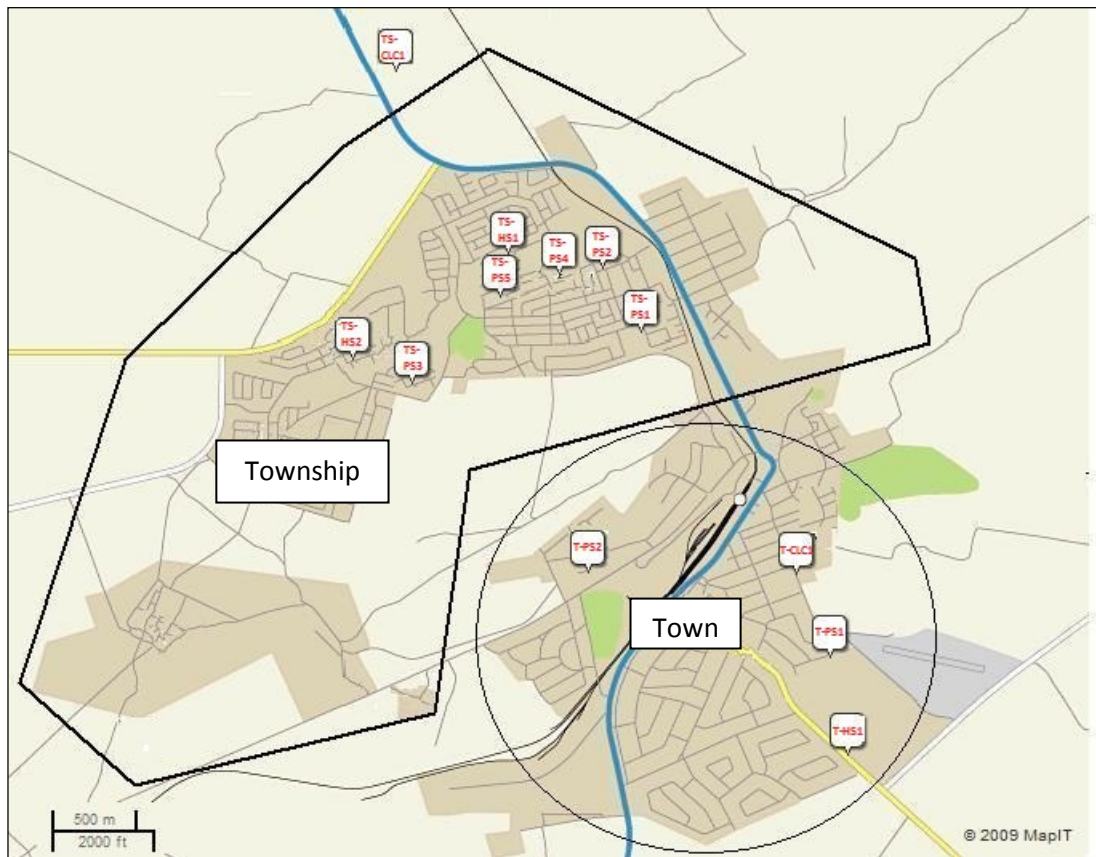
Since mid-2009, those found without documentation have been taken by SAPS to the detention centre, on the Military Grounds, where the migrants receive food and accommodation for the night. In the morning the SAPS escorts them directly to the RRO and they are given a chance to apply for asylum.

Deportation was reinstated in January 2011. Some believe this will be to help “flush out” those who came for the 2010 Football World Cup and overstayed their welcome. It is a challenge because some of the genuine asylum seekers will be caught up this process.

#### **4.7.2. Education in the Municipality**

The national education system is divided into 9 provincial education departments. Each of the provincial departments is sub-divided into Wards. Each ward is further divided into Circuits. Each circuit is made up of a number of schools and monitored by a Circuit Manager. This is the schools’ first line of access to the Department of Education.

The 12 schools in this research municipality are just part of one Circuit, in a northern province. Although an integrated system, the schools in this municipality are still very much divided by socio-economic factors. The Town schools charge high fees, have strict entrance requirements and have more facilities available to them. The Township schools are fee free, overcrowded and provide access to all in their area.



**Figure 10: Location of schools in the empirical research area (with TS-CLC1 2010 location)**

The Town has two former-model “C” government primary schools, a former-model “C” high school and one private comprehensive school (K-12). These schools have very strict enrolment requirements and the languages taught are English and Afrikaans (see Table 5). Principals at these schools adhere to the strict admissions policy, only taking admissions during the government regulated times, in November of each year. All children wishing to apply must submit a report card, a transfer letter, their birth certificate and parents’ identification. For non-nationals there is an additional requirement to submit a study permit or their asylum documentation. Principals stated that if all these requirements are not met children could not be admitted for that year. All of the schools currently have waiting lists for enrolment. Town schools are all registered as Quintile 4 schools and thus charge school fees. Government primary school fees are about ±ZAR3500/year, while the high school fees are about ±ZAR6500/year (see Table 5).

The Township currently hosts 5 primary schools, 2 high schools and 1 private comprehensive school (K-12) – which since January 2010 is now located outside of the

Township towards the Zimbabwe border. One of the primary schools and one of the high schools were recently established (over the last few years) to help contend with the high enrolment in the area. These two schools are growing each year until they reach their full capacity. All but two of the primary schools are over their registered capacity, with class sizes exceeding those preferred by the Department of Education (see Table 5). The primary school with lower enrolment teaches in TsiTsonga which is not a language prevalent in the area and may account for the lower enrolment. All but two of the primary schools offer rolling admissions, with all schools requiring transfer letter, report card and asylum documentation for non-nationals. Both Township high schools are also over their current capacity at the present time, with their admissions taking place once a year during the department mandated enrolment period. Schools in the Township all teach in English and at least one additional South African language.

In 2009, all but one Township school was registered as Quintile 4, thus all requiring school fees. Fees ranged between ZAR100 – ZAR150/year for primary and ZAR250 for high school (see Table 5). One school was registered as Quintile 3 and, falling under the new School Fee policy, did not charge school fees. However, in January 2010 all the schools in Township were reclassified as Quintile 3 schools and all have ceased charging school fees.

Table 5: Basic information of Schools in Municipality

	School Name	Location	Estimated School Capacity	Total Enrollment	Estimated # of Zimbabwe Students	Average Class Size	Number of Educators	Language of Instruction	Fees (per year) till Dec 2009	Fees (per year) in 2010	Non-national Entry Requirements (2009)	Enrolment Times
Primary School (K – 5)	TS-PS 1	Township	700	542	60	40	15	English Tsonga	ZAR 100	None	Asylum/report/transfer letter	Nov
	TS-PS2	Township	960	1238	70	45	35	English Pedi	ZAR 150	None	Asylum/report/transfer letter/birth certificate/ Parents ID	Rolling
	TS-PS3	Township	500	432	47	60	6	English Venda, Pedi	ZAR 120	None	Asylum/report/transfer letter	Rolling
	TS-PS4	Township	900	1255	35	55	35	English Venda	ZAR 120	None	Asylum/report/transfer letter	Rolling
	TS-PS5	Township	900	1018	0	45	23	English Venda	None	None	Asylum/report/transfer letter/birth certificate/ Parents ID	Nov
	T-PS1	Town	670	501	2	30	13	English Afrikaans	±ZAR3500/ (ZAR320/mth)	±ZAR3500/ (ZAR320/mth)	Asylum/report/transfer letter/birth certificate/ Parents ID	Nov
	T-PS2*	Town	450	392	20	30	12	English	±ZAR3500/ (ZAR320/mth)	±ZAR3500/ (ZAR320/mth)	Asylum/report/transfer letter/birth certificate/ Parents ID	Nov
Comprehensive Learning Center (Grade K – 12)	TS-CLC1	Township	400	326	34	Varies	11	English Tsonga, Pedi Venda	ZAR200 – ZAR350	ZAR200 – ZAR350	Asylum/report/transfer letter/birth certificate/ Parents ID	rolling
	T-CLC1*	Town	140	134	Unknown	Varies	8	English Afrikaans	ZAR3500 – ZAR 7300	ZAR3500 – ZAR 7300	Asylum/report/transfer letter/birth certificate/ Parents ID/Application form/Medical	Nov
High School (Grade 6 – 12)	TS-HS1	Township	1200	1654	Unknown	40	55	English Tsonga, Pedi Venda	ZAR 250	None	Asylum/report/transfer letter	Nov
	TS-HS2	Township	(still growing)	126	Unknown	Varies	6	English Venda, Pedi	ZAR 250	None	Asylum/report/transfer letter	Nov
	T-HS1	Town	450	409	Unknown	30	27	English Afrikaans	ZAR6490	ZAR6490	Asylum/report/transfer letter/birth certificate/ Parents ID/language	Nov

Note: \*=Private School

## **CHAPTER 5: Zimbabwe Child Migrants**

This chapter analyses the data collected from the Child and Parent/Guardian surveys to answer the questions in Research Question 1 – who are these Zimbabwean migrant children?

Section 5.1 aims to answer the first part of the research question: What are the characteristics of a Zimbabwean child migrant? These characteristics include: age and gender (5.1.2); origins and mother-tongue (5.1.3); reasons for migration (5.1.4); how they came to be in South Africa (5.1.5); their legal status (5.1.6) and their movements once in South Africa (5.1.7). Section 5.1.8 summarises the results in correlation with Research Question 1a.

The second section, Section 5.2, focuses on the second part of this research question, examining their perceptions of education and education experiences in both their country of origin, Zimbabwe (5.2.1) and their host country, South Africa (5.2.2). These results are summarised in correlation with Research Question 1b (Section 5.2.3).

Section 5.3 places the empirical evidence amongst the other studies reviewed in the literature, highlighting the key points that are valuable for future research.

### **5.1. Who are these migrant children**

Local and international news reports, along with information from various humanitarian agencies, have begun to develop a picture of who these migrant children are. The Child and Parent/Guardian surveys conducted in this study, although only based on a small sample of 100 children, aid in strengthening the understanding of who these migrant children are. These surveys, supported by focus group discussions with various actors involved with these children, puts into context the experiences they have faced with regards to becoming a marginalised group through migration, and the effect this has had on their education.



### **5.1.1. Who is crossing the border?**

There are three groups of children migrating across the border – those who travel with a family member (accompanied); those who travel across on their own (unaccompanied); and those who have who have been trafficked (forced under coercion) across the border. Discussions and interviews with local actors found that those children travelling with family members (parents or guardians) are usually girls and young children with their mothers. The immigrations officials, social workers and NGO staff have found that those migrating on their own are generally males between 12 and 17 years of age, who are largely orphans, moving for humanitarian reasons, or those in search of work, food, shelter and a better life. The older children (15 – 17 years of age) stated that they came for work, having heard about the opportunities in South Africa from their friends. Others, travel with Maliacha (transporters) as their parents have settled in South Africa and have now sent for them to join them. Finally, those who are trafficked are generally brought to South Africa as labour or for sexual exploitation.

True estimates of the number of children coming across the border are hard to determine for the simple reason these children largely enter South Africa illegally. Rough numbers and statistics about the unaccompanied children have been collected by the many agencies that work to help support these children. In a 2008 CNN report, Save the Children and UNICEF social workers stated an increase in the number of unaccompanied child migrants over the year, from 175 in June to 1,016 by November (Curnow, 2008).

### **5.1.2. Age and Sex of the Children**

South African national policy, along with most international policies, defines a child as someone under the age of 18. In this research, the children surveyed and those involved in focus group discussions were of school age, ranging between the ages of 6

and 17 years. Forty one percent (41%) of those surveyed were female. According to discussions with local agencies involved with migrants, this is a fair representation of the number of females in this migration pattern. While this sample was small and not necessarily an accurate representation of these migrant children on the larger scale, one trend that correlates to the observations made by those at the border appears to be that the gender gap increases substantially in favour of males after age 12 (Figure 11).

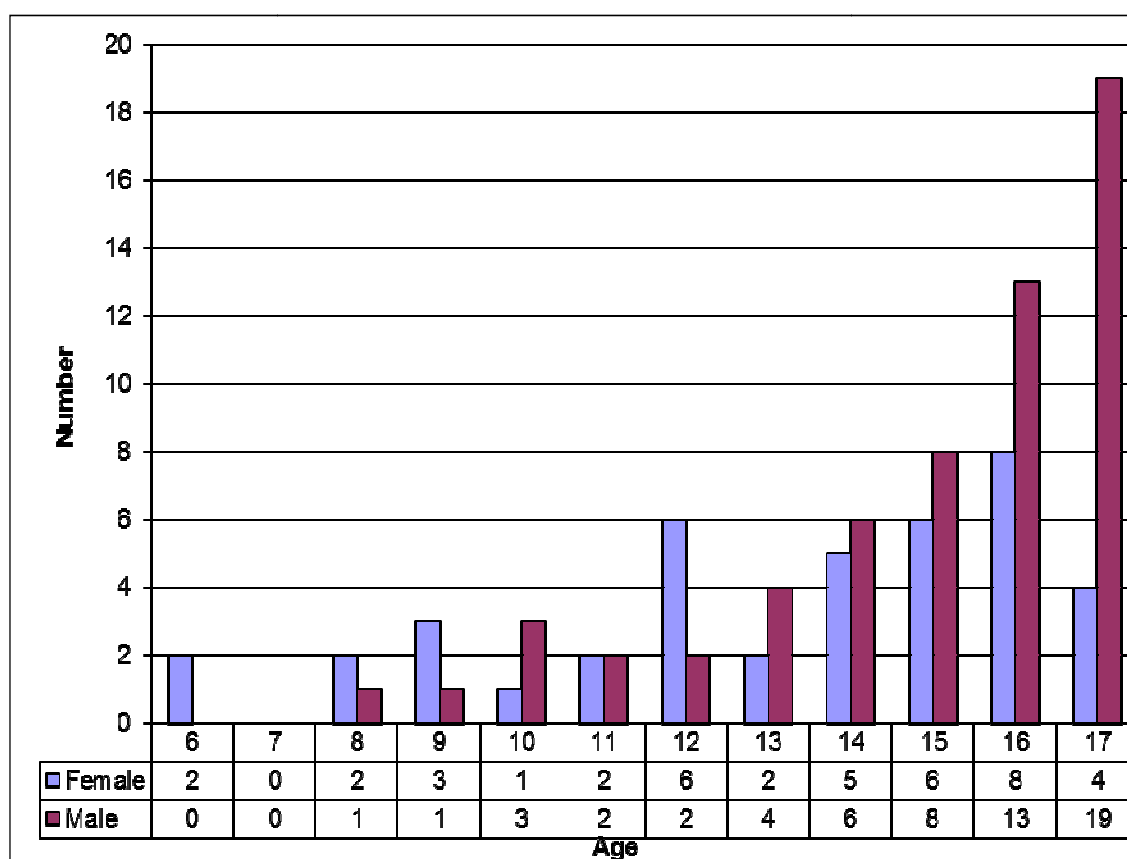


Figure 11: Child Informants - Age and Gender Breakdown

This supports the reports by Save-UK, UNICEF and other actors, who found that child migrants they worked with over the age of 12 are largely male. Social workers from a local drop-in centre found this hypothesis held true, as the largest client base of non-nationals is males between 15 – 18 years of age.

Anecdotal evidence suggests that the boys come to South Africa in search of work and to send remittances home to their families, while females are usually left in Zimbabwe

to help take care of the families there. There is evidence that some of the girls are trafficked, brought to South Africa as domestic workers or used in the sex industry. Agencies in the area have found it hard to access this group of unaccompanied female migrants to provide them with much needed support. Conversations with the Zimbabweans in the research locations suggest that a large number of these “invisible” migrant girls are brought to South Africa through the use of Maliacha. In other cases, parents or relatives pay the Maliacha to bring the girls directly to them in South Africa, so these girls are not traveling on their own across the border. Currently there is research being done by a group of international agencies on the cross-border movement of these girls to gain a true understanding of the nature of their movements and why they remain “invisible” to support agencies.

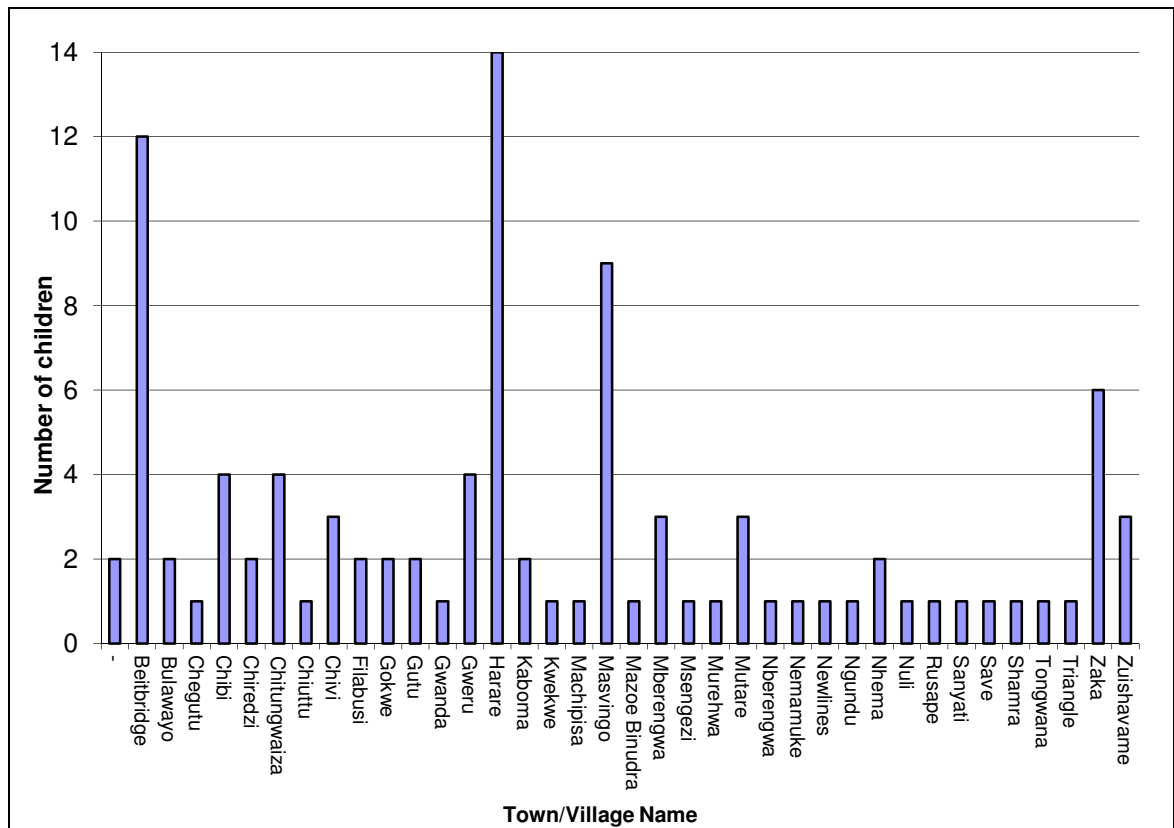
### 5.1.3. Origins and Language (Mother-tongue)

With official and unofficial basic statistics on migrants very vague, there have been no reports or research done on the origins of the migrants or the trends of their movement. From this study’s surveyed group, the origins of the children migrants were from various tribal groups and from 37 identified locations across Zimbabwe (Figure 13). Eighteen of these locations (accounting for 48% of the migrants surveyed) have been mapped in Figure 12.



Figure 12: Map of Zimbabwe with 18 identified and mapped original locations

The surveys found that although the origins of the child migrants were widespread, a large number came from Harare (14), Beitbridge (12), Masvingo Town (7) and Zaka (6), where there are high densities of people.



**Figure 13: Distribution of child informants in the 37 identified location of origin**

The high numbers of children from Beitbridge were expected as this town is located along the border and there has been movement between these two towns for many years. Harare is much further north and a longer distance from the border. However, as the capital city, it is on a major transportation route so migrants can gain transport to the border on trucks, taxis or trains. There is no specific evidence for why the numbers from Zaka and Masvingo were so high in this sample, although an assumption maybe made for Masvingo which is also on a major transportation route that leads directly to the South African border.

The Zimbabwean migrants themselves identified South Africa as the preferred migration destination. Remittances were identified as a pull factor: the South African

Rand (ZAR) is currently used as one of the two currencies of trade in Zimbabwe and it is easier to send remittances home in ZAR than other African currencies. Another identified pull factor was that migrants believed it easier to enter and get paperwork in South Africa, than other neighbouring countries. One migrant stated,

*“... in Botswana if you are found without papers you will be arrested and sent back home”.*

The survey and focus groups identified that in general those non-national migrants who intended to stay in the Research Municipality were those who wanted to stay close to Zimbabwe so they could return home when needed. From the survey they were found to largely come from Masvingo Province or Harare – areas where Shona and Venda are the mother tongue. Those child migrants who were from Northern Matabeleland and spoke Ndebele (similar to Zulu), were found to pass through the Research Municipality to other parts of South Africa where Zulu is spoken.

The children surveyed were largely Shona speaking (75%: 75), with very few speaking Ndebele (3%: 3) (Table 6). Venda was also identified as a mother-tongue of 15% (15) of the informants. Venda is spoken in both South Africa and Zimbabwe along the border areas, so integration for these children should be easier. Seven percent (7%: 7) of the children identified themselves as bilingual, speaking various combinations of Shona, Venda, Ndebele and English (Table 6).

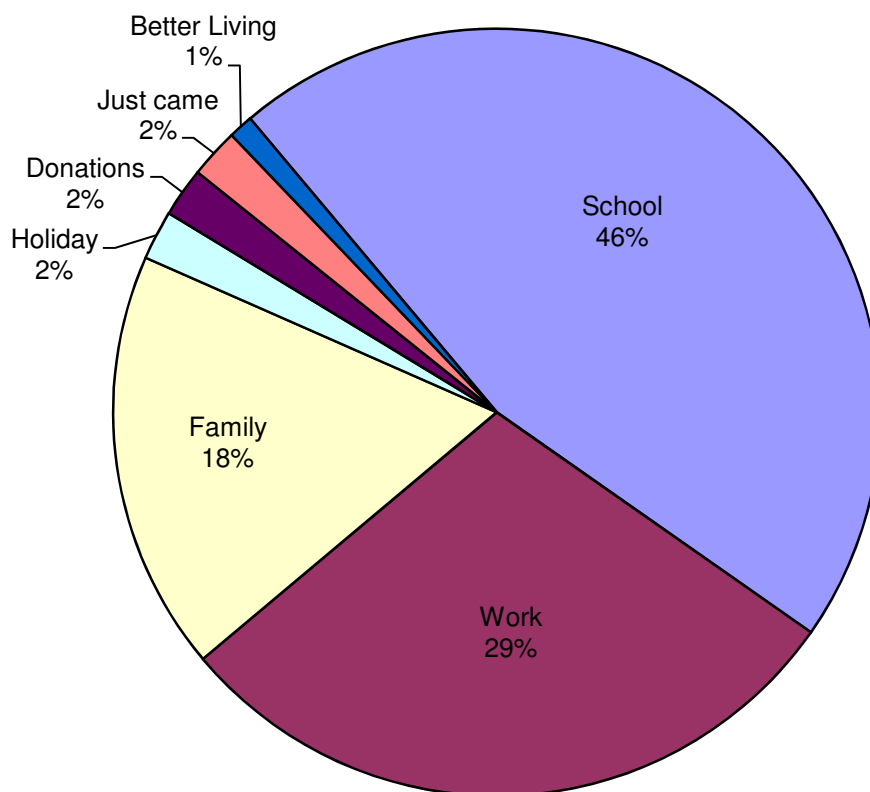
**Table 6: Mother Tongue of Child Informants**

<b>Language</b>	<b>%</b>
Shona	75
Venda	15
Ndebele	3
<b><u>Bilingual:</u></b>	
Shona/Ndebele	2
Shona/Venda	2
Shona/English	2
Ndebele/English	1

Although not their mother tongue, just over half (56 %) of the children surveyed spoke English. Ten percent of the child informants surveyed did not speak any of the South African languages, which presents a barrier to quality educational access (see Chapter 6).

#### 5.1.4. Motivations for migration – the push and pull factors

Humanitarian agencies and news articles claim that most of these Zimbabwean children are migrating because of the collapse of the Zimbabwean economy and the push of poverty in their home country. They are also pulled to South Africa by the lure of work opportunities and a “better” life. The survey showed 29% (29) of the children stated they had migrated to South Africa for work (Figure 14). These children were largely males between the ages of 15 – 17.



**Figure 14: Reasons for Migration of Child Migrants**

The majority of those surveyed (46%) identified education as their pull for migration to South Africa (Figure 14). With teacher strikes and school closures there was no

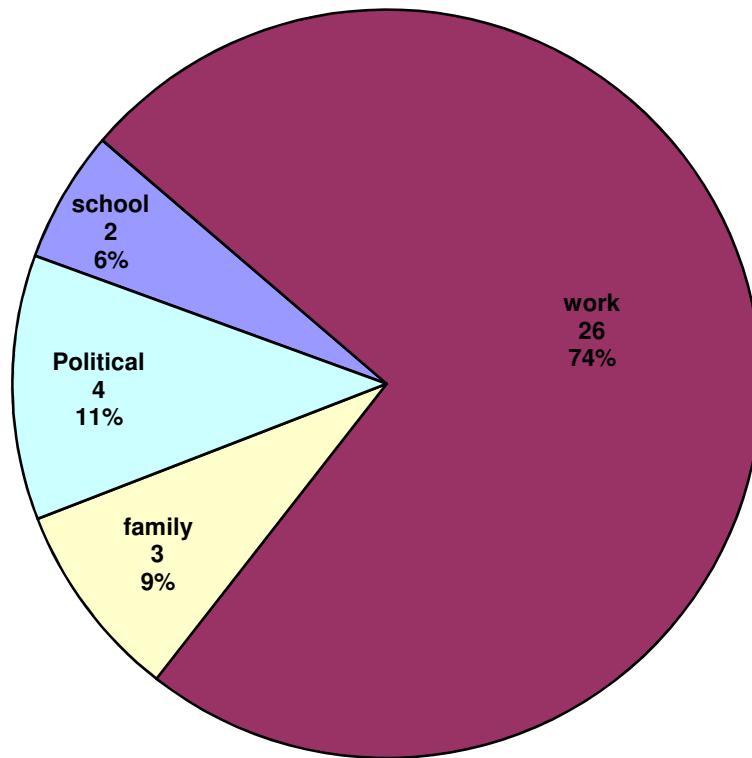
education happening in Zimbabwe for most of 2008, and so the draw to South Africa was higher. However, this may not be a true estimate. Further discussion with various social workers and education officials suggested that many of the children may have stated they were coming for education but only because they thought they may receive funds or further support. The informants believe that most of these children were coming for work.

Further focus groups with children both in and out of school revealed a trend: those who wanted to go to school and were attending school were usually the accompanied children, or children whose parents were settled in South Africa and brought them over for education. The unaccompanied children attending school were from the church shelter and the Transit Centre. The majority of those who were unaccompanied had come for work and a better life. Their interest in school only started to develop upon sensitisation on the benefits of education and the child labour laws in South Africa. Nonetheless, focus groups with the child migrants found that education is very important to Zimbabweans and they value education highly.

Only 3% (3) of the child migrants surveyed identified their reasons for migration as humanitarian – in search of better living conditions or money to help with survival (Figure 14). One boy (aged 12) said he had come to South Africa to raise money to fix his wheelchair. He was paralyzed from the waist down.

Eighteen percent (18%) of those moving to South Africa were moving because of family. These children were a combination of those who were moving with their families or those who had been sent for once their families had become established in South Africa.

The parents/guardians surveyed illustrated that the migration pull factors for the parents/guardians were largely economic - the need to search for work for basic survival (74%: 26) (Figure 15).



**Figure 15: Reason for migration identified by the Parent/Guardian Surveys**

In an interview, a human rights lawyer explained that in his experience most of the migrants will state their immediate need for food or work (economic reasons) for their migration. He had however found that if he delved a little deeper into their stories, the majority of migrations are really due to human rights violations and political attacks – attacks on their families, houses burnt down, and other violence. The lawyer explained that the migrants would not freely divulge their political or humanitarian reasons for migrating, largely for fear they would be found out by the CIO (Zimbabwe Central Intelligence Organisation) and they or their families would be in trouble (Personal Communication, 8 March 2010).

This fear was apparent in the Research Municipality where Zimbabweans would not talk about or comment on the political trouble in their home country. When asked why not, the common theme was fear that they would be overheard by the CIO and they or their families would be in danger. There are reports that CIO operatives are often at the Refugee Reception Office (RRO). Some migrants approached for this research, refused to take part in the survey for fear that it was a report for the CIO and they



would be identified. This may explain why only 11 percent of parents/guardian surveyed stated that they were seeking political asylum. As a consequence, identification of migration due to the political state of Zimbabwe may not be truly represented in the sample.

#### **5.1.5. Methods of Migration to South Africa**

It is hard to determine how many of the children cross into South Africa legally. Sixty-five percent (65%) said they came via the Beit-Bridge border post, although only 6% (4) of those were confirmed 'legal' crossings with the use of passports and documentation. With the 2009 and then 2010 change in entry requirements for Zimbabweans into South Africa, it is believed that more people are crossing via the bridge/border post than through illegal measures, like across the Limpopo River and through holes in the fences. However, crossing at the border post does not always mean by legal measures. There are now more official reports of corruption taking place along the bridge and the border.

Of those who crossed at the border post, thirty-three percent (33%) said they just walked across the bridge without any trouble into South Africa (Figure 16). One boy, aged 14, stated:

*"I lied that I wanted to pick up [plastic] containers by the taxi rank, and was allowed to pass".*

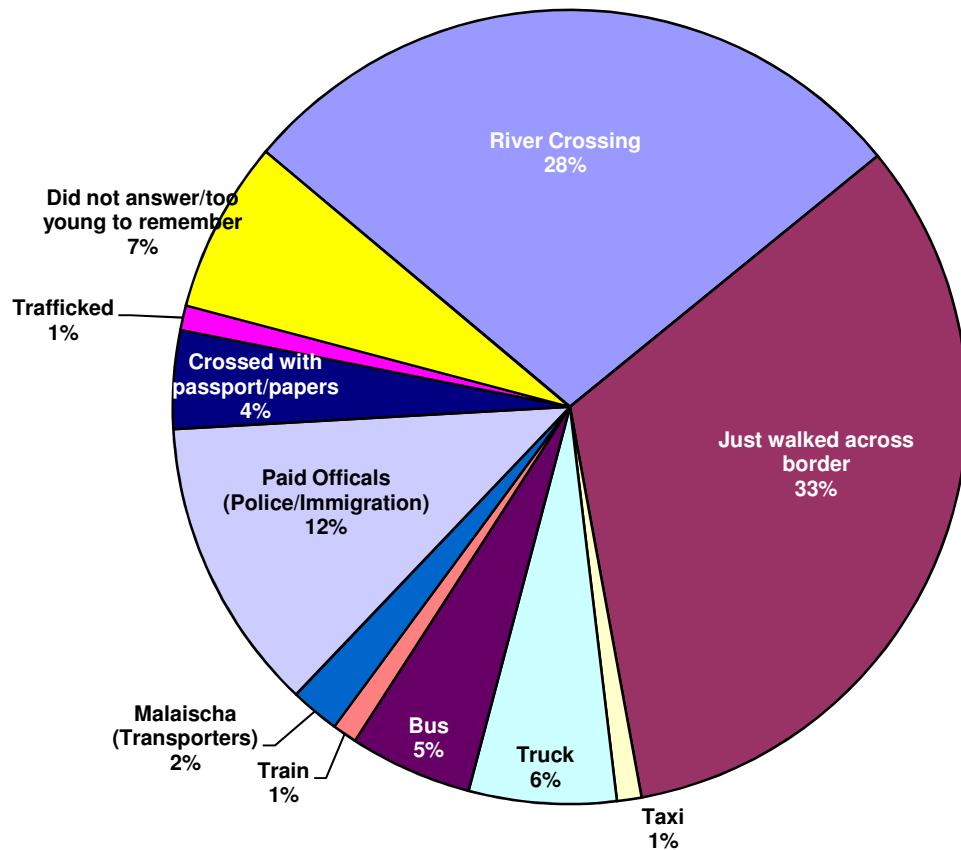
Another, aged 12, told a similar story of 'looking for empties'.

A boy, aged 16, said he just walked across the bridge without trouble:

*"We came to Beitbridge by train and from Beitbridge we just walked across the bridge into South Africa"*

Twelve percent (12%) of the children said they paid bribes to immigration officers or police to cross at the border (Figure 16).

*"I paid a bribe for me to pass at the border. I paid R150 to the [South African] soldiers." (boy, 17)*



**Figure 16: Routes and Movements across the border by Child Migrant Survey in July 2009**

The two children who stated they had been brought to South Africa by Malaicha (transporters) were female (Figure 16). Although not identified in the empirical data interviews with various actors in the community found that this is the preferred method of transport for girls. Parents feel it is a safer, more secure means for girls to travel. Anecdotal evidence, supported by an interview with NGO workers, suggests there have been numerous unreported cases of rape and abuse of users of this transport method.

One informant (female) reported in the survey that she had been “trafficked”, however closer review through triangulation revealed that she was most likely transported by Malaicha. There is however anecdotal evidence given by other informants who reported the trafficking of children, mainly girls for use in the sex trade, and babies, for sale on the black market. Informants told stories of this happening in and around the Research Municipality and of traffickers moving children

to other parts of South Africa. One local NGO worker reported accounts of the trafficking of infants for sale in South Africa during an informal conversation (Personal Communication, 30 July 2009). While this was anecdotal evidence and could not be verified, the International Organization for Migration (IOM), as reported by IRIN (2009), shows support for such local anecdotes, stating that the large migration of Zimbabweans (women and children) is masking the problem of child trafficking. The IOM and other international and local agencies report a number of cases where children have been trafficked across the border post.

The remaining 28% (28) of child informants, with ages ranging from 9 – 17 years, reported crossing into South Africa illegally across the Limpopo River (Figure 16). Over one fifth of these children (6 individuals) reported being attacked by Magumaguma (gangs) and having their shoes, clothes and money stolen. The typical targets of the Magumagumas are children of 16 or 17 years of age, crossing the river in small groups.

*“I came across the river with friends. All our belongings were taken by Magumagumas [thieves] on the way...” (boy, aged 17).*

The research found that of those children who are now living in South Africa, 60% (60) return to Zimbabwe to visit parents or other relatives. Some return to take food, money or goods to their families, while others reported returning to see their friends. Returning to Zimbabwe seemed not to provide too much of a challenge for these migrants. Movement into Zimbabwe is less monitored and controlled so the children can just walk across the bridge. For those children without documentation (passports) their challenge is re-entry into South Africa. Many informants stated that having been in South Africa and travelled there once they now knew routes to take and people who could help them across the border so they felt it was easier now to travel back to South Africa, often bringing friends back with them.

Under South African and international law, an asylum seeker is not permitted to return to his/her country of origin until it has been deemed safe and there is not further need for the host country to provide asylum. Thus those who have been granted asylum are

technically not allowed to return home or even be within 10 kilometres of the border. Both adult and child migrants with asylum documentation stated that when they needed to return to Zimbabwe to take back remittances, visit family or gather additional documentation for schooling, they would just leave their asylum documentation at home and travel back to Zimbabwe, either with their passport or other identity documentation. However, those who were unsure about what the asylum documentation actually means have been seen attempting to use their asylum paperwork at the border post to try and re-enter South Africa. This shows a gap in policy implementation: asylum seekers need better understanding of what asylum status means, the regulations and what their legal standing is.

#### **5.1.6. Documentation – Gaining asylum in South Africa**

In order for non-nationals to gain access to social services and schooling in South Africa, they are required to have asylum documentation or refugee status. Many non-national children are registered on their parents' asylum document with their picture and name. However, it is more challenging for unaccompanied children to gain asylum documentation. Fifty-five percent (55%) of the child migrants surveyed were undocumented.

During the “emergency response phase” in 2008, and through 2009, unaccompanied children who managed to find refuge with Save the Children-UK or the United Reform Church shelter were able to gain their documentation through the help and support of these agencies and the Department of Social Development (DSD). It was a long process. The migrant child was interviewed by the DSD social worker to determine if they were really unaccompanied. They would then grant the child an affidavit. An NGO social worker would then accompany the child to the police station for an official stamp on the affidavit. The child would then go to the RRO and, with the help of a paralegal, fill out the required paperwork. Finally, asylum status would be granted. Save-UK would work to help reunite these children with family members in South Africa. Those without family could take refuge at the local churches and government run children's homes.

In January 2010 the system was refined and minors are no longer allowed to apply for asylum documentation on their own. The Department of Home Affairs (DHA) has decided that they are too young to understand the requirements and the true meaning of seeking asylum. Under current regulations, parents/guardians can apply for asylum status for children (whether the children are in South Africa or not) as part of their application provided they can furnish proof that they are the primary caregiver of the child.

Those unaccompanied children who wish to apply for asylum have to go to the DSD and fill out a "Form 4", which places the child in a shelter and initiates the development of a care plan for longer term support. The DSD social worker accompanies the child to a doctor's appointment and to the magistrate who can then award the child with a "Form 5". From there the social worker has 14 days to investigate if this is a true case for asylum. If this is found to be true the child is then granted a "Form 8", which places them in the care of the state and they are protected as a refugee. This child is then either placed in a "place of safety" (a government run children's home, of which the closest one to the Research Municipality is a three hour drive, in the provincial capital) or in foster care, where the foster family will receive a foster care grant to help support the child.

Having been granted a "Form 8" the social worker of the child is required to produce a care letter and care plan for submission. The care plan includes the educational support, the name of the supporter and the steps to be taken to ensure this child's growth. Many of these children are then identified as vulnerable children and the DSD will often help by providing uniforms and support.

A social worker pointed out that one of the greatest challenges to this system is that if the social worker, while following up, does a tracing request in Zimbabwe, it could put the child at risk of attack as they will create awareness that the child (who is seeking asylum) is currently in South Africa and being cared for by that specific case worker.

Once these children have their asylum documentation, they are entitled to the same services as a South African child, which includes education.

#### **5.1.7. Internal Migration – South Africa**

The Research Municipality is seen as a very transient place for the non-nationals. Most of them come through the border, head straight to the RRO, gain their asylum documentation and head off into South Africa in search of work. Despite this, the Research Municipality has become home to many Zimbabwean migrants. Its close proximity to their home country means they are closer to family they have left behind, and they can access the resources they need for survival. Most of the children interviewed (72%: 72) intended to stay in the Research Municipality, while the majority of the rest 28 (28%) were passing through en route to various locations in search of work and schooling. Four migrants (4%) intended to return to Zimbabwe (Table 7).

**Table 7: Intended destination for Child Migrants**

<b>Location</b>	<b>Number</b>
Research Municipality	72
Limpopo Provincial Capital	7
Executive National Capital	4
Gauteng Provincial Capital	11
Neighbouring Town	2
Zimbabwe (repatriate)	4

The internal movement is largely influenced by either having relatives who live in the various destinations or the belief that there are better job options in other parts of South Africa. Out of 24 who intended to migrate internally, 5 were still in school. Two of these intended on moving once they had completed grade 12, while another was looking to move in order to attend a boarding school in a neighbouring Town. It is those 22% (22) who were not accessing education but were looking to move internally, who cited employment opportunities as the primary driver for moving. Seventeen (17%) of the surveyed children had tried to access education in the Research

Municipality but had been denied access and decided go in search of work in the bigger cities within South Africa.

It seems that access to education encouraged children to stay in the Research Municipality. Those accessing schooling wanted to complete their education before looking for work. The Parent/Guardian surveys showed that those who had their children with them in South Africa intended to stay in the Research Municipality (until things settled down in Zimbabwe). The Research Municipality is closer to 'home' (Zimbabwe) allowing them to travel back and forth to see family, or bring home money and supplies. Some stated that once they had their asylum documentation they could look for work and then help their children access schools. Those whose children had remained in Zimbabwe intended to move further into South Africa, to the major cities, in search of jobs and might send for their children later.

#### 5.1.8. Summary

##### ***Research Question 1:***

***a.*** What are the characteristics of Zimbabwe child migrants?

Overall, the children surveyed spread across the age range from 6 to 17 years, with the majority (73%) between the ages 13 and 17. The gender ratio overall was fairly even. However, girls outnumbered boys almost 1.8:1 (16:9) for those under 13, and the reverse being true for those from age 13 to 17, with boys outnumbering girls 2:1 for ages 13 to 17 (50:25).

Three quarters of the children in the sample were Shona speakers. This may not be a true reflection of language patterns since there is evidence that those fluent in a South African language (Ndebele is very close to Zulu) tend to move to major cities more readily than Shona speakers. The children surveyed originated from various locations in Zimbabwe, with 80% coming from urban areas (villages/towns). The majority of children entered the country without legal documentation, predominantly by simply walking across the border, or crossing the river. Some of the migrant children remain

undocumented, while many gain their asylum documentation through their families or with the help of humanitarian/aid agencies.

The sample did not include children who were trafficked, but some had paid transporters or bribed officials to gain entry. The proportion of trafficked children may not reflect overall trends as these children are likely to be transported to urban areas by the traffickers. This may also account for the low proportion of girls in the ages above 13.

Three quarters of the children in the sample planned to stay in the Research Municipality. Again, this may reflect the fact that the sample was collected in this area and therefore less likely to identify children in transit.

Almost half the children gave schooling as the major reason for entering South Africa, with another quarter indicating work as the major driver, and a fifth entering to re-join their families. But these numbers are questionable as interviews with local actors found that although there was a large portion claiming to have entered seeking education, the majority of migrants actually came in search of work to support basic survival. The vast majority of guardians entered South Africa for work purposes, although the number entering for political reasons may be under-reported.

## **5.2. Educational Experience of the Zimbabwe Migrant Children**

### **5.2.1. Education in Zimbabwe**

Chapter 3, Section 3.1.1c reviews the rise and fall of the Zimbabwean education system, highlighting the importance of education that is instilled by the government into its people. This is further evident in the data collected.

The trend of a high number of children attending school in Zimbabwe and how Zimbabweans value education was seen in the child migrants' surveys, with 94% (94)



of the child migrants having attended school in Zimbabwe at some point before coming to South Africa. Of the five (5) informants who identified that they had not attended school in Zimbabwe, 3 were too young when in Zimbabwe, 1 had no money for fees, uniforms or books and 1 who did not give a specific reason for not attending school. A UNESCO-IBE (2001) report showed that education of a girl child was also high priority for the Zimbabwean government and through 2001 has helped reduce the discrepancies between boys' and girls' enrolment.

***a. School in Zimbabwe – language of instruction, curriculum***

The child surveys identified 89 Zimbabwean schools that had been accessed by the children. All of these schools taught in English and at least one Zimbabwean (African) language. Eight-one percent (81%: 72) of the schools identified taught in Shona and English, while 9% (8) taught in Ndebele and English (Table 8). Seven percent (7%: 6) of the schools taught in three languages: 3 in Shona, Ndebele and English and 3 in Venda, Ndebele and English.

**Table 8: Languages of Instruction identified by the migrant children**

<b>Languages of Instruction</b>	<b># Schools</b>	<b>%</b>
Shona/English	72	80.91
Ndebele/English	8	9.0
Venda/English	2	2.2
Tswana/English	1	1.1
Venda/Ndebele/English	3	3.4
Shona/Ndebele/English	3	3.4

Although English was identified as being taught in all schools, many of the children interviewed were either unable to speak English or spoke it to a very low standard, highlighting the deterioration of the Zimbabwe education system and the quality of teaching and learning in English. Migrant Zimbabwean teachers interviewed believed that those with lower level of English were from the rural areas, where the quality of education in English is lower. The teachers' level of English is often lower in the rural schools and so they were teaching in the mother-tongue more than English. The focus

group discussions with teachers also highlighted their belief that the education in Zimbabwe had deteriorated – especially with the teacher strikes. For this reason, some parents had brought their children to South Africa for education, despite South African education having been viewed as inferior to Zimbabwean education for many years.

#### ***b. Attendance and Drop outs***

Although Zimbabwe boasts high enrolment rates, over the last few years there has been an increase in the number of children dropping out of school. This can largely be attributed to the economic crisis, hyperinflation and the inability of families to cover education costs, and also due to the large migration of families and children out of the country for their basic survival.

Teachers and parents interviewed believed that this increase in drop-outs in Zimbabwean schools over the past few years could largely be attributed to the lack of education provision due to school closures and teachers' strikes as a result of political turmoil and economic collapse in the country.

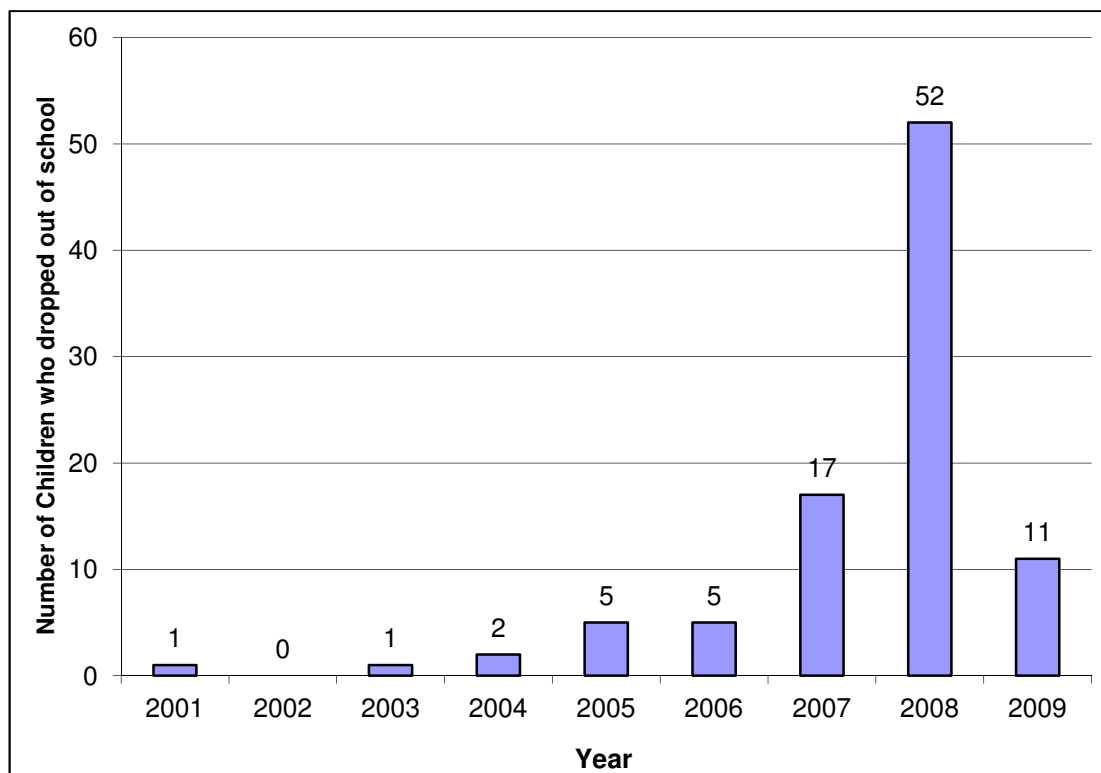


Figure 17: Child migrants surveyed who dropped out of school while in Zimbabwe from 2001 - 2009

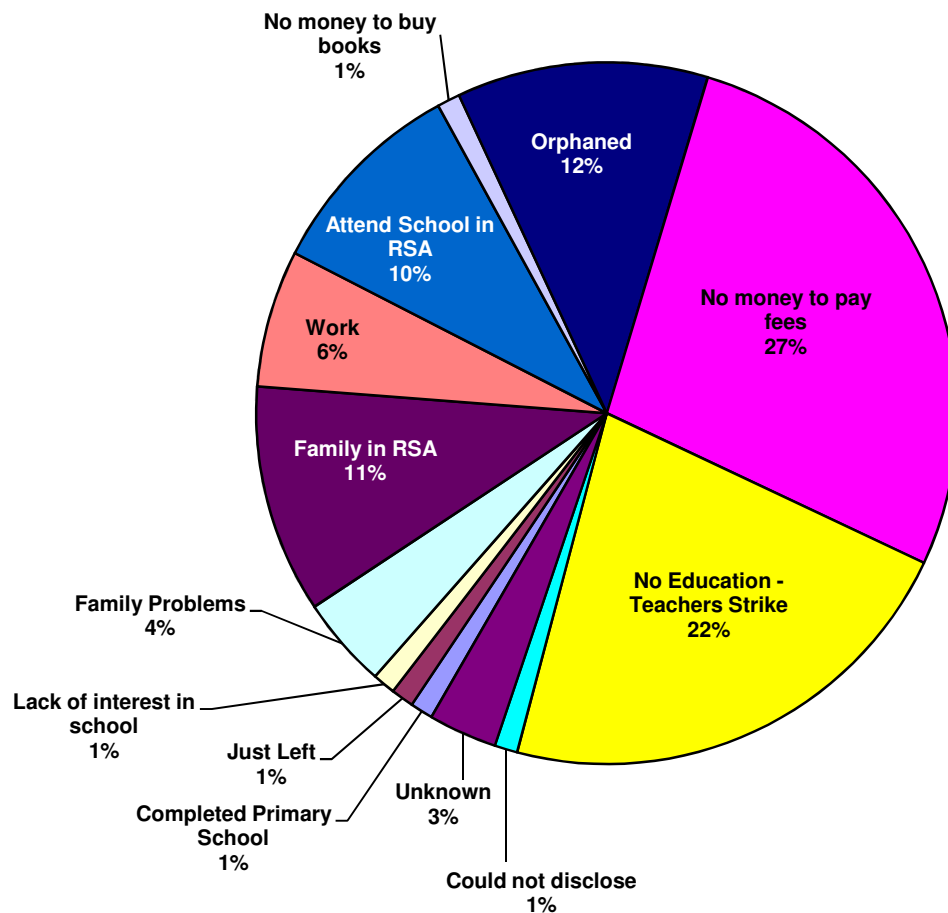
Figure 17 shows when the children surveyed dropped out of schooling in Zimbabwe. There seems to be a slow increase over the years, with a peak in 2008 and lower numbers in 2009. The low numbers in 2009 are attributed to the fact that the sample was collected mid-year (July/August) and thus did not allow for a full year of data collection. The peak in 2008 correlates with teacher strikes, government mandated school closures, election violence and the height of the exodus to neighbouring countries. This sample may be slightly biased as the majority of those surveyed were recent arrivals many of them only leaving school in Zimbabwe to migrate to South Africa. Many of the children who dropped out of school prior to 2007 would have been older than 17 at the time of the survey, and excluded from the research. So, drop-outs prior to 2007 will be under-represented in the sample.

The largest reason given for dropping out (40%:38) was the inability to pay fees. Of these, 12% were children who were orphaned and then could not afford fees (Figure 18). To keep up with the devaluing currency and running costs, schools would increase their fees by the term. At the same time, parents found that devaluation of the currency effectively increased the cost of living and the money they earned was needed to help feed the family. School fees became a luxury many could no longer afford. Those orphans and vulnerable children (OVCs) who were aided by government grants reported that the grants just ceased to come, meaning the children were unable to attend school.

It is a challenge to get a true understanding of the school fees in Zimbabwe, as they varied from school to school and, until 2009, fees could be paid in three different currencies: ZD (Zimbabwe Dollar), USD (United States Dollar) and ZAR (South African Rand). With the drastic devaluation of the ZD, students reported term-by-term fees increases until the complete collapse of the currency in April 2009.

Since the effective dollarisation of the Zimbabwean economy in late 2008, school fees have generally been charged in USD, and occasionally ZAR, making it hard for many to afford the cost of schooling. At the start of 2009, a civil servant typically earned USD100/month, with school fees between USD20 and USD280/per term (USD7 –

USD93 /month). But during 2009, Education Minister David Colbart reduced fees to between USD5 and USD20 per term due to the inability of people to afford school fees (Reuters, 2009).



**Figure 18: Reasons for drop out from schools in Zimbabwe identified by the child migrants surveyed**

Twenty-two percent (22%) of the child informants stated that the reason they left school in Zimbabwe was because there was no education happening due to all the teacher strikes (Figure 18). Twenty-seven percent (27%) of child informants' state that they had left school to come to South Africa: 11% because their family was in South Africa, 10% to attend school in South Africa and 6% looking for work.

All the children surveyed saw the importance and value of education. Given the choice, they stated would want to stay and attend school in Zimbabwe, provided the quality and accessibility improved. Talks with migrant parents and Zimbabwean teachers all highlighted the high value of education to them. The surveys and interviews showed

that to a Zimbabwean, education is a high priority. Zimbabwean parents would prefer their children to have a Zimbabwean education, as it is perceived as being superior to South African education. Those who are able to afford it have put their children in private schools in Zimbabwe. One Zimbabwean teacher currently teaching in South Africa said

*“...I have put my children in private school in Zimbabwe, the education is much better there”*

Interview, 25 February 2010

Those who could not afford private schools but wanted their children to continue education would work to bring their children to school in South Africa.

### **5.2.2. Education in South Africa**

Although many of the children came to South Africa partly in search of education, only 32 of the 100 informants were attending school in South Africa. These 32 were attending 10 different schools. Of these 10 schools only 4 were located within the Township. The other 6 schools were identified as farms and schools outside the Research Municipality area.

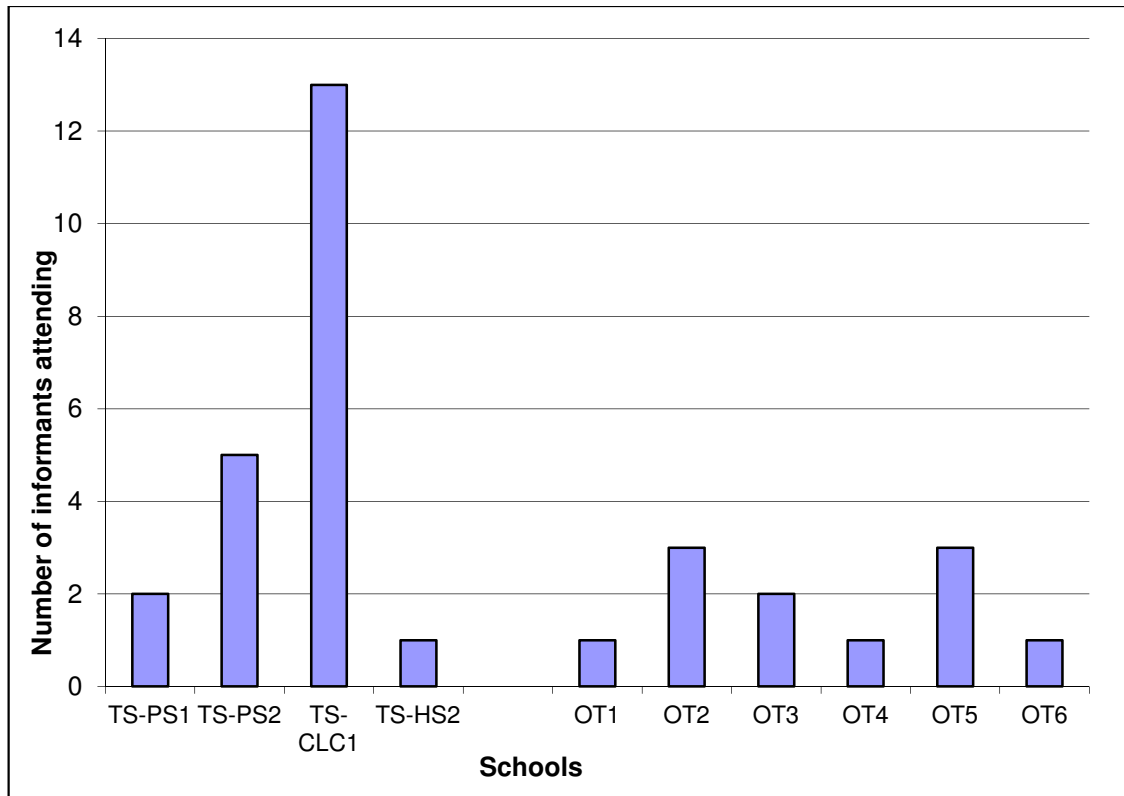
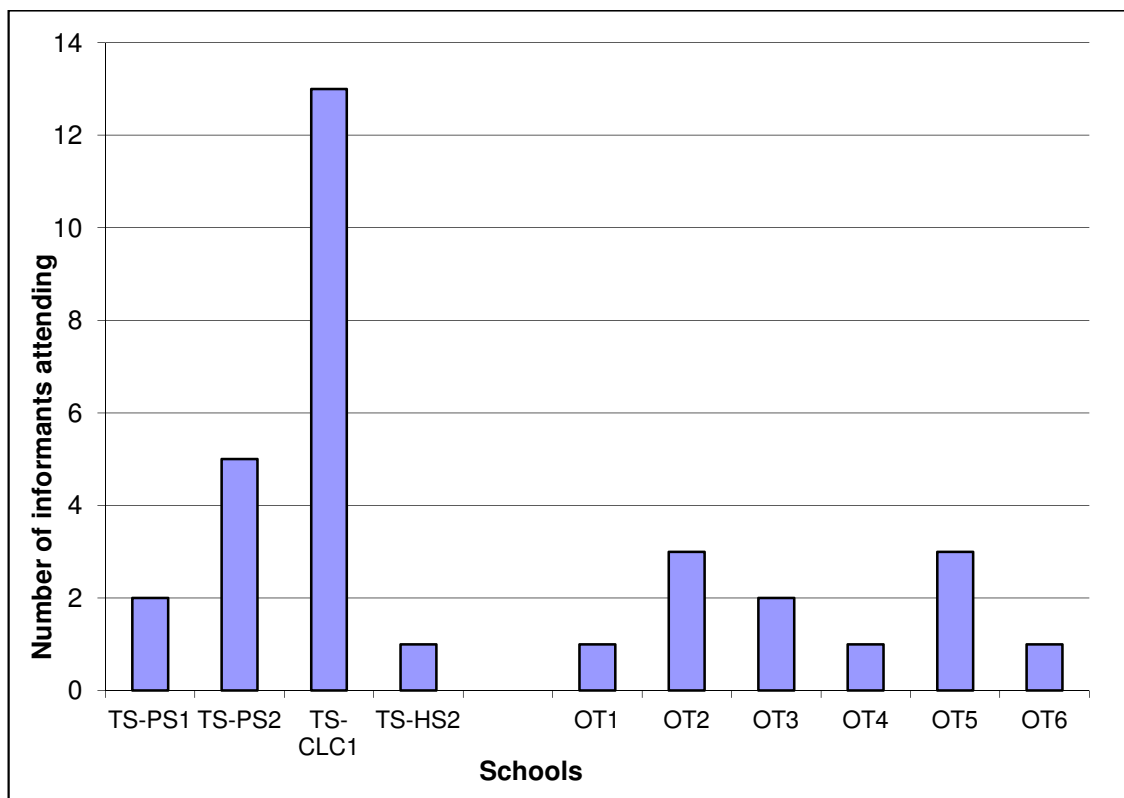


Figure 19 shows the distribution of schools attended by the 32 informants surveyed who were accessing education in 2009. From the data gathered there was a high number attending a private R - Gr12 Comprehensive Learning Centre (CLC) located just outside the Township (TS-CLC1 – see Table 5). This is probably somewhat skewed as on one data collection day, a pair of research assistants conducted some of their sampling right outside the school gates (after gaining permission from the principal).



**Figure 19: School in Research Area attended by the Child Informants**

Further questioning in 2010 (during Phase 2 of the research) found that this school does indeed host a high number of migrant children, and Zimbabweans in particular. The school is a private, fee-paying one and has a reputation for providing a high level of education. So those parents who could afford the fees preferred to send their children to this private school. Migrant children who attended this school were those accompanied youth whose parents saw the value of education and were willing and able to pay for the quality of private schooling.

The research found that TS-CLC1 was a fairly new school, with a principal very open to helping migrant children. It was also known to require less documentation than other schools. The school was also able to accommodate the older students who had been turned away from the other high schools due to their overcapacity and strict enrolment policies.

The school had hired Zimbabwean teachers and was open to the attendance of non-

nationals. One of the mothers sent her children to TS-CLC1 because of it being a fairly new school where she felt her children would not feel or be treated like outsiders.

According to the Parent/Guardian interviews, these private and farms schools were selected largely because of space and entry requirements. The Town and Township schools were often overcrowded and strict regarding admission requirements. A few were able to access these schools: a father said he placed his child in TS-PS2 because at that time there was space and the fees were reasonable. Those who attended farm schools outside the Research Municipality did so because there was space and the entry requirements were less stringent, with proof of asylum status was not required in many cases.

Once in the South African education system, some of the children said they enjoyed attending school. Some found their South African peers were mean to them, while others found that they were accepted as part of the school. One student (16, female) said:

*"You just have to adjust to the environment, and if you are nice to people then they are nice to you so it's easy".*

In the focus groups and interviews, the teachers all noted that the benefit of having the Zimbabwean children in the classroom was that it increased academic competition between the students within the classroom. Teachers found that the Zimbabwean children worked at a higher standard than their national counterparts, despite the language and curricula differences, and encouraged competition amongst the nationals and non-nationals.

*"Their performance is higher than the South African students and so it encourages friendly competition between students"*

Township Primary School Language Teacher

*"At first it was tough, but now the South African students team with the Zimbabwean students to help increase their learning. They help with performance and discipline"*

Township Middle School Mathematics Teacher



*“The image of the school has increased due to the high performance of the Zimbabwean students”*

Township High School Teacher

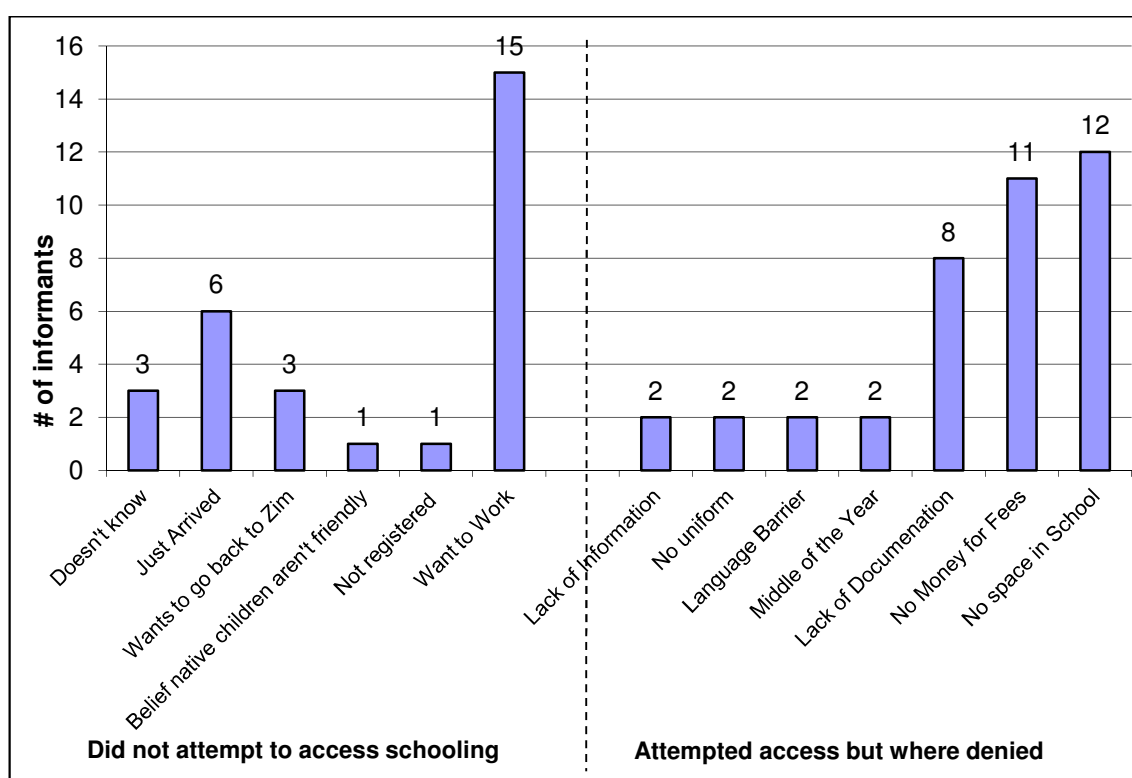
The teachers also noted that the Zimbabwean students were dedicated to their work. The students were in school to learn and further their future, not just to “be” in school. Teachers pointed out that these children wanted to learn.

*“The Zimbabwean children never play with chances, they will use them fruitfully ... I hope they get to go back to Zimbabwe and make it more of a beautiful country”*

Township Grade 6 Teacher

#### **a. Accessing education in South Africa**

Although only 32% (32) of the children surveyed were enrolled in school, 79% (79) of the children surveyed had actually attempted or were willing to access school in South Africa. Figure 20 illustrates the reasons why 68% (68) of the non-national children surveyed were not attending school.



**Figure 20: Reasons for not attending school in South Africa identified by the child migrants in Phase 1 2009 Child Survey**

The majority (15) of children who had not attempted to access schooling were the older children (15 – 17 years) who were more interested in working so they could survive or send money home to their families.

The 39 children who had tried to access schooling but failed, reported the greatest barrier identified was that of physical access – the overcrowding in the schools and lack of space for children (31%: 12) (Figure 20).

The 2009 surveys found that the other two major barriers were financial (inability to pay fees 28%: 11) and lack of documentation required for admission (21%: 8) (Figure 20). However the change in school policy in 2010 supported the removal of the financial barrier as all the Township schools became fee-free, making lack of documentation the second biggest reason for inability to gain access to schooling.

*“I have my asylum but I don’t have my report card or transfer letter, and I can’t go back to get them so the school will not let me start”*

boy (18) wanting to complete school

*“I was called by my brother to come [to South Africa] to go to school but was told to go back home because I had no papers”*

boy (aged 17)

*“I had no money to go back to Zimbabwe for transfer and report”*

boy (aged 16)

Two of those denied access (5%) were denied access as enrolment to the schools they had tried to access was only done once a year (November) and they had come in the middle of the academic year. Further discussions with the out-of-school children showed this to be true for many of those attempting to gain access at the high school level. The high schools only had enrolment in November due to government policy (see Table 5 principal interviews) although many of the primary schools stated that they do have rolling enrolment.

Other less prominent barriers resulting in failure to access schooling included language of instruction (5%: 2), no uniform (5%: 2) and lack of information on how to gain access to schooling (5%: 2) (Figure 20). Teachers and parents did not believe that language of instruction was a barrier to gaining access to schools but more of a barrier to gaining quality education once enrolled. Information about how to gain access to schooling is filtered through the community. People in the community talk and make suggestions of schools and how to gain access. For foreigners there is no formal information given to them, making access to information on schooling a challenge for those new migrants without a network in the Research Municipality.

The purchase of uniforms is a genuine challenge for vulnerable non-national children who are either orphaned or whose parents are not working. The principals at all schools said that they do not deny admission to those who are unable to purchase school uniforms. School faculty encourage students to wear uniform and look to the government or NGOs for support with the provision of uniforms. A Township principal stated:

*“Some children in our school will give their old uniforms for those children who don’t have any”*

One teacher challenged the leniency on uniforms:

*“If you are lenient on the foreigners for not wearing uniforms then the other students will question why they have to wear uniforms. Uniforms are for identification of the school. It helps us to know who the learners are and who are from the street. Wearing them is very important”*

Township High School Teacher

The 29 children who did not want to or had not yet attempted education access created their own barriers: 52% (15) did not want to go to school as they were looking for work, while 21% (6) had recently arrived in South Africa and had no interest in attending school. Other reasons for not attending school included: belief that native children were unfriendly (1), wanting to go back to Zimbabwe (3) and not really sure but they did not want to go (3).

Out of the small sample of guardians (24) interviewed, 9 of them had their children (21 children in all) attending school in South Africa. Parents/guardians who attempted to place their children in school in 2009 found the biggest barriers to access were the inability to afford school fees and lack of documentation.

In 2009 fees varied widely amongst the schools in the Research Municipality. Table 9 highlights that the schools in the Town – the former Model 'C' (ex-white schools) – were considerably more expensive than the township schools.

**Table 9: Range of 2009 School Fees South African Rand (ZAR) (summary from Table 5)**

School Location	Primary School		CLC		High School
	Low (ZAR)	High (ZAR)	Low (ZAR)	Low (ZAR)	ZAR
<b>Township</b>	0	150	200	350	250
<b>Town</b>	3,500		3,500	7,500	6,490

Many migrants were unemployed or working in menial jobs that provided barely enough money to feed their families. Covering school fees with any money that is left over is a big challenge. But in January 2010, schools in the Township were reclassified as Quintile 3 schools and, under the new School Fees Policy are no longer required to charge school fees.

Although there has been a big push to ensure access for non-nationals into the schooling system, the local Education Official highlighted the need for these children to want to go to school. He felt that often NGOs and agencies try enrolling children in school and going through all the paperwork and rigmarole and then these children drop out after a few days because they would either rather be working or they simply move on (Personal Communication, 12 March 2010). This is a challenge for the school and for the department.

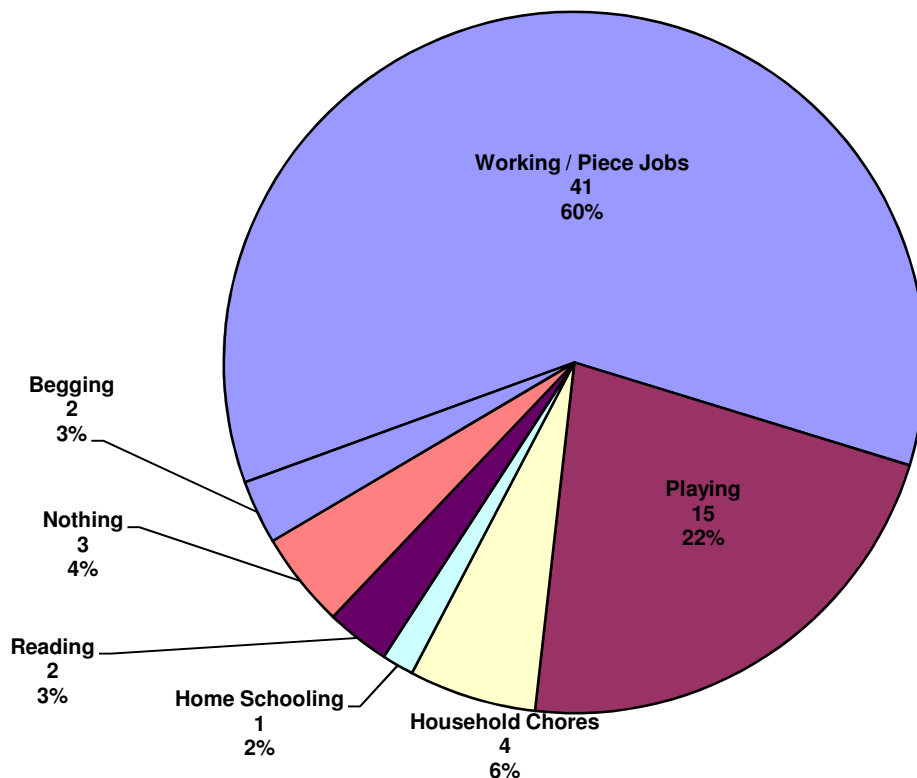
In subsequent interviews, both the local Education Official and a high school teacher pointed out that there are cases where the children (national and non-national) register for school and attend for a bit, simply to gain a testimonial from the school

saying they are a student so that they can apply for their South African Identity Documentation (at age 16). Once granted their Identity Document they leave school and integrate into South Africa as they can now legally work as South Africans.

There is a need to remove barriers to educational access but there is also a need to ensure that those entering schooling (after the age of 15) want to be there, otherwise the effort involved in enrolling these children is a waste of time and scarce resources.

***b. Not accessing education***

Out of the 68 children not attending school in South Africa, 60% (41) (largely the older children of 15 – 17 years of age) indicated that they work or look for piece-work jobs during the day (Figure 21).



**Figure 21: Daily activities identified by those interviewed who were not attending school in South Africa**

These jobs include: pushing trolleys, carrying bags to and from the taxi rank or across the bridge, sweeping, selling bananas or eggs, or working in the shops. One of the children (boy, aged 16) reported that he worked on the farms.

Other activities identified by those not attending school included playing (22%), household chores (4%), begging (3%), reading (3%), nothing (4%) and home schooling (1%), as shown in Figure 21.

### 5.2.3. Summary

**Research Question 1b:** What are their experiences and perceptions with regards to education in South Africa?

From the interviews of the children and the guardians there was strong support for education and the importance of education for their children. Parents/guardians and even the children saw the benefits of education, with the majority of the Zimbabwean children surveyed having attended schooling in Zimbabwe at some point.

Education was identified as both a push and pull factor for some, and those who came to South Africa for education came largely because of the school closures in Zimbabwe due to the elections and teacher strikes. Even in South Africa, their beliefs and values of education had not changed. The harsh realities of life forced many of the older boys to search for work, while the barriers of documentation, fees and space forced others to abandon their quest for education in South Africa.

Those who were in school valued their education and from the teachers it can be seen that the Zimbabwean children are perceived to work really hard and thrive on learning. Those children not in school, saw the importance of education and many would have liked to attend, but were faced with large barriers that they were unable to overcome.

### **5.3. Analysis: Linking the research to the literature**

Although the empirical evidence for this study was drawn from a small sample group of a particular cross border migrant group, it does highlight and support common themes evident in the literature review across other migrant groups.

The reasons identified for migration of this group support Faist's (2007) meso-level migration theory where migration is influenced by both the micro level push-pull factors of Ravenstein (1988), Lee (1966) and also by Massey et al.'s (1993) macro-level influences. The migration movement of the Zimbabweans have been largely influenced by their desire for basic survival (meso-level), the collapse of their country's economy and food shortages (macro-level), along with the supportive ties of their social and institutional networks (meso-level).

Zimbabwe, as a country is not at war but faced with economic collapse, political instability, food shortages and civil unrest. It is one many countries of origin whose migrants challenge the constraints of the definition of forced migration (refugees, asylum seekers) and the support that is given to them. The migration reasons challenge Mason's (2000) migration spectrum, as their reasons for movement blur the lines of the definitions.

The Zimbabwean migrants identified their reasons for migration as economic, voluntary and forced. This group of migrants fall into Betts and Kaytaz (2009) "Survival Migrants" who flee existential threats to which they have no domestic remedy. Although not falling under the technical definition of "refugee", this group needs additional support. They are men, women and children whose movement is driven by basic survival needs.

As unrest continues in countries like Egypt and Tunisia, as economies like Greece's continue to collapse, as natural disasters continue to strike like those in Japan and Australia and civil unrest and political struggles like Cote d'Ivoire and Zimbabwe continue, so will the migration and thus need for further review of definition of

migration, along with national and international support for this group. Migrants are not entitled to support unless they have legal status. It is evident that the status determination definitions need to be updated to parallel the change in the world today.

The provision of support to the migrant population is also largely dependent on their legal status and how their particular migration is defined. The camp versus integration debate often argues about the negatives of the confines of a refugee camp and the influence of aid agencies. The research for this study identified that the migrants, despite being in a country with an integration policy, were largely living together in low income, developing camp like settings. What little aid and support that existed in the Research Area was largely provided by local religious organisations, with additional support from local and one or two international aid agencies. This supports Polzer (1998), who found that it was the networks of these migrants which were filling the gaps and allowing for the provision of basic necessities outside the camp environment.

An additional challenge for this group and an integration policy is the unknown size of the population. Without a true understanding of the numbers of migrants, there is no effective way to provide the correct support or the evidence required by the government to appeal to the international community for support.

Neither camps nor integration seem to be the ideal policy for supporting the human rights of this migrant group. Perhaps a combination of the two could provide a better grounding. For example, during the initial entry of the migrants into the country support could be provided in a camp setting, where a number of international agencies could support the local government with the provision of aid. Better estimates of the size of the population would be possible and the needs of the groups could be better identified. Then, perhaps, integration or repatriation could be further supported, using the camps as a stop gap, a base for the migrants to regroup, establish themselves, gain documentation, or return back to their home country.



As identified by the research, the majority of these migrants wish to return to their country of origin but, until there is stability, jobs and a stronger economy, very few of them feel they can return home.

The research determined that those migrants who tried to access education were faced with the traditional access barriers (e.g. lack of space in school, school fees, cost of uniforms), as well as being further impeded by legal and social barriers. The majority of the migrants had entered school in their country of origin but had dropped out prior to migration. These migrants were then faced with re-entry into the school once in the host country. The access barriers already faced in their home country were now being faced a second time, although this time with the additional challenges of legal status, lack of documentation, language barriers and different curricula.

Migrant children around the world face these challenges daily, and there has been little research into understanding the additional barriers that this marginalised group has had to face. While this study begins to create awareness of these barriers, there is a need for further in-depth studies of a larger scale to help governments and international communities better support this group of vulnerable children.

## **CHAPTER 6: Policy, Implementation, and Barriers to Educational Access**

This chapter explores the barriers to educational access for the non-nationals, and examines the influence of the policies put in place to remove these barriers.

Section 6.1 identifies each policy, its intended outcome, its influence on educational access and the impact of its implementation in the Research Municipality. Policies reviewed include those with regards to physical access (6.1.1); the admissions policy (6.1.2), school fee policy (6.1.3), and policies to help reduce the additional costs of education (6.1.4).

Section 6.2 focuses on the barriers faced by non-nationals once they are in school. It examines the policies on language of instruction (6.2.1) and curriculum (6.2.2), and how they influence access for migrant children.

The results, data relating to Research Question 2, is summarised in Section 6.3, while Section 6.4 analyses the results from the fieldwork in the context of the international literature.

### **6.1. Access: Education Policies and their implementation in the field**

#### **6.1.1. Physical Access**

One of the greatest barriers to educational access identified in the empirical data was physical space in schools. Although there are 12 schools (7 primary schools, 3 high schools and 2 Comprehensive Learning Centres) in the Research Municipality, the schools capacity (facilities and teaching staff) caps the number of placements available. Interviews with principals revealed that schools in the Town are strict on their enrolment capacity and not having overcrowded classrooms, providing a barrier to accessing schooling and education. In contrast, schools in the Township still accepted children even after the school's capacity had been exceeded. Capping enrolments bars children from physical access to schooling, while allowing overcrowded classrooms

prevents children from receiving quality education within the school, despite being able to gain access.

South African education policy states that principals may not refuse access to a child who is a resident in the school's zone, even if school is full. Principals can however turn away those from outside this zone, as long as the decision not based on racial or discriminatory grounds. Having to accept children even when filled to capacity is a challenge for the schools, as there is lack of infrastructure for additional numbers and it increases the student:teacher ratio. In 2009, four (4) of the schools were found to be over their capacity (Table 5). The principals of these four schools all stated they continued to accept students because,

*"... you can't turn a child away from education".*

In 2009, to help accommodate the increased numbers enrolling in his school, a Township primary school principal negotiated with local churches in the community to use their church halls as classrooms, to support his school's growth. However, in 2010 the local education official advised him that the school needed to be under "one roof" and so over the next few years the school will be reducing enrolment to move the school back to one property. This principal was forced to turn away children attempting to enrol in classes that were considered full. The local education official's reasoning is based on bureaucratic management principles but also on the importance of lower teacher:pupil ratios in the provision of quality education.

According to the DoE regulations the principals' pay levels and the school grants are determined by the number of pupils enrolled in the school. So those principals with a high enrolment are given more government funding for their school, along with a bigger salary for themselves. Several informants offered this as a possible explanation of the schools' growth and high enrolment.

In the Research Municipality, the local education official argued that the high enrolment numbers were as a result of increased demand for schooling due to the increased population in the area, driven both by migrants and large numbers of

children in each family. The challenge for this incentive policy is managing a trade-off. Removing the financial incentive for principals may result in enrolment numbers being strictly adhered to, resulting in a fewer places in schools and therefore less access for children. But maintaining the financial incentive, although resulting in high enrolment, increases pressure on teachers who have to educate more children and puts pressure on the quality of education provided as class numbers swell.

Irrespective of the enrolment incentive policy, children, both national and non-nationals, are being denied access to education in the Research Municipality largely due to the fact that there is no space in schools. Some of these children in the Town and Township are then forced to attend farm schools where space has been identified. This adds an additional transportation cost for the children and their families.

The local education official explained that there is just not enough infrastructure (classrooms) to support the high levels of enrolment. He did note that a few years prior, after advocacy by the community, an additional high school and primary school were built. He also agreed that there is need for the construction of additional classrooms to support the high enrolment but stated that the Department of Education does not currently have the funding to support construction of additional infrastructure to accommodate this growth. There is also concern about expanding the schools in this area to accommodate non-nationals, who may return to Zimbabwe.

UNICEF responded to the schools call for infrastructure support and donated a prefabricated building consisting of an additional 3 classrooms, fully equipped with desks, chairs and chalkboard, to each of the two newer schools. School visits in 2009 revealed that these classrooms were not being utilised. The principal of the primary school said that they did not have enough teachers to divide the large classes and use the donated classrooms. The high school principal stated that the school currently hosted only two grades but as they expand and add additional grades each year these classrooms would be utilised. A follow up visit to the schools in 2010 found the classrooms donated by UNICEF in both schools were being utilised, with increased enrolment in both schools.

In 2010 the private comprehensive learning centre (TS-CLC1) in the Township moved to a new property outside the township where the school had more space. Construction of additional classrooms to support the growth of the school in the previous two years was well underway.

Small steps by government, the local community and the international community have been taken to help support increased physical access and classroom space in the Research Municipality. The challenge identified now is to increase teaching staff to support this growth, and secure the budget to pay these additional teachers.

#### **6.1.2. Admissions Policies**

The laws that govern the admission to public schools in South Africa are the South African Schools Act (1996) and the Admission Policy of Ordinary Public Schools (1998). According to the 1996 South African Schools Act (Republic of South Africa, 1996b) the School Governing Body (SGB) defines the admissions policy of its school. The SGB is however not permitted to stipulate discriminatory admission requirements and must adhere to the minimum requirements set by the Admission Policy of Ordinary Public Schools (1998). This policy requires students to have a birth certificate and proof of immunisation. If a child is transferring from another school, they are required to present a transfer card or a report card with an affidavit stating they do not require a transfer card.

Admission requirements for non-nationals are the same as South African citizens, although non-nationals they are also required to provide documentation supporting their right to be living and studying in South Africa. This can be either a study permit or asylum documentation (RSA, 1998). The asylum documentation provides shows evidence they have applied to the Department of Home Affairs (DHA) to legalise their stay in South Africa, following the terms of the Aliens Control Act, 1991 (No. 96 of 1991). According to a circular sent out on 13 August 2009, the Provincial Department

of Education (DoE) policy on entrance requirements for non-nationals includes provision of:

- a birth certificate or accepted proof of birth,
- an immunisation record,
- school report card,
- transfer letter, and
- a study permit or asylum paper.

The DoE does allow the principals to grant a 3-month grace period to non-nationals with asylum documentation, giving children/parents the opportunity to provide the “missing” documentation within three months of being enrolled at the school.

All the schools surveyed in the Research Municipality were required to follow the DoE guidelines for the admission requirements of non-nationals. However none of the schools were aware of, or enforced the requirement for immunisation documentation. Two schools (one private and one government) in the Town had additional admission requirements: T-CLC1 (Private Comprehensive School) requested a completed application form and medical clearance, and T-HS1 (High school) required children to at least understand (if not speak) Afrikaans, as it is a bilingual school. As Afrikaans is only widely spoken in South Africa, none of the children interviewed spoke the language, and were thus excluded from access to T-HS1. This is effectively discrimination based on language despite the practice being illegal in South Africa.

The challenge comes in the interpretation and implementation of these policies, as implementation seems to vary between schools and principals. The schools in the Town followed the SGB admissions policies very strictly, which correlates with the low enrolment of non-nationals. In an interview one of the principals of a primary school in the Town stated that he

*“...would rather not admit Zimbabweans because it caused a large amount of paperwork and trouble with the DoE”,*

Of the 32 Zimbabwean migrants attending school in the Research Municipality, none of them provided all the “required” documentation for their school admission. The

surveys revealed that the documentation submitted not only differed amongst schools, but even amongst informants gaining access to the same school.

One teacher questioned the school management team's (SMT) following of the guidelines,

*"Sometimes the children are admitted by the SMT but don't have any documentation to prove their grade level. So you find children struggling because they were placed in the wrong class and, after investigation, the child is then placed in a lower grade level. Teachers ask the SMT about the requirements but get no response. It's the same year after year."*

In interviews, principals in the Townships stated they aimed to gather as much documentation as they could from each child but, as they did not want to deny the children their right to education, they treated the policy more as a guideline and applied it loosely. Principals feared that if the DoE found out that they were not following the admissions requirements strictly enough, they would be in serious trouble. A primary school principal from a Town school stated,

*"The DoE says that if they check [paperwork] and you don't have all the required paperwork for each child you will be in serious trouble".*

For asylum seekers, returning to their home country is illegal. Their asylum documentation requires them to remain at least 10km from the border of their home country, for their own safety and protection. Requiring migrant children to submit documentation, such as transfer letters and report cards, effectively bars them from access to education or force them to make an illegal and dangerous return to a country where they are being persecuted.

The research revealed that the difficulty of complying with documentation requirements had encouraged corruption.

A high school teacher admitted,

*"You often get fake documents. For example one child brought a transfer letter from a farm school that stated the learner was there in 1978 and should be now be placed in Grade 10"*

*He carried on, saying,*

*“Many times you’ll get hand written reports and transfer letters from the farm schools that have been stamped but are fakes. Someone is making a lot of money”.*

Anecdotal evidence from NGO workers and Zimbabwean migrants suggested that asylum documentation is often faked. There were rumours of syndicates producing fake documentation, and of children making photocopies of their friends’ asylum documentation with their own pictures. Others told of parents/guardians using their friends’ South African Identification to register their child as a South African. Many children are determined to go to school and many parents are determined to gain access to schooling for their children. They are willing to go to any length to achieve this end.

The local Education Cluster, led by the local DoE and consisting of various local and international NGOs, worked together to identify these challenges and the risks that these children face to try and gain the right documentation for education access. An appeal was made in August 2009 for a change in government policy. The cluster, led by the DoE agreed that there should be no conditions for accepting migrant children into schools. The new agreement was that non-national children would only be required to produce their asylum documentation, and then the department of education would test their grade level placement. This agreement was confirmed again in January 2010 and it was then the responsibility of the local education official to inform the schools of this policy amendment. An interview with the education official confirmed this agreement, although it appears in the news has been slow to reach at least some of the schools. A township principal said,

*“There has been no policy change [since 2009]”,*

He did go on to say,

*“Although asylum seekers are no longer required to give a transfer letter or report card, tests are done to put them in the right grade”.*

During phase 2 (2010) interviews, when asked about their admissions policies for 2010, many of the principals repeated the requirements from the August 2009 circular,



unaware of the policy amendment. This highlighted the need for better dissemination of information to the principals.

The research also identified the need for dissemination of this information to non-national themselves. Phase 2 discussions with migrant children who had recently attempted to access education and had been denied due to lack of documentation showed the need for migrants to understand their rights for admission.

Some of the migrant children currently enrolled in schooling revealed that they did not have asylum documentation. This will make it difficult for these children to complete their high schooling, as they will be denied permission to take their Matric Exams (final South African national high school exams). As a result, they will not have the opportunity to graduate, providing a setback in their education and in many migrants' eyes "wasting" their time in education as they will not have a certificate to prove to prospective employers or tertiary institutions that they have completed their schooling.

When questioned about the number of non-nationals or Zimbabweans in their schools, the principals were not entirely sure of the exact numbers. A Township principal said, *"It's hard to know the exact numbers unless you ask and count"*. Teachers stated, *"Children are children"*. As teachers they do not differentiate between South African students and Zimbabwean students. While this is a noble ideal, in order to provide the correct support to non-nationals through the development and implementation of policy, an understanding of the numbers (i.e. the size of the challenge), is extremely important.

Table 5 shows rather low numbers of Zimbabwean students in the Research Municipality's schools, although the research suggests the number may well be higher than reported. In a Town primary school for example, the principal stated they only had 2 Zimbabwean students who were the children of mine workers who had been there for many years (Personal Communication, 29 July 2009). But upon further discussion with a research assistant, whose two Zimbabwean children were enrolled at

the school, it became clear there were more than two Zimbabwean children in the primary school (Personal Communication, 29 July 2009). Another example is a township high school principal who was unsure about the number of Zimbabweans in his school but estimated that the number was fewer than ten. He commented that it was hard to separately identify the Zimbabwean students as the area has a large mining and farming community with numerous non-nationals from different countries who are considered just part of the community and treated as South Africans. His low estimates are highly unlikely. A teacher at the school estimated that 25% of the school (415 pupils) was Zimbabwean, and the empirical work showed that a large number of those surveyed were attending this school. These low Zimbabwean enrolment numbers were seen again in reports from the provincial and national education department. Having visited the schools and the community, the inaccuracy of the numbers is obvious.

The local education official believed that part of the reason low numbers reported was the location of the Research Municipality. The town has been a mining town for many years and, with many of the miners originally coming from Zimbabwe, their children were given dual citizenship, even though they grew up in Zimbabwe (Personal Communication, 12 March 2010). Despite having now moved to South Africa, and being South African on paper, the children are really Zimbabwean.

One primary principal identified her school as having a large number of Zimbabwean students. This school teaches in Tsonga and English. Tsonga is not a prominent local language in this area of South Africa so, with enrolment of nationals being low, the principal was very willing to accept Zimbabwean children to help increase her overall enrolment numbers. Her 2009 estimates were that she had about 60 Zimbabwean students. However, according to the local education official's records, the school only officially had 6 Zimbabwean students enrolled. This is further evidence of the inaccuracy of the statistics and reporting structure in the schools in this municipality.

This discrepancy in numbers is a concern, and a challenge for policy development and implementation. For policy development to support these migrant children, and for

schools to cope with their influx, accurate numbers are needed to explain the scale and scope of the problem. Only then will data provide leverage to encourage government response.

### **6.1.3. School Fees**

To help ensure equity and access the government passed the 2006 National Norms and Standards, which provincial departments used to divide the schools in their provinces into economic quintiles (1 poorest – 5 wealthiest) based on the rates of income, unemployment and literacy in the surrounding area. Schools classified in Quintile 1, Quintile 2 and more recently Quintile 3, became fee-free and received a relatively higher budget allocation than Quintile 4 and 5 schools for non-personal and non-capital expenditure – largely running costs (stationery, maintenance) but also covering teaching and learning materials (RSA, 2006). This amendment to the Norms and Standards came into effect on 1 January 2007. The policy does allow for schools that currently charge fees to apply through their provincial education department to be reclassified as Quintile 3 schools and thus become fee-free schools (RSA, 2006).

In 2009, all but one of the schools in the Research Municipality were registered as Quintile 4 schools and thus charged school fees, although fees did vary between schools (Table 5). One of the primary schools in the Township was defined as a Quintile 3 school and thus did not charge school fees. This school also reported having no Zimbabwean children enrolled. During Phase 1 (2009), the schools were officially registered as Quintile 4 schools, although when asked in interviews about the Quintile of their schools, three of the principals (25%) were unsure of their school's quintile and what the implications of the Quintile classification were.

Phase 1 (2009) empirical evidence revealed that school fees were a significant challenge in the Township schools. The principals stated that a large number of students do not pay their school fees, and felt that almost none of the Zimbabwean children paid fees, believing that the parents of these children just cannot afford to

cover fees. All the principals found the lack of payment of fees to be a problem, as school running costs are high and income is low.

All those interviewed were aware of the school fee exemption policy (offered during this time). However, most principals were unaware if it was available to non-nationals. One principal believed the exemption to be open to non-nationals, yet she stated the challenge for gaining exemption for these children is that the migrant children come throughout the year and it is difficult to apply and get funding for them in the middle of the year. School fee exemption requests should be submitted during enrolment in November, so that the additional funding was provided to the schools with the DoE payments in May and September.

Even though in 2009 the Town schools had higher fees than the Township schools, the principals found that the majority of the students at these schools paid their fees, with a 95% school fee payment rate reported. The principals achieved this by working with parents to develop individual payment schemes that worked best for the respective parents and ensured fees were paid. Interviews revealed that parents who were willing to pay higher fees for a better education were more likely to ensure that the fees were paid, so their children could continue to access to quality education. These fee paying Town schools were found to have waiting lists and were unwilling to admit more children than their school capacity, thus they could afford to vet the applications to the school and usually select children whose families would be able to cover the costs of schooling (fees, uniforms, books, transportation, etc.).

When it came to funding from the DoE, teachers in the Township schools pointed out that many of the migrant children had not yet registered in November when budgets are calculated based on enrolment numbers. So principals were increasing their enrolment during the academic year without, receiving any additional compensation in terms of funding, textbooks and furniture.

In January 2010 all the schools in the Township were reclassified as Quintile 3 schools, becoming “No-Fee” schools where tuition is not charged for. There seem to be various

reasons for this reclassification. One Township Primary School principal believed she initiated the change when she made an appeal for the change of her school, identifying that one of the schools in the Township had already been classified as Quintile 3 years before. Those in the local Education Cluster felt it was their work with the DoE that influenced the reclassification of the schools in this municipality. Either way the joint measures brought about the change, which removed tuition fees as an educational barrier.

Implementation of the policy had a slow start. Principals at the reclassified schools were only notified of the change by after schools had closed for the holiday season, a Gazette that was published in December of 2009. Thus the principals did not receive this information until schools reopened in January.

This last minute change brought about a number of challenges. For many schools fees had been collected during enrolment in November 2009. Principals were then faced with the difficult task of returning school fees to the parents. The local education officer noted that this returning of fees cost the schools financially, as each time a school drew the money from its bank account, it would be charged a transaction fee (Personal Communication, 12 March 2010). So the transition to being fee-free actually caused the schools to lose money, putting further pressure on their already strained budgets.

By the time the reclassification was announced, school budgeting and planning for the 2010 academic year had already been done, with school management teams planning based on the income from the school fees. According to the Norms and Standards, the government pays schools twice a year – May and September. With no school fees coming in, and the first government payment for 2010 only due in May, schools were faced with a cash flow crisis and major challenges covering their operating costs. In addition, Principals and SMTs were unaware of the change to the amount of funding the government would give them as a result of their quintile change. The funding is calculated based on enrolment, numbers of educators, account audits and a review of submitted financial statements.

In one of the Township primary schools, the principal called a meeting with all the parents explaining the challenge of the No-Fee policy and the budget constraints the schools were facing. Parents agreed that those who could afford to would continue to pay a levy (the old school fees) to help support the school. With the school enrolment at 800, and only 5 educators paid by the government, the additional levy was used to help pay for an additional 3 teachers needed to provide quality education.

During Phase 2 data collection, in early 2010, the DoE was in the process of doing a formal pupil and teacher count in the Research Area. Once this information has been collected and collated there will be a restructuring of schools and a reallocation of teachers to ensure that the schools all have the regulated teacher:pupil ratio. This was expected to end by August of 2010, and until then the schools were doing the best they could to cope with the high numbers of enrolments and high teacher:pupil ratios.

A Town principal, whose school had remained classified as Quintile 4, and requires the payment of school fees, stated that if her school was to change to Quintile 3, she would have to appeal to the parents to continue paying fees to subsidise the government funds, so that she could keep the school running at its current level and maintain its academic standards (Personal Communication, 8 March 2010).

This new policy creates a major funding gap for new schools that are still growing and adding grades each year. Two schools in the Township have been slowly increasing their enrolment each year, building up to be full primary and high schools respectively. The budgeting challenge for these schools' management teams is that funding is based on the previous year's enrolment, rather than incoming number of students. In the case of the primary school, enrolment went from 400 in 2009, to 800 in 2010. This meant that the government subsidy per pupil in 2010 was only about 50% of what it should have been according to the policy. The principals believed this drastic growth was due to surging demand for primary schools in the Township. The challenge for her is to somehow stretch the erroneously calculated budget to ensure adequate basic

infrastructure and that a suitable number of educators can be provided to continue to run the school.

At a different Township primary school, the principal found that the allocated budget did not enable them to cover the costs of electricity to the school. The SMT did manage to develop an agreement with the municipality to supply the administration block with electricity, cost of which the school would cover, but there was not enough funding to cover electricity for the classrooms so teachers could not use teacher and learning materials that required electricity. This principal was concerned that, with the new No-Fee policy, their total income would actually decline. They would no longer get the fees (however small) from the parents, making running the school to a reasonable educational standard an even greater challenge than before.

The intention of the policy was to remove unstable budgets, and ensure equality in school funding. It remains to be seen if the replacement of parent paid fees with government funds (calculated, as with fees, on a per student basis) results in an increase in school budgets. If so, a more consistent standard of education should be able to be provided as incomes are guaranteed and more equally distributed across all the learners in the area.

All the schools in the Research Municipality do have small fundraising initiatives to help with the running costs of the schools but the amounts raised tend to be small (a few hundred South African Rand). In one Township primary school, the money raised from their “Valentines Civvies Day” (a day where children were allowed to wear Red and White clothes to school if they paid ZAR2), was used to cover the cost of cleaning supplies for the school. Another Township school used their “Civvies” day funds to pay for a new fax machine, as theirs had broken that morning. These small funds collected were used more as petty cash accounts to help with satisfying the basic immediate needs of the schools.

The ‘new’ No-Fee policy was developed to remove fees as a barrier of access, and the empirical work suggests it has proved successful in this endeavour. The problems

appear to have been more around its implementation and the facilitation of the on-going provision of quality education. Further planning should go into the implementation of the policy at the ground level. A suggestion is the phasing in of the No-Fee policy over the year, ensuring schools are notified of the changes and the implications of the changes, and that they have adequate time to plan for them. During the first term, school management teams could meet with the parents to talk about the changes and their implications. Then, during the second semester, the policy could come into effect. It is clear that school management and parents need a better understanding of this policy and its implications. There should be enough preparation time for the school to introduce the policy change and plan for it. Another support to the implementation is accountancy/budget management training for the schools SMT to help with the budgeting and to show transparency with the local DoE. SMTs need to understand the system and how it works so they can ensure optimal funding. Then there is need for SMTs to explain the new policy to parents and all the numbers need to be fully audited and in the public domain. Schools, SMTs and parents should understand how much is allocated per learner per school and how the school funding will change with the new policy being implemented in their school.

The research also showed that the principals feared that the policy change would reduce the income of the school and that in turn would affect their ability to provide quality education. That may be a theoretical concern for many of these schools that were not receiving school fees before the policy shift, so additional funding from the government should help increase the budgets. The empirical work revealed that even at fee-free schools, education costs were above budget and schools were still appealing to parents to support their children's education through levies or donations.

#### **6.1.4. Additional costs of Education**

International literature (Akyeampong et al., 2007; Rose, 2002 in Ohaba, 2009; Bodewig and Sethi, 2005) shows that even when school fees are removed, there are still additional costs to schooling including: uniforms, transportation fees, books and learning materials, and other hidden fees. These costs place huge financial burdens on



poor families, and deter many poor children from accessing education. To help these children, the South African government provides social and transportation grants to poorer families, which are unavailable to non-national children.

All the schools in the Research Municipality require uniforms as they enable students to be differentiated from outsiders and they help build a sense of pride and community. According to government policy however, none of schools are permitted to refuse admission due to the inability to pay for a school uniform (South African Schools Act, 1996). Principals at all schools said that although they do not refuse admission to children who cannot afford uniforms, they do encourage children to wear them. The teachers noted that a large number of the Zimbabwean migrant children did not have uniforms or stationery.

The principal at one of the private schools said,

*“Our uniform is simple. We ask the students to wear jeans and the school golf shirt. If they can’t afford the golf shirt or school t-shirt (R70 – R80) we ask them to wear a white shirt, which many people can find”.*

Most of those who can afford the fees at the private school are willing and able to cover the costs of the uniforms.

NGOs and the Department of Social Development are known to provide uniforms for those vulnerable children who cannot afford them. Usually at the beginning of the year, various NGOs will approach schools to find out which children (nationals and non-nationals) do not have uniforms. Measurements are taken and uniforms made. The DSD provides support to all those vulnerable children who are South Africans or who under the care of the department of social development, national and non-national.

With regard to stationery and learning supplies, a teacher in a Township high school pointed out that the government provides stationery but there are some additional materials, such as calculators that students are required to purchase themselves. A calculator is a significant item, for children and families, including migrants, orphans

and vulnerable children (MOVs) who do not have the money, this is a major problem and an impediment to their education development.

Importantly, although these vulnerable children rely on extra support from NGOs and the DSD for the provision of uniforms and additional learning supplies, they are not excluded from schooling because they do not have uniforms or cannot afford the additional supplies. Essentially, this policy removes additional costs as an access barrier, except in the case where parents are unaware of the policy and are afraid to send their children to school because they will be ostracised for not having the correct uniform. Surveys revealed that some poor parents were unaware of this policy and so did not even attempt to send their children to school. The gap between the policy and implementation then is one of knowledge and information. A solution would be better dissemination of information about school policies and sensitisation campaigns in schools to prevent discrimination and ostracising of poor children, many of whom are non-nationals.

## **6.2. Barriers to accessing Quality Education once enrolled**

### **6.2.1. Language of Instruction**

In 1997 South Africa passed the Language in Education Policy (LiEP) promoting the use of all eleven official South African languages in schools – where applicable and possible. Both the policy and its implementation have had mixed reviews, with English remaining the main desired and taught language. Despite this, the linguistic challenge remains for non-nationals who cannot speak any of the South African languages or nationals whose mother tongue is not the language of instruction of the school they are attending. The LiEP policy and the Refugee Act do not provide for language support for children who do not speak a South African language.

Interviewed school principals and teachers identified language of instruction as a major barrier to non-national migrant children accessing quality education at school.

Even though English is taught in both South Africa and Zimbabwe, 10% of the children surveyed in 2009 did not speak a South African language (including English), and teachers found these children took additional time to adjust to the schooling system. All of the teachers in the focus group discussion believed language was the biggest educational challenge for these children, as well as a challenge for the teachers themselves having non-English speaking pupils in their classes.

A high school teacher reported,

*“We teach in English, but sometimes I have to explain a mathematical concept in Venda or Sotho. The Zimbabwean students do not understand, and I can’t explain it in their language”.*

The primary schools found that although language was a challenge, the children in the lower grades were young enough to pick up another language (English or local language) very quickly. A primary school Grade 1 – 3 teacher also found language to be a manageable challenge for these young children,

*“...these young children learn the language by playing with other students. They are also willing to go the extra mile and often you will see children in the class will translate for those children who don’t understand”.*

English is the medium of instruction at the high school level in South Africa and in Zimbabwe, and most Zimbabweans of secondary school age who were interviewed were competent in English. According to a principal in order for children move to the next grade they have to pass (attain over 50%) in English and the Home Language taught at the school. The principals found that many of the Zimbabwean children do not pass the “home language” and thus are kept back a grade.

Currently the Department of Education does not provide any specific support for the integration of non-nationals or migrants into schools. All the schools, however, stated that their language teachers provided extra classes to these non-national and others who need extra help.

The research highlighted a discrepancy between the levels of English of the Zimbabweans at the various schools. The teachers and principals in the Town schools stated that the Zimbabwean students' English was poor and not up to the required level, while those in the township schools found the non-nationals English to be "exceptional" or above the standard of their South African counter parts. One research assistant noted that the expected standard of English is higher in the Town schools, but also noted that the level of English of a Zimbabwean student depended on where they initially attended school; those who attended schools in the rural areas had a much lower standard of English. This was borne out when attempting to interview unaccompanied minors in the boys' shelter. Those from the rural communities had no understanding of things said in English, while those from the urban areas had a better grasp of English.

This highlights a major and general gap in the South African language policy, not only for the non-nationals who get kept back academically for failing a "home language" that is not their own, but also for South African nationals who migrate to an area where the language of instruction is not their home language. Many teachers interviewed felt that the language policy should change and all classes should be taught in English. One primary school teacher commented,

*"We teach in home language for the foundation years (Grade R – 3), then suddenly we start teaching all the subjects in English from Grade 4 and expect the children to excel."*

While there is a need to review the policy and its implementation with regard to the provision of education for non-national, it seems that language of instruction is an issue for many nationals too as they progress through the education system.

### **6.2.2. Curriculum**

The Zimbabwean curriculum is based on the British model, with students completing O'level and A'Level examinations at different stages of schooling. The South African curriculum, Curriculum 2005, has a more learner centred approach with continuous assessment.

From interviews with the students and teachers in South Africa, it appears the Zimbabwean student is ahead of his/her South African counterparts at the same age.

A high school teacher noted that,

*“These [Zimbabwean] students’ performance is higher than their South African counterparts. The curriculum change doesn’t seem to be a challenge to the students”.*

A Zimbabwean migrant high school teacher agreed, claiming,

*“The curriculum is more challenging in Zimbabwe, but perhaps this is because we are behind in technology. In Zimbabwe a child is required to use his mental capacity to do calculation. Integration is not a problem.”*

The migrant children also agree, with one high school student observing,

*“Schooling is much easier here. We are ahead in school so it feels like revision”*

Students and teachers found that the varying curriculum was not a challenge for the integration of the Zimbabwean students. It appears the different curricula in the two countries are not a significant barrier to receiving quality education. This reinforces the persistent belief among Zimbabwean migrants that the standard of education is higher in Zimbabwe than it is in South Africa. Many Zimbabwean parents would prefer their children to receive a Zimbabwean education. This is not supported by recent research in Zimbabwe, which is beginning to show that the quality of learning has been deteriorating in Zimbabwean schools over the past five years, with primary students frequently unable to read or write when they leave primary school.

### 6.3. Summary

**Research Question 2:** *What are the social, institutional (schools and DoE), political and economic factors that interact to determine what access the Zimbabwe child migrant has to education within South Africa?*

The empirical evidence revealed a myriad of intertwined social, political and economic factors that affected the educational access of the Zimbabwean migrant children in South Africa. The data confirmed that the barriers of access are similar to those

experienced by children and migrants in other developing countries: lack of physical access, admission requirements, school fees, educational costs, language of instruction and different curricula.

Since 1994 the South African government has been developing education policies and strategies to help ensure access to, equitable, quality education in South Africa. The literature exposed that these policies and strategies vary in effectiveness with inconsistent implementation and understanding of the policies. Until recently there has been very little emphasis placed on ensuring access for non-nationals hosted by the country. This research has exposed some of the policy and implementation challenges educators and the authorities face in providing access to education for non-nationals.

Lack of space in schools was identified as the major barrier to access. Three years prior to this study the Department of Education constructed two additional schools (a high school and primary school) after encouragement from the community. These schools are still growing but will not be sufficient to meet the needs of the increasing national and migrant population with most of the schools forced to turn potential students away. UNICEF responded by providing additional six furnished classrooms in 2009. Despite this, some schools, notably those that were lax on admissions requirements for non-national, still reported overcrowding. With no identified strategy in place to support these turned away children and the DoE reported to be encouraging principals not to exceed their schools' capacities, the future remains uncertain for many potential learners.

Although government regulations for admissions are stipulated in national policies, with all forms of discrimination strictly prohibited, many migrants still find themselves barred from accessing education. Schools were found to apply admissions policies with varying degrees of rigour, resulting in the trade-off between overcrowding and providing access to education. The local Education Cluster has encouraged the DoE to modify the admissions requirement for non-nationals.

Although initially identified as a barrier to access (in 2009), school fee policy has changed, and in 2010 school fees were removed as a barrier for those in lower income areas. But additional costs of education remain and these costs, such as uniforms, transport and learning materials still keep poor children away from schools. There has been government and NGO response to this, with the provision of uniforms, but the response has been muted and limited and to national children.

For non-nationals already accessing education, the language of instruction was identified as a barrier for learning and access to quality education. This barrier was seen to affect the older children more, as younger children tend to adapt and learn languages quickly. The policy makes provision for different languages of instruction but does not provide for support to those who do not speak a South African language.

As in many refugee/migrant settings, the curriculum of the host country is different from that of the country of origin. In South Africa, the migrant children who gain access are required to follow the South African curriculum, without variations being made or steps being taken to ensure access a curriculum that would help them prepare for reintegration upon repatriation.

Until the last two or three years, South Africa had little policy in place to handle educational access for the non-nationals in South Africa and largely turned a blind eye towards the influx from Zimbabwe. The international awareness and the scale of the crisis have encouraged policy changes in both immigration and education policy for dealing with these migrants. The work in the Research Area identified a need to continue to change the education policy to assist these children and support them. The fear of the Department of Education is the effect these migrant children may have on the education system, both in the classroom and in the budget required to accommodate them.

When non-nationals attend fee free schools they place extra burden on an already straining system, even if many teachers feel that the presence of non-nationals actually accelerates academic growth of the national students. In an interview, South

African education officials admitted to government fears that educating non-national children in South African schools will encourage integration, instead of repatriation. At the same time, the government has not implemented systems to assist these children in developing skills for repatriation. Offering host country curriculum or testing could provide these children with the academic and degree requirements to assist with their repatriation and reintegration into Zimbabwe.

The increasing number of non-national children entering the education system is making it even more difficult for the government to ensure quality access. Understanding their international and humanitarian obligations, there is need for the government to continue to develop basic policy to assist the non-nationals with educational access. Local and international agencies working at the grassroots level with these children are working with the government to start changing the policy on both the provincial and national levels. The process is slow and, even once policy has been developed, the implementation of the policy on the ground level remains a major challenge. The successful implementation of current and new policies is largely dependent on the implementation strategy and the interpretation and understanding of those applying the policy (principals and teachers).

#### **6.4. Analysis**

The evidence above supports Dryden-Peterson's (2010) review that the barriers to education of displaced children in South Africa are similar to those found in other developing countries.

In the literature review, Lewin (2009) identifies that meaningful access is made up of five parts, the first of which is equitable access to quality education. The empirical evidence in this study supported the literature (Mooney and French, 2005; Forced Migration Studies Programme, 2007, and Perry, 2007) that migrant children often do not have equitable access to quality education. Their access is hampered by similar issues faced by their national counter-parts, from low quintile households: lack of infrastructure, financial barriers and documentation.



Lewin's (2009) second part was regular attendance. The teachers in this study identified the attendance of migrants as a problem. Children often were in school for a short time. Some were seasonal migrants themselves or had parents who were seasonal migrants and shifted with the farming seasons. While some children needed to work to provide money for survival of themselves and their families, others migrated further into the country, reducing their attendance rate. With migrant children there are often gaps in their education, sometimes due to conflict or political reasons, as is the case for many Zimbabwean children. Returning to education at the right age/grade level is often difficult to assess and harder to implement.

In addition, migrant children are faced with a different curriculum than they were taught in their country of origin, often the language of instruction that is not their mother tongue. So, while they are enjoying physical access, they might not be learning, which is another of Lewin's (2009) requirement for meaningful access.

This study identified that progression through grades was often a challenge due to the student being unable to pass a national "home language", along with not having the correct legal documentation needed for progression onto the next grade level. These factors combined increase dropout rates and deny children quality education. Progression through grades, along with access and transition to post-primary education conclude Lewin's (2009) definition of meaningful access. By this definition, the literature reviewed and the results of the data collected in this study, migrant children face a great challenge when it comes to gaining meaningful access to education.

The literature review highlights the government responses to access barriers in countries across the world, while this research identifies the policies put in place in South Africa. All these policies have good intentions to support educational access and help the schools cope with the demand. However it is evident from the research that the policies' intentions, their implementation and their results are not always aligned.

Although governments have signed agreements to provide education for all and aid agencies have declared education as the fourth pillar of humanitarian response this study and many other have demonstrated that large numbers of migrant children are still not gaining access to education, which is their human right. This demonstrates how the policies, and the implementation of these policies, needs further study to understand how to better support the rights of this migrant group.

In addition to the diverse web of social, institutional, political and economic barriers to educational access, it is important to explore what positive steps the students, parents and teachers are taking to overcome these constraints. The empirical evidence collected during this research revealed that policy gaps and the lack of government support to this migrant group were being filled in many instances by the social and institutional networks of the migrants. This is discussed in Chapter 7.

## **Chapter 7: Pathways to Success in a Patchy System**

Chapter 6 revealed the “patchy system” in South Africa, where some Zimbabwean migrant children were gaining access to education in their host country, while others were not. In Chapter 7, the pathways towards the goal of educational access are explored, identifying routes taken by those able to access education as opposed to those who were not, and revealing some of the networks used by these migrant children.

Section 7.1 examines the influence of the social and institutional networks on the Zimbabwean migrant children’s opportunities for access to education in the host country. Section 7.2 shows the pathways of access and the routes followed by the migrant children to gain access. This section also identifies the barriers these children face in their migration and access to schooling and learning, and how they overcome these barriers. Section 7.3.1 identifies influential actors in the institutional network and their roles and involvement with the support of migrant children in the Research Municipality. The networks are mapped, with the nodes and ties being identified and explained in Section 7.3.2. A summary of the empirical data in relation to the research question is presented in Section 7.4.

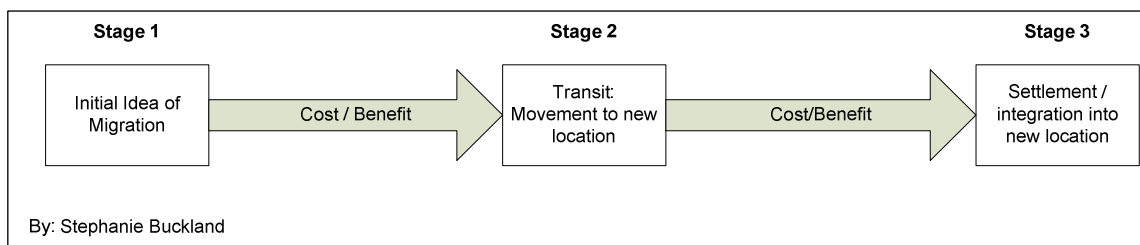
### **7.1. Child Migrant Networks**

The review of the literature on Network Theory of migration, (Chapter 2, Section 2.2.1) identified the influence, involvement and importance of networks in the migration process. Networks also have a major impact on access to basic needs, such as food and shelter, and ease access to employment in the host country. The networks are loose social and economic structures consisting of various individuals or groups bound together by key actors called “nodes”. These nodes are connected together by various relationships, referred to as “ties”. There are also special aspects to networks where nodes are locations rather than people but for this study the nodes limited to key actors in the social and institutional networks of the Zimbabwean migrant children.

### 7.1.1. Network nodes and Ties

#### a. Nodes

Using Network theory of migration, understand that networks support and encourage migrations, Massey et al. (1993) highlighted the importance of key nodes in the provision of basic services and information that aid in the success of the migration process. Migration is a staged process that begins with the initiation of the idea to migrate. The empirical work revealed that stories of the great life in South Africa told by the diaspora encouraged many to consider migration to South Africa.



**Figure 22: Basic diagram of the migration process and its stages**

Transit, which is the stage two of the migration process, is supported by networks that provide information on how to gain access to South Africa, both legally and illegally. The empirical research identified the on-going impact of the networks (both social and institutional) through the additional migrations stages of arrival and integration. The networks provided the migrants with the information on how to access the services they needed, along with the provision of basic support until they had settled in the community.

The empirical research (surveys, questionnaires and interviews) from this study supported the theory of network nodes' involvement in the migration process. The research unveiled various examples of the reliance of migrants in the research area on key nodes in their social and institutional networks to provide for their basic needs, and provide information vital for their integration into South Africa. The anecdotal evidence below supports the theory of the importance of key nodes in social networks during the arrival stage in South Africa.

*"The [...] church Pastor provides us with food and shelter"*

Father of 2 school age children, political asylum seeker

*"The [...] church Pastor has helped by giving us clothes, blankets, food and accommodation. While the community has helped provide me with part-time work"*

Guardian of 3 school age children.

*"The [...] priest at the church gave us food, blankets and accommodation. And told us where to get our Azlam [Asylum Documentation]"*

Mother of 3 school age children

*A mother of three,*

who was seeking political asylum, reported that even though a friend helped her by providing food, clothes, money and shelter, she was still unsure how to help her children gain access to schooling.

The data highlighted that the vulnerability of the child migrants made them especially dependent on nodes in their networks for their survival and to provide for their basic needs. The interviews, surveys and focus group discussions showed that the migrant children were accessing nodes in both the informal networks of their peers and parents/guardians, and with the formalised institutional networks, including Malaicha, NGOs, churches, etc. The surveys showed that accompanied migrant children were reliant on their parents' and nodes in their parents' social networks for support, while unaccompanied children were more reliant on the nodes within the formal institutional networks and their own social network structures.

*Accompanied female, 17 years old:*

came to South African with her aunty, crossing the river at night. Her aunt pays R350 per month for the girl to live with the aunt's friend, who provides food and accommodation for the girl.

*Accompanied male, 8 years old:*

crossed at the border after paying police officers. The church and his brother (17) helped with the provision of food and clothes.

*Accompanied female, 15 years old:*

crossed the border with her mother, paying bribes along the way. Her mother helps her with food and clothes, while her aunt

(mother's sister) helps them both with accommodation.

*Accompanied female, 15 years old:*

crossed the border with parents after paying bribes to police. Her parents provide her with food, and clothes, and pay for her school fees.

*Unaccompanied orphan, male, 15 years old:*

crossed the border with friends. Save-UK helps provide food and shelter.

*Unaccompanied orphan male, 14 years old:*

transported to South Africa by Malaicha, who were paid by his sister. When he arrived in South Africa he was taken by police to Save-UK.

With only limited access to the social networks possible, data gathered on the influences of nodes was limited to information on how to access South Africa, paths of migration and integration.

#### b. Ties

The data collected identified the “ties” within and between the networks (social and institutional) as key in supporting the flow of information with regards providing for basic needs once in South Africa. The internal interpersonal ties in the social networks were generally based on family obligations and cultural affinities, while the institutional networks were tied together by the common goal of support for the migrant children and the funding directives.

Two of the Research Assistants, who are sisters, provide an example of the family ties within **social networks**. One moved to South Africa many years ago when she married a South African man, while the other moved more recently, during the political struggle. Sister 1 helped provide sister 2 and her family with food, shelter and information about work when they first arrived in South Africa.

Cultural affinity can be seen in people's attitudes towards other ethnic groups:

*"If you look at that truck that is a Malawian truck, Zimbabweans would not pack the truck like that. Here you will find Zimbabweans will live with Zimbabweans, Malawians will live with Malawians and Nigerians with Nigerians. You help your people"*

Zimbabwean Migrant, mother of 2 now legally settled in South Africa.

**Institutional networks**, on the other hand, are tied together more by a sense of common purpose, sometimes in the form of a directive mandate:

- Save-UK and DSD have strong ties with a common goal of family tracing and reunification.
- The URC and Save-UK have a strong tie with common goal of provision of accommodation and support for migrants, orphans and vulnerable children.
- South African Police Service (SAPS) has a directive to provide places of safety for children they pick up. This ties them to Save-UK whose directive it is to provide safe spaces for children in the Research Area.

### **7.1.2. Influence of network nodes and ties**

Analysis of the parent/guardian and child surveys identified that the social networks (friends, colleagues, peers and family) supported the flow of information with regard to migration and how to gain access into South Africa. The empirical data illustrated that an influential factor of the networks was their importance in the flow of information. The information that passed through the networks was invaluable for the migration and integration of the migrants into South Africa, and for the successful transition through the layers of barriers to educational access for the migrant children.

The migration movements are encouraged by stories that pass through the networks.

*"Most Zimbabweans come to South Africa after hearing stories from their friends of how wonderful it is, and they see the things their friends bring back from South Africa. The trouble is they don't hear about the hardship. Life in South Africa is not easy, but those who return home*

*will not speak of the troubles they faced in South Africa. There is need to educate those in Zimbabwe about the realities of living in South Africa."*

Zimbabwean migrant, male, (22)

The institutional networks (religious organisations, NGOs, INGOs, etc.) supported the integration of migrants into South Africa. The influential individuals in the networks and organisations, i.e. "nodes" helped the parents/guardians by providing for their basic needs (food and shelter) and providing essential information on how to gain their asylum documentation and assist their children with gaining access to education in South Africa.

Formal examples of these social networks and the information flow were challenging to identify as migrants feared this information would result in deportation, arrest or attacks on the groups involved. For the safety for all involved in the research, these questions were not formally pursued in-depth. Informal conversations did however confirm that there were key people in the community who could help a migrant access Malaicha or traffickers to facilitate illegal movement across the border, either across the river or at the border post. The networks shared the information about who to contact, how much it might cost and who was the best person with whom to talk. One of the research assistants had worked with the Malaicha, and he revealed that through his network he was able to identify two or three Malaicha who were known to safely transport children from Zimbabwe to South Africa.

These social networks provided information on how to gain access to South Africa, whether legal or illegal. Conversations with parents/guardian revealed that they heard about Malaicha who could transport their children safely. Others reported hearing that if they paid the border guards, they would be let across. Others heard about the smugglers from their friends who had crossed at the river and made it safely to South Africa. As the migration movement grows, and more people are in South Africa, the larger and stronger the networks become and the greater the flow of information back to those in Zimbabwe.

For the unaccompanied children interviewed, their strongest network was that of their



peers. Surveys and conversations revealed that conversations with other migrant children gave them the information they needed.

These informal social peer networks not only provided the migrant children with information on how to migrate into South Africa, but also how to find work and which groups of people were willing to help them integrate into South Africa. Unaccompanied migrant children, as young as 7 years of age, told stories of how their peers assisted them in gaining access to South Africa, and informed them where to go for food. These peers passed on valuable information, vital for basic survival as a migrant child in South Africa.

Boy, 16 years old, said:

*“My friends approached me and told me that there were jobs available in South Africa. So I worked as a cotton picker and saved R300 as money for transport. When I arrived in [the Research Municipality] I was told by others that I could find shelter with Save the Children”.*

A different unaccompanied 16 year old boy who was interviewed at the shelter admitted

that a friend had told them about the shelter, where they could get food and a place to sleep.

Another unaccompanied boy (17)

spoke of how his friends had told him about the drop-in centres where they gave food and daily support to migrants, orphans and vulnerable children.

Once the children were in South Africa, these peer networks helped migrant children gain access to the resources to satisfy their basic needs. Some learnt about the shelters run by a local church, supported by international agencies, while others learnt about the drop-in centres. Some joined networks on the farms working as cheap labour, while still others found their network amongst the street children.

*“Friends told me about this place [Resource Centre]. They said I could get food and some people might be able to help me with my documentation”*

Unaccompanied, boy, 17 years old

*"The police brought my friend to the shelter. He told me about it when I came. I'm an orphan. Here I get food and a place to sleep"*

Unaccompanied, boy, 17 years old

Accompanied migrants relied on their parents and social network for assistance. Accompanied migrants surveyed in 2009 reported they gained their asylum documentation through their parents. Then they gained information about the documentation required for access and which schools to apply through their parents' networks.

*"I send my daughter to [TS-CLC1]. I heard they have a high standard of education and a large number of Zimbabweans there. My sister sends her son there. When I looked at his work it was much more advanced than that of the government schools. Even though the fees are high, education is better"*

Zimbabwe migrant parent with daughter aged 7.

*"I sent my children to [farm school] as I was told you don't need documents to send them there"*

Zimbabwe migrant parent.

*"Children come to [TS-HS1] because they cannot afford the fees at [T-HS1]"*

Teacher at TS-HS1

*"We came to [TS-CLC1] because there was no space at [TS-HS1]. People in the community told us about this school and helped us to register"*

Accompanied Female, 17 years old

Those children who come on their own are faced with a greater challenge. With the 2010 changes in policy, unaccompanied migrants could no longer claim asylum on their own, needing the support of the Department of Social Development (DSD). As a result, children who had access to the church shelters, drop-in centres, NGOs and INGOs (like Save-UK) were more likely to gain their asylum documentation and access into schooling through the use of these institutional networks.

Understanding these social networks and the links to the institutional networks could provide valuable information for the development of policies to assist this group of marginalised children, not only in educational access but in the provision of other social services. The empirical data found that these networks were not only supportive

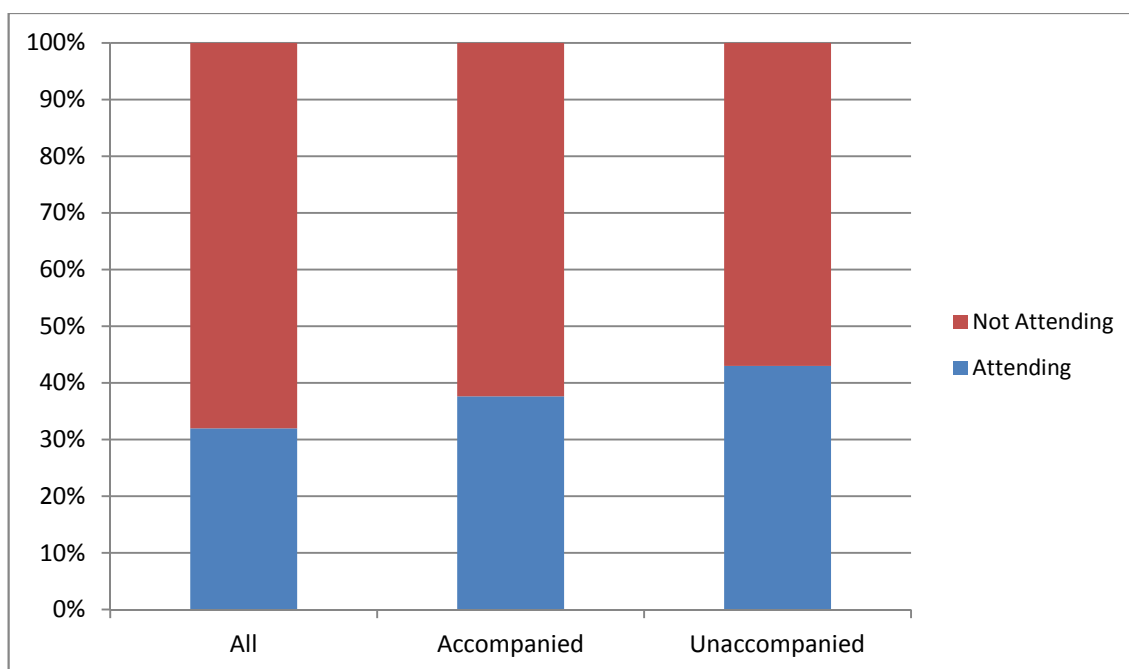
in the providing for basic needs, such as food and shelter, but also as a source of information on how to integrate into the host country and to attain what is needed for survival. A challenge with reliance on informal networks, as the data identified, is that the information migrants receive from the various networks is not always correct.

Gaining a better understanding of the information flow and the ties between the nodes in these networks (social and institutional) could be very helpful with dissemination of correct information and could better support the implementation of policies that affect migrants and their children.

During the empirical work it became clear that the lives and livelihoods of many migrants and their children relied heavily on their networks, meaning careful consideration had to be given to avoiding to the exposure of certain networks. The original intention was to focus the research on the social networks of the migrant children to gain a better understanding of the flow of information in these networks and identify the key nodes that supported these children. However, these networks were very sensitive to exposure so for ethical, anonymity and security reasons focus was shifted onto the institutional networks that support these migrant children. The institutional network were examined in terms of the ties and information flow between the various nodes that supported the migrant children within, the schools, churches, government departments and humanitarian agencies.

## **7.2. Educational Access: Why some migrants going to school and others are not**

The data analysis showed that less than half (32%) of all the migrant children surveyed were attending school (Figure 23). The data revealed that 43% of unaccompanied children surveyed were attending school, while only 38% of accompanied migrant children were attending school (Figure 23). Analysis of the pathway to access and the networks these groups of children accessed may help identify why a higher proportion of unaccompanied migrants were attending school in the host country.



**Figure 23: Percentage of Accompanied and Unaccompanied children attending and not attending school in South Africa**

### **7.2.1. Pathways and the Layers of Barriers to Educational Access for Migrant Children**

Figure 24 illustrates the possible pathways children may follow in pursuit of the goal of access to quality education in the host country, South Africa. The figure illustrates the nodes and ties for the migrant children, along with the barriers these migrant children face on their pathways to the goal of achieving quality education in South Africa.

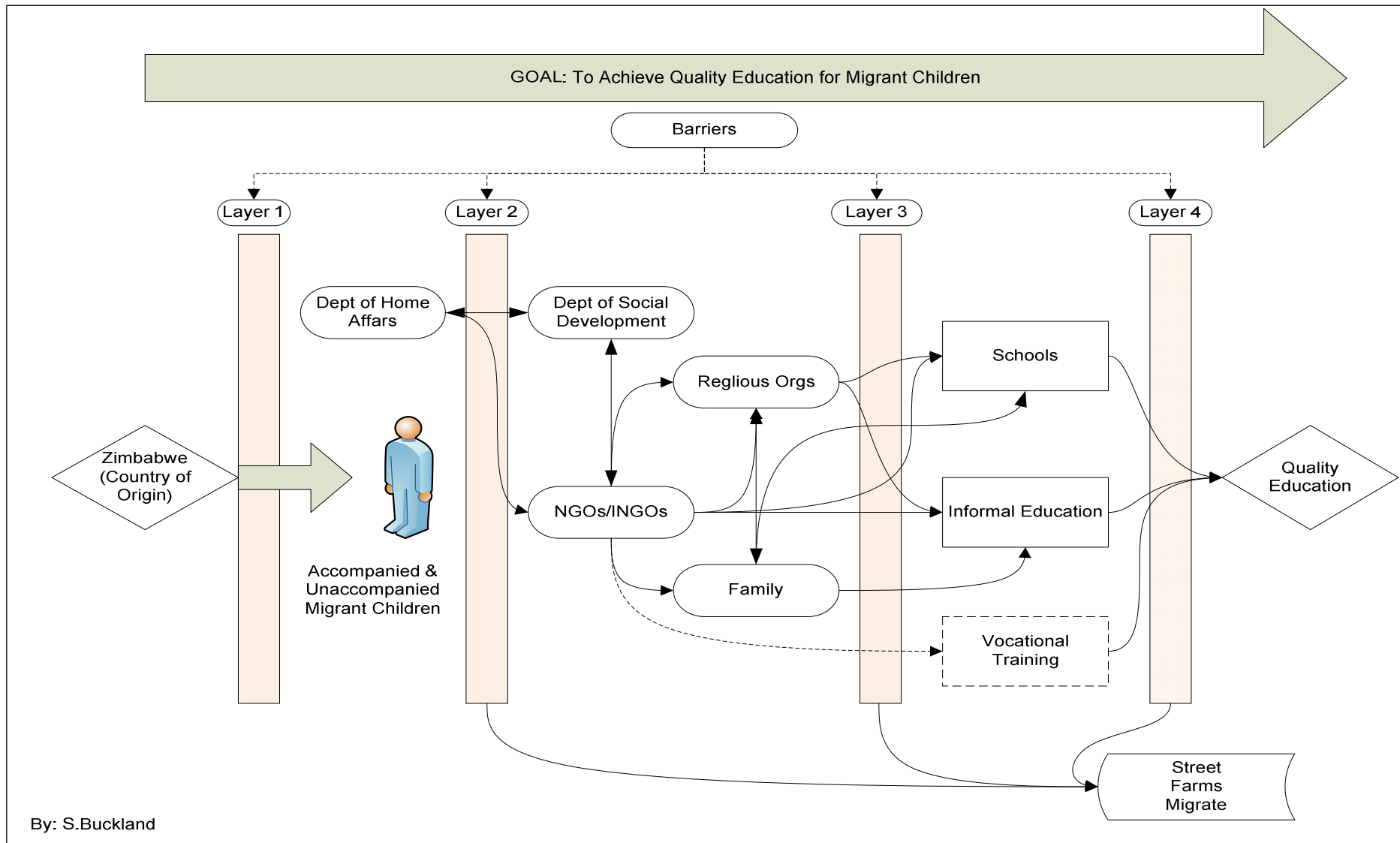
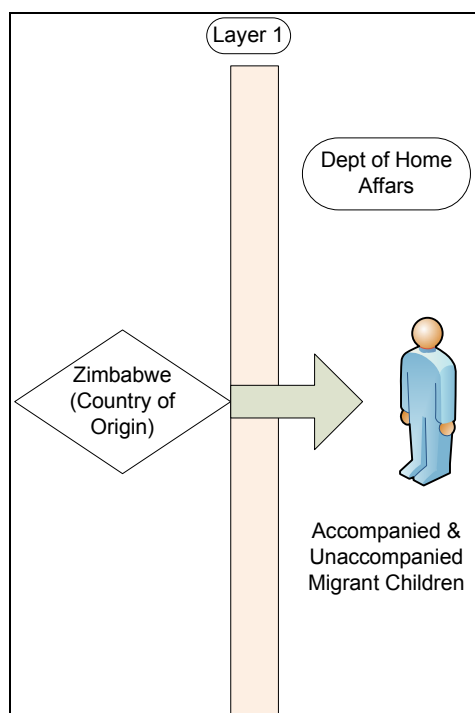


Figure 24: Barriers, network nodes and ties for migrant children in their pathway toward educational access

Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 showed that migrant children face many of the same access barriers as marginalised nationals. However on top of these traditional access barriers migrant children are faced with additional barriers that could potentially prevent them from educational access

#### Layer 1: Physical access into host country

The first layer of barriers faced by migrant children is gaining physical access into South Africa (Figure 25).



**Figure 25: First Barrier faced by Migrant Children on the pathway to education in Host Country**

Through the analysis of the surveys and group discussions, the migrant children identified various methods of migration into South Africa and varying health and safety challenges posted by these methods (see Chapter 5). Children reported crossing by both legal and illegal means, either at the bridge or through the river. As Chapter 5 showed, the movements had serious risks for the children. There are anecdotal stories that some children were eaten by wild animals (crocodiles, lions). Others told of children being captured and their body parts used by witch doctors (local medicine men) to make “muti” (local medicines). At one point during the data collection, the

research assistants pointed out a marking in the bush that meant there was a witch doctor in the area. They encouraged driving quickly past and not stopping in or near that area ever.

Some of the social workers repeated stories about both girls and boys being raped, young children being placed in the detention centre with adults and others being deported back to Zimbabwe. Although migration was challenging for all the children, not all reported incidents along the way. A 16 year old boy reported walking from Bulawayo to the Research Municipality (287km) and said he “... *did not meet any trouble along the way*”. This appeared to be the exception with many of the migrant children who made their way into South Africa suffering physical, emotional and/or psychological trauma during, or as a result of, their experiences.

#### Layer 2: Access to Information

Once in the country child migrants are faced with their second layer of barriers. This is the information barrier.

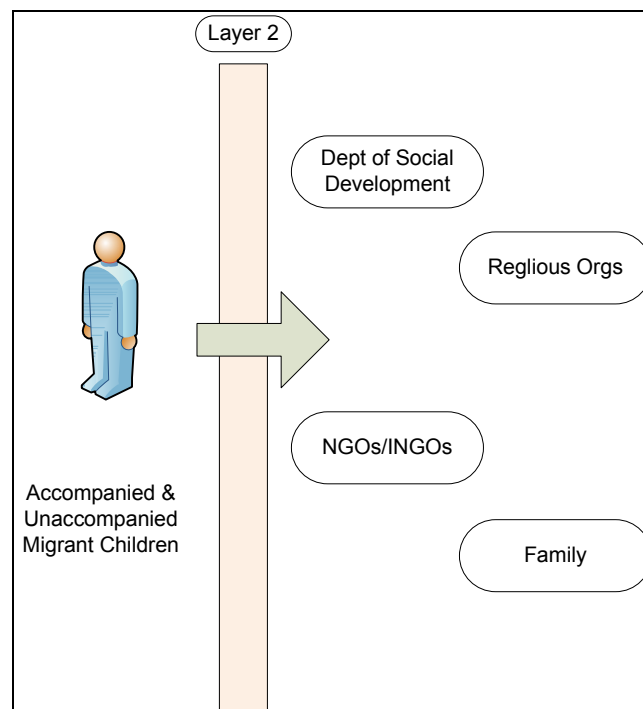


Figure 26: Barrier 2 - Informational Barrier

Migrants require access to resources to satisfy their basic needs (food, shelter, etc.), provide legal status (asylum documentation) and help find a job (for those who have come for employment). Migrants require information on how to access these resources.

The research revealed the important role all the networks (formal and informal, institutional and social) in overcoming this layer of barriers, and how the networks were essential for the survival of the migrants. The data indicated that accompanied children relied on their parents/guardians to access the networks and gain information on how to access resources, whereas unaccompanied children relied more on their peers.

The Parent/Guardian surveys conducted in 2009, and the follow up interviews and conversations conducted in 2010, revealed that the key nodes in the Parent/Guardian networks were the churches. The churches provided the families with food and shelter and information on how to gain asylum in South Africa. Additional valuable nodes in the networks were the relatives in the Research Municipality who were able to help with basics. The surveys revealed that information about how to access basic services came largely through talking with other migrants in the community, the Pastors and Church elders.

Having made it through their first barrier by gaining physical access to South Africa, migrant children were then faced with the barrier of information on how to access support from institutional networks (church, governments, NGO and INGO). The surveys revealed that access to this information was largely dependent on their social networks.

Sometimes these networks supported the migrant children's access education, as in the case of an unaccompanied 16-year-old male, whose parents had remained in Zimbabwe. He had travelled with his friends across the river, and once in South Africa, the URC had helped find him a place to go to school. In a different case, a mother of



four reported:

*"I send my children to school here [in South Africa]. They went to school that had space and is near to where we stay"*

In other cases, networks pushed children away from the idea of educational access. A 16-year-old girl, whose parents were still in Zimbabwe said she's originally come to South Africa for schooling but she had found work and the prospect of going to school was no longer part of her thinking. During an interview with a 16-year-old boy, whose parents were still in Zimbabwe, one of the research assistants noted:

*"[He] came to South Africa for schooling. Because of sniffing glue this child does not seem normal. He should go to a counsellor. His interest is now money, not school".*

A third child, a 13-year-old boy, was not accessing schooling because he was taking care of his aunt who is in a wheelchair. Each day, they would buy food together, go to the care organisation in the afternoon and sleep in the taxi rank at night.

The empirical data also showed that some of the children's networks encouraged them to move further into South Africa.

*"I will go to Johannesburg because my relatives are there"*

Unaccompanied, male, 15

*"I want to move on to Polokwane as my relatives are there"*

Unaccompanied, male, 16

*"My sister lives in Johannesburg so I want to go there"*

Orphan, male, 14

Other migrant children accessed networks that encouraged them to access employment. Children reported migrating to South Africa to work on the farms or look for jobs in Johannesburg.

*"Johannesburg/iGoli, the city of Gold. My friends have told me of work there so that is where I am going"*

Unaccompanied, male, 17

*"I work small piece jobs. I carry suitcases across the bridge for people"*

Unaccompanied, male, 14

*"Some children on route to [the research area] walk through the farms and see the workers. These children often stay on the farms working for very little money as the farmers know they are illegal"*

Social Worker

Then there were some migrant children who entered networks with negative social capital. The migrant children surveys, interviews with social workers and articles in the local press illustrated that some of the children, with lack of access to resources, found themselves on the streets and became involved in the network of the street children. This network largely revolves around petty crimes, prostitution and drugs. This network is very tight and children involved were not willing to divulge too much information about their peers or their activities.

*"They become addicted to the glue. They get money from petty crime or piece jobs and buy their glue. We try help to them, but they like their freedom and their friends".*

A social worker, who works with the street children

There are, however, those who are accessing the institutional networks but the pull of their peers and social networks is stronger,

*"Some of the children brought to the shelter don't want to stay. They disappear during the day. Some don't come back. These children lived on the streets. They like the freedom of street life and many are still stuck on glue. They don't want to be in the shelter or to go to school, but the police brought them here so we try to help them"*

Shelter Staff Member

The little information shared by members of this network in their interviews with the research assistants showed that the children who were involved in this network, enjoyed their freedom and their independence and had no intention of seeking access to education.

The children that access networks linked to further migration, work and life on the streets usually do not access education or gain access to the institutional networks within the community, which could provide support to educational access.

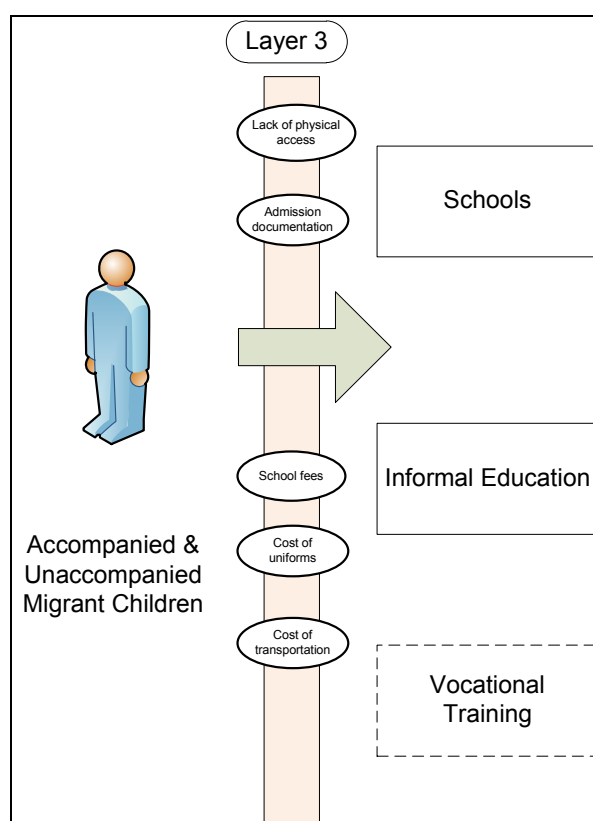
The interviews, surveys and informal conversations did indicate that the migrant children accessed these particular social networks at each layer of barriers. Some of these migrant networks brought the children to South Africa, while others who had already migrated found these networks when trying to survive in the community. And others decided to move on or access the street children or farm working network once they had attempted education and been denied access or had dropped out.

The empirical data found that migrant children interested in educational access who had successfully overcome the first two layers of barriers, were those who had accessed positive social and institutional networks.

The empirical evidence found that those children, both accompanied and unaccompanied, who had successfully made it past the first two layers of barriers usually had accessed the formal institutional networks in the community, which included nodes such as the churches, the government departments and various local and international NGOs. The access to the institutional networks was often only via the social networks due to lack of effective information dissemination that could have lead the children straight to the institutional networks.

### Layer 3: Traditional barriers to educational access

Having gained access to South Africa and had their basic needs met, migrant children were then faced with the traditional educational access barriers. These traditional barriers are faced by many children around the world and include: lack of physical space in schools, admissions documentation, school fees and uniforms. The empirical evidence identified that all the migrant children who had accessed the institutional networks were provided with support and direction towards educational access.



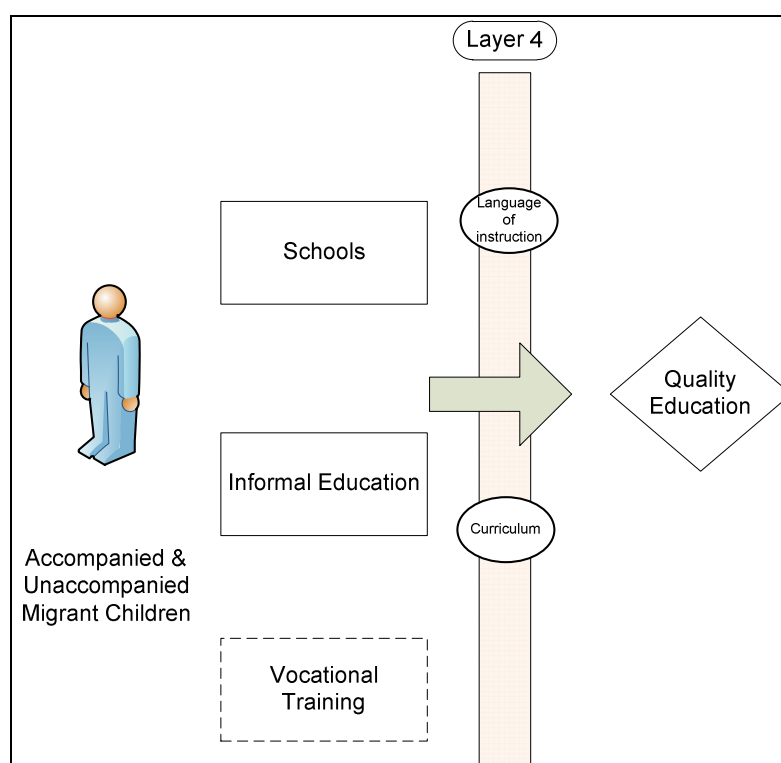
**Figure 27: Traditional Access Barriers**

The support provided by institutional networks varied by node and by individual but generally included the provision of school uniforms, agreements between schools, churches and NGOs for school placement, support with learning materials and support in gaining documentation for access.

The interplay and the ties between the nodes (individuals and institutions), with regards to educational access of migrants, is discussed more in-depth in Section 7.3.

#### Layer 4: Access to Learning: language and curriculum

Having overcome traditional access barriers, the migrant child has made it through the three of the four layers of barriers, but this does not ensure their access to quality education. These migrant children are faced with the final barrier: language and curriculum differentiation.



**Figure 28: Barriers to receiving quality education language of instruction and curriculum**

As discussed in Chapter 6, having gained physical access to schools, the migrant children were still faced with barriers in accessing quality education and learning. The schools attended by migrants in the Research Municipality were largely overcrowded, with high teacher: pupil ratios. The South African Curriculum is different from the curriculum that is taught in Zimbabwe, and the language of instruction for many was different from their mother tongue (see Chapter 6).

Through interviews and focus group discussion both the teachers and many of the migrants identified the differences between curricula and the language of instruction as barriers to receiving quality education. However, this was not always the case, with some of the older children, who had been educated in the Zimbabwean system, not finding this to be a barrier as they found the school work easier than that at home.

The schools, although over-crowded and understaffed, demonstrated willingness to support migrants and national children who were struggling academically, through the provision of additional lessons after school. As discussed in chapters 5 and 6, schools

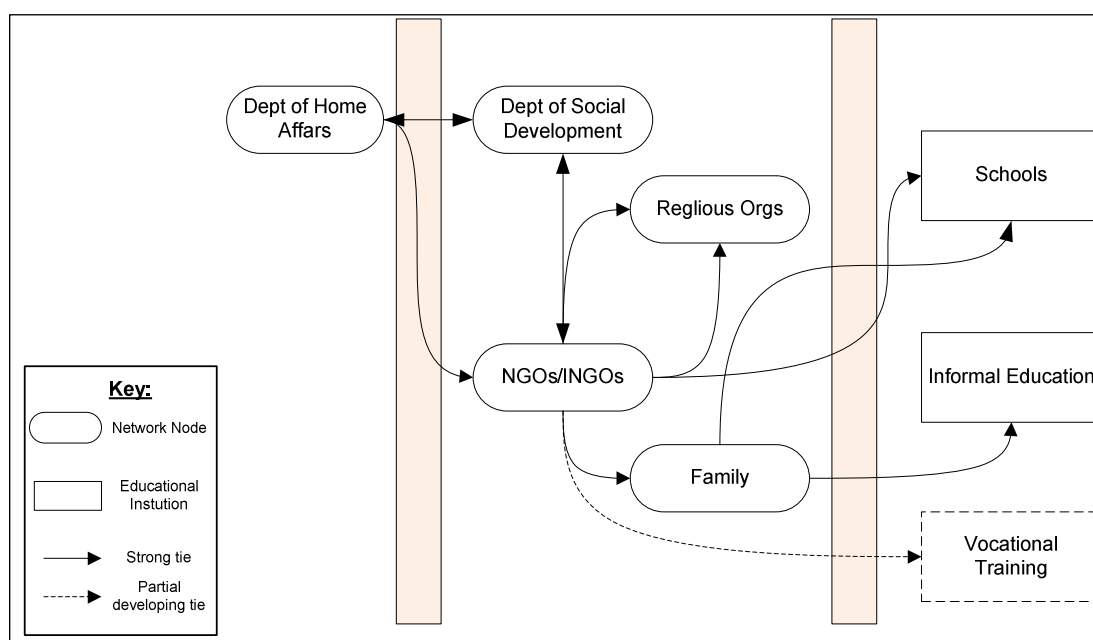
try to support the progression of the migrant children by providing them with the additional support of after school lessons in subjects, such as “home language” that the children are struggling with.

The empirical data also supported the conclusion that unaccompanied children who were staying at the shelters were often accessing additional support in the form of extra lessons on the weekends, which were provided through the church to ensure the children’s continued academic progress.

### **7.3. The Institutional Networks in the Research Area**

#### **7.3.1. Identifying the key nodes and their support for the migrant community**

This section explains and examines the roles of the key nodes in the institutional network in the Research Area, identified during the empirical data collection. There are various nodes ranging from churches, government agencies and, NGOs to local individuals. As the response in the area has moved from an emergency response (2008/2009) to a more stable supportive response (2009/2010) the roles of the various actors have changed and been moulded to support the needs identified. Below are a few of the identified nodes supporting migrant children in the Research Municipality and their involvement to-date. Some of the names have been modified to ensure anonymity of those involved and the Research Area.



**Figure 29: Networks involved with non-national children in the Research Municipality**

### **Government:**

- The Department of Social Development (DSD): is the lead actor for tracing unaccompanied migrants and reuniting them with their families. It is also the lead actor in supporting orphans to gain their legal status in South Africa, and placing them in a place of safety and ensuring education access for them. DSD works closely with the Department of Home Affairs (DHA) to attain asylum documentation for these orphaned migrant children.
- (Local) Home Based Carers: provide home based support to orphans and vulnerable children in the community. The carers' make home visits to follow up on foster placements and evaluate new cases from referrals. They are involved in the development of the "Child Care Plan", which includes educational provision. They visit the shelter, drop-in centres and schools to follow up on their cases and to see if other children have been identified for support. Carers also ensure that these children are receiving a varied diet and proper support. On their community visits the carers also help identify potential children that DSD could assist with the provision of school uniforms.

- Soup-kitchens: provide food to vulnerable children in the community, including the migrant children.
- Drop-in Centres: provide food and support to migrants, orphans and vulnerable children in the community. Social workers provide the children with educational, and some psychosocial support. For those children who are attending school the workers (largely volunteers) also provide homework assistance.
- South African Police Service (SAPS): have set up child friendly spaces at the Military Grounds Detention Centre for children who have been collected by the SAPS while on patrol. They also refer these children to Save-UK and DSD for reunification with their families. SAPS Women Network provides food to street children.

***NGOs, INGOs and Religious Organization:***

- Save the Children – UK: together with DSD, Save-UK aids in the tracing and reunification of unaccompanied migrant children. This international children’s charity also supports the local shelters and soup kitchens through the provision of basic food supplies. SAVE-UK works closely with the children in the transit centre (linked to the URC shelter), and has negotiated with some of the Township school principles to allow these children access to education. There is also provision of informal education at the transit centre for those children who are not able to gain access. SAVE-UK is also developing programs and strategies to work with the street children and to set up vocational training in the Research Municipality.
- The United Reform Church (URC): runs a boys shelter – providing food and shelter for unaccompanied youth in the community (nationals and non-nationals). The church is also affiliated with a women’s shelter that focuses support on those women/girls who have experienced gender-based violence. The URC works with local Township schools to encourage access to education and run sensitisation programs in the local community, helping the community members understand about the migrants and reduce xenophobia.



- UNHCR: focuses on the identification and referrals of support to other agencies in the community, e.g. the unaccompanied children they have registered and identified are then referred to Save-UK/DSD for support on reunification and provision of food and accommodation.
- Refugee Children's Project (RCP): in mid-2010 were in the processes of setting up a girls' shelter, to provide food, shelter and support to unaccompanied girl migrants and vulnerable girls in the community. This would potentially fill an identified gap in the support of migrant children.
- (Local) Legal Advice Centre: helps with identification and referrals of migrants. This centre also assists migrants by providing information and legal support on how to gain asylum documentation and what the documentation actually means. This local NGO provides legal support/paralegal support to ensure migrants receive the correct information and legal status.
- UNICEF: despite providing some initial basic infrastructure support (in terms of prefab classrooms and furniture to two overcrowded schools), UNICEF's work has been mainly as an advisory body at the policy level working with the Education Cluster, focusing chiefly on child protection.
- Churches: The various churches in community have been identified for their provision of food and shelter to migrants. Church members and church elders also provided information to migrants on how to gain asylum documentation. Some churches, like the Catholic Church and "I Believe in Jesus", provide safe spaces for the children. Although not identified in the research there is anecdotal evidence that suggests a few of the churches are providing informal schooling to children in the community.
- An individual (business man) at the border: has set up a soup kitchen at the border to help feed the children who have crossed and loiter around the border post. His

church provides the food and he works the front to ensure it is distributed to those children in need. It is a relatively new set-up (late March 2010) and the INGOs have offered to help, one with capacity building of this man and his helpers, while another has responded with the provision of additional food.

### **7.3.2. Connecting the institutional nodes and understanding their ties**

Figure 30 is a schematic diagram which maps the institutional nodes in the Research Area and identifies the ties (represented by lines and arrows) between the nodes.

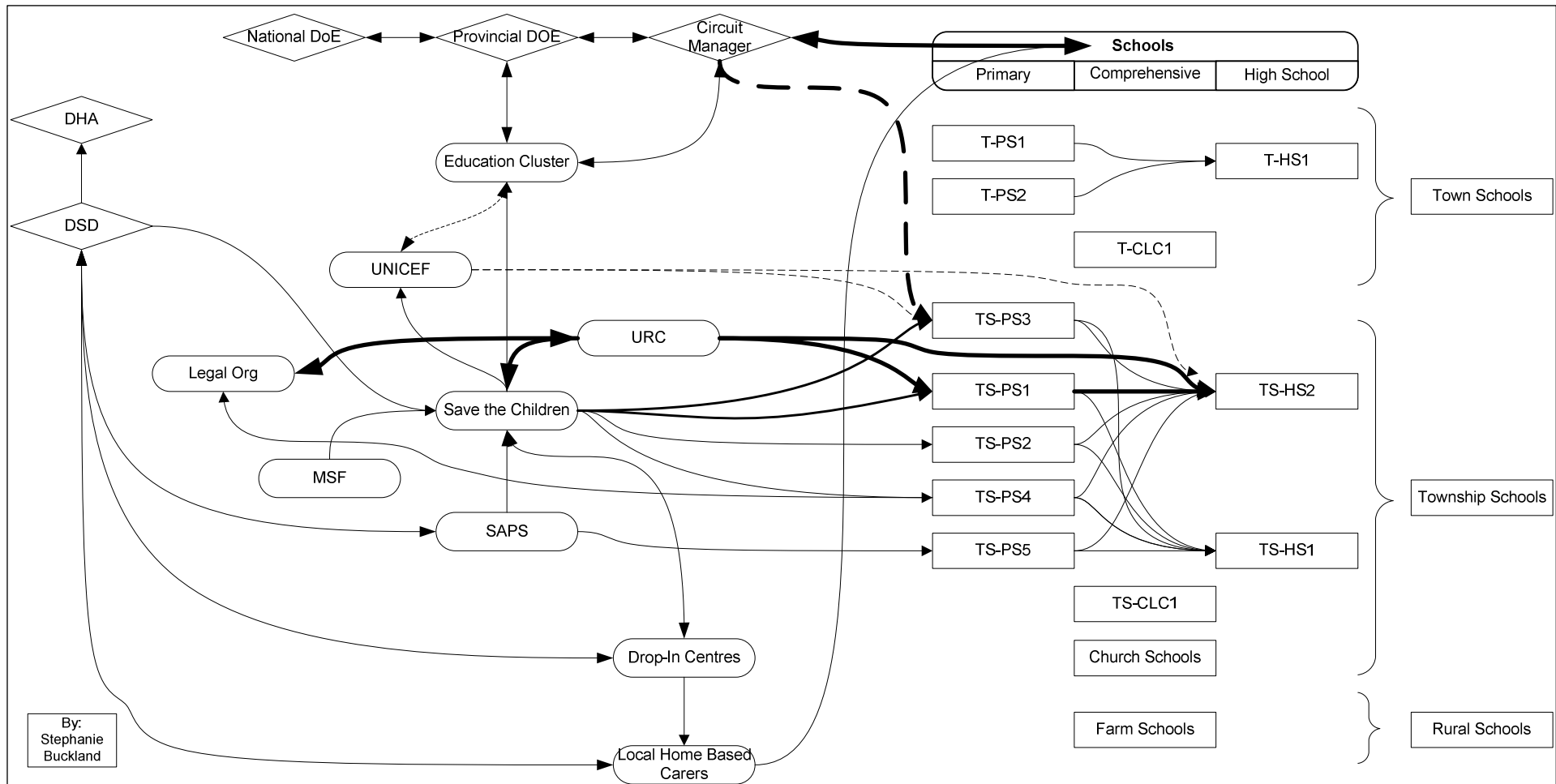
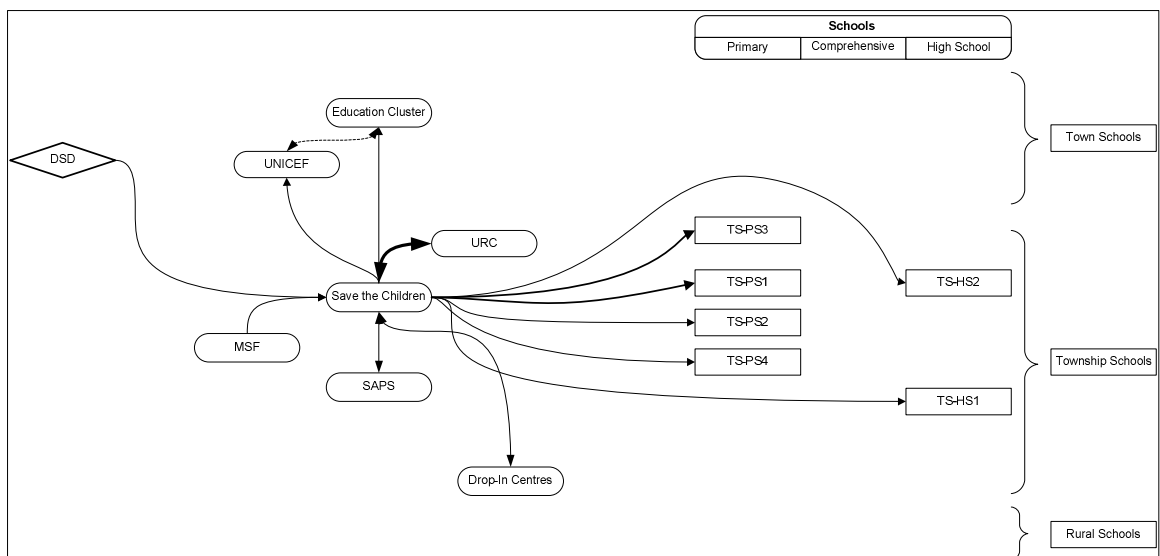


Figure 30: Network of actors identified who link to migrant children and their educational access in Research Municipality

This figure begins to explore the relationships between the various nodes and how the unaccompanied migrant children have a greater possibility of access to education if they gain access to this network. Government agencies, such as DHA and DSD, are graphically represented as diamonds. The rounded corner rectangles indicate nodes that are local or international NGOs or churches, while the schools and educational nodes are represented by rectangles (Figure 30). The ties between the nodes are directional and the direction of the support is identified by arrows (Figure 30). The thick arrows represent strong ties between the nodes, while the dotted lines indicate there is a connection between the nodes but this is more of a supportive role. The following section extracts the key nodes and identifies the ties between these nodes and others in the community, with regard to the migrant children

### 7.3.3. Key Node: Save the Children – UK

The empirical data collected (survey, interview and discussions) identified SAVE-UK as the key node in relation to supporting migrant children in the Research Area. Figure 31 maps out the nodes and ties of the institutional network connected to SAVE-UK.



**Figure 31: Save the Children direct network connections**

Ties with the United Reform Church (URC): As showing in Figure 31, the ties between the URC and Save-UK are strong and bi-directional. There is a strong partnership with regard to unaccompanied migrant children, with both organisations supporting the other in its efforts.

The URC provided the land for the “Transit Centre” on the same plot as the URC boys' shelter. The Transit Centre hosts the unaccompanied male child migrants that SAVE-UK is trying to reunify with their families.

In turn Save-UK supports URC with the provision of capacity building and training for the shelter staff. The INGO also supports the URC boys' shelter through payment of an informal education teacher who teaches all the boys in the shelter who are not attending school. In addition they provide food and supplies to the URC boys' shelter to help provide for the basic needs of the migrant children.

Ties with Department of Social Development (DSD): DSD is another key node in this institutional network. Save-UK supports the DSD with tracking and reunification of unaccompanied minors. In addition the INGO hosts two social workers from DSD in their offices. In return, these social workers help the unaccompanied migrants who are not reunited with their families gain their asylum documentation and ensure that a care plan is developed for them. Save-UK work in close partnership with the DSD funded drop-in centres through the provision of food and support to these centres.

Ties to Medecins sans Frontiers (MSF): MSF's link to Save-UK is a resource connection and in one direction. MSF provides medical care for the new unaccompanied children before they are placed in the transit centre.

Ties to local schools: As show in Figure 31 Save-UK has close ties to a number of the township schools (TS-PS1, TS-PS2, TS-PS3, TS-PS4, TS-HS1 and TS-HS2). The Save-UK Education Manager worked closely with the school principals at these 6 schools to help children from the “Transit Centre” gain access to education in these schools.

*“I am an orphan. Save the Children helped me go to school – they talked to the principal and helped me register”, boy (12)*

*“I tried to go to the High School but they wouldn’t accept me. They said that I needed documents and I came too late in the year. Save the Children is talking with the principal and they said that they will register for me to go next year. I hope I can”, boy (16).*

Interviews with the school principals and the Education Manager revealed these ties were set up largely through the efforts of the Save-UK Education Manager and the willingness of the principals to support and accept migrant children. The connection with the 6 schools has been maintained and strengthened due to the relationship the Education Manager has developed with the schools. As part of the ties, the Education Manager negotiated that Save-UK would provide desks, chairs and books for the migrant children they enrol in the schools.

The interviews revealed that the Town schools were less willing than those schools in the Township to accept migrant children due to their inability to pay school fees and provide the paperwork required to ensure they are in school legally. The Township schools were more open to accepting migrants, with Township principals stating that all children should have access to schooling. They were willing to take the risk enrolling undocumented students although were nervous about sharing this information with the DoE. There is speculation that the principals’ motives for accepting migrant children may have been related to the national policy of basing the salary on the schools’ enrolment numbers – the higher the enrolment the higher their salary. There was no clear evidence to support this hypothesis.

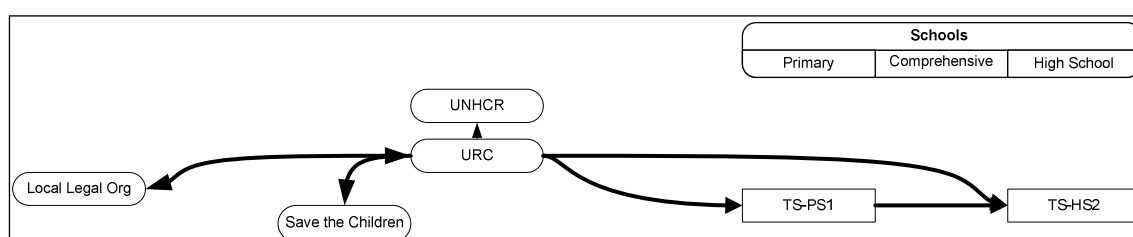
Ties to UNICEF and Education Cluster: Save-UK works with UNICEF and the Education Cluster to develop strategies and policies that support the education of MOV children in the Research Area. As the lead, Save-UK hosts monthly meetings with the DoE, UNICEF and the local Education Cluster, and is responsible for the provision of minutes and chairing the meeting if the DoE representative is not able to attend. The Education Cluster work to support the educational access of migrant children in the Research

Area, encouraging the local DoE to change policies to support this access.

Ties to South African Police Service (SAPS): If there are unaccompanied children who have been picked up while on patrol SAPS will inform Save-UK. Save-UK ensures these children are taken in at a place of safety and before beginning the family reunification process of behalf of the child.

#### 7.3.4. Key Node: The United Reform Church

The research identified the URC as one of the key religious organisation involved in working with migrants in the community. Figure 32 shows the ties of the URC network identified through the interviews, focus group discussion and surveys.



**Figure 32: URC Network main actors**

Ties to Save-UK: These ties have already been discussed in Section 7.3.3

Ties to the Boys' Shelter: The URC has set up a boys' shelter to help and support the migrants, orphans and vulnerable boys in the Research Municipality. In his interview, the URC Pastor explained how the boys' shelter came about. The Pastor told of how the church used to provide food for the street children, but as they heard more about the horrific experiences of these street children, they decided to set up a safe place for sleeping. After agreement by the Church Council they used the church garage. Soon the community saw this was not good for a shelter. With the help of the community, the URC found an area where the shelter could be built and with the funding coming from UNHCR and Save-UK the needed infrastructure was developed. This shelter provides food, a place to sleep and adult supervision to almost over 100 boys. The shelter is funded by UNHCR, part of URC's network.

Ties to the (local) Legal Advice Centre: The Legal Advice Centre provides the migrant children from the URC with advice and assistance to gain their asylum documentation.

The interview with the URC Pastor further deepened the understanding of the tie between the URC and local Legal Advice Centre. The Pastor explained that the Legal Advice Centre was started in the 1980's by the church to help with human rights issues and guard against abuses. It was hosted by the church for 10 years. Once registered as an NGO it moved to its own offices but is still connected with the URC.

Ties to the Women's Shelter: The URC also hosts a Women's Shelter that supports victims of gender based violence. In the rare cases where unaccompanied girl child migrants are identified by Save-UK or local authorities this shelter will help provide food and accommodation for a few days, while Save-UK proceeds with family tracking. Although the number of girls requiring shelter is smaller than the boys, Phase 2 identified there was still a real need for a girls' shelter. Interviews in mid-2010 identified that another NGO, the Refugee Children's Project, was in the process of setting up a Girls' Shelter to address this gap in support.

Ties to Schools: The empirical work determined that the primary-school-aged boys at the shelter who attended school attended TS-PS2 or TS-PS3, while those who attended high school attended TS-HS2.

*"I came to South Africa to work. I didn't want to go to school. But at the shelter they told us about the importance of schooling so I decided to go. The pastors wife helped me get the papers and to go to [TS-HS2]"*  
boy (15).

*"The schools were striking so I came to South Africa for school. URC chose for me to go to [TS-HS2],"*  
girl (13) at Women's Shelter; her father is still in Zimbabwe.

The reason the migrants had access to these schools was largely due to the networks connected with the URC Pastor and his wife. Access to TS-PS2 was gained as the URC Pastor's wife was the principal of this school. With her school rapidly reaching capacity, the Pastors' wife negotiated for some of the primary school children to attend TS-PS3.



This school was selected as it was in close proximity to the shelter, allowing the boys to walk to and from school, and it also had a lower enrolment than TS-PS2. The Pastor and his wife also appealed to TS-HS2 to accept children from the shelter as part of support to the community, with an agreement that this school would admit the shelter children even if they did not have all their required paperwork. TS-HS2 was also in walking distance from the shelter and was not full to capacity. The Pastor also identified, in this interview that URC has additional ties to TS-PS3 and TS-HS2 as he along with the URC had advocated building these two schools to support the influx of migrants coming across the border. The Pastor and his wife had not approached other schools about accepting shelter children, as between these three schools, there was sufficient capacity to gain access to all those children from the shelters who wished to attend school.

### 7.3.5. Smaller Nodes in the Network and their ties to the migrant children

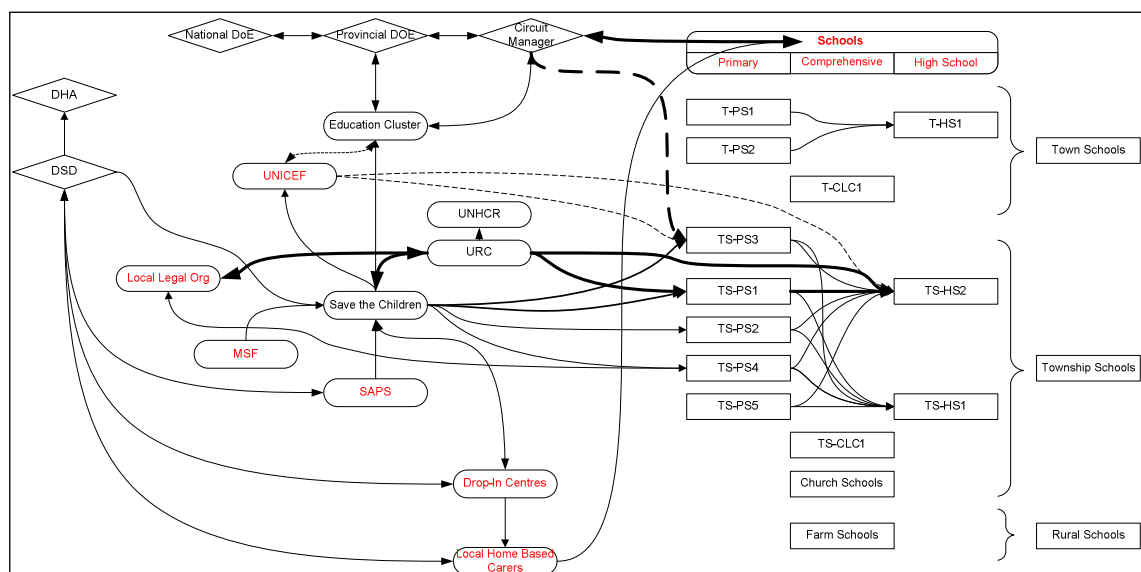


Figure 33: Highlighted Actors in Network

- UNICEF: Provided prefab classrooms and furniture to two new schools TS-PS3 and TS-HS2. UNICEF also works with the education cluster but their focus in the Research Municipality is largely child protection
- Other religious organisations: provide food, shelter and information to migrants. Some occasionally provide non-formal education.

- Schools: The schools have their networks with education departments and NGOs. Interestingly enough, the wife of the principal at TS-PS4 worked for the Legal Advice Centre. So the principal was able to advise parents and children to speak with his wife with regard to gaining their asylum documentation for educational access. This is an example of a social network node linking to an institutional node. The Circuit Manager is connected with all the schools as the DoE representative in this Circuit. He did however have a close link with TS-PS3 where he was the advisor to the acting Principal who was new to the role. She was required to ensure she followed policy and guidelines very strictly and consulted the Circuit Manager on each decision made or action taken.
- The Department of Social Development (DSD): supported by Save-UK, the DSD helps with family reunification. Their social workers work with the Department of Home Affairs (DHA) to ensure that unaccompanied orphaned migrants gain their asylum documentation and the proper support in South Africa. The DSD also works closely with The Research Municipality Home Based Carers and the drop-in centres to provide support to the MOV children in The Research Municipality.

#### **7.3.6. Networks and ties**

The inter-connectedness of the nodes in the Research Municipality is evident in the network analysis. These networks expand further to all over South Africa and Zimbabwe. Figure 30 only represents a small subset network of this. The nodes and ties identified through this study were those which supported the migrant children in The Research Municipality to satisfy their basic needs and gain access to education. The research identified nodes in the network acted as both gatekeepers and facilitators, such as the churches who gave the children access to the network.

The lead nodes, such as Save-UK and URC, pushed for the support of the migrant children and were key nodes in the institutional network. The empirical evidence

showed that those children who gained access to Save-UK, either through referrals (from SAPS or local community) or by finding their own, were at an advantage with regard to gaining access to food, shelter protection and asylum documentation. Save-UK acted as an advocate for them, assisting them in obtaining documentation to legalise their stay in South Africa, and in accessing education. Once in the Save-UK network, these migrant children became privy to the opportunities available to them from the various nodes in the network.

Interviews and conversations with various actors and members in the research community identified Save-UK as the lead actor in provision of support to migrant children in the Research Area. Save-UK is known for advocating for migrant children's rights at the local, provincial and national level and for the supporting local NGOs in their work with the migrants in this community.

Children who accessed the URC shelter also had their basic needs met and were likely to gain their asylum documentation and access to education. The empirical evidence showed that those children from the URC shelter had an advantage over those who went straight to the schools. The success these children had gaining access to education depended on the information they had received via their social networks, as well as the willingness of the school principal to accept migrants. This highlights the key role of the institutional networks for migrant children's success in gaining access to education, as well as the legal support necessary to be able to seek asylum, and the protective support to enable them to survive on the streets.

### **7.3.7. Limitations of Institutional Networks**

The results from this research identified some of the positive influences of institutional networks on the educational access of the migrant children in South Africa. There are however limitations of these institutional networks.

One limitation is gaining access to the institutional network itself. In order to gain access to the network, the children have to first gain access to a node in the network,

with each of these nodes having their own objectives and donor related agendas. For example, Save the Children focuses on unaccompanied migrant children, thus children who have migrated with their families are unable to gain access to the network through Save the Children. Another example is URC, which runs a camp for unaccompanied migrant boys, and so girls and accompanied children are excluded from accessing the network through this node. In most cases, these nodes will refer the children to other nodes who can support them and provide them with access to the network. A further example is the SAPS, which cannot provide support to unaccompanied children, meaning they have to refer the children to Save the Children. These referrals are largely dependent on the quality, strength and type of relationships between nodes in the networks. So, without suitable social networks within the institutional networks, many children will remain unable to access the appropriate institutional networks.

This leads to the second point, namely ties between nodes in the network. They strongly influence the value of support the network can provide. For example, Save the Children and URC have very good ties to two of the primary schools and one of the high schools in the township and so the children they support then gain easier access to these schools. However, nodes in the network who have limited or weak ties, limit the access of the children in the network. In this study, children who access the network through a farm school, although gaining access to education will not be as strongly supported in terms of medical assistance or provision of uniforms.

A limitation of these ties is that they are largely dependent on the personal interactions and relationships of the staff/persons involved. Save the Children have strong ties with the URC and the three schools due to the relationships the Education Coordinator has developed with the Principals and Pastor. The manager of UNICEF and a consultant at Save the Children had a good relationship, and this led to a school that Save the Children were working with being identified as lacking infrastructure being provided with extra teaching and learning materials and classrooms by UNICEF. The challenge with the ties is that if one of these people involved leaves, there is a chance that these ties will weaken or be broken.

## 7.4. Summary

**Research Question 3:** *What are the social and institutional networks that migrant children interact with and what is the nature of their engagement with these networks in relation to seeking access to schooling in South Africa?*

The empirical research revealed that migrants were heavily dependent on their social and the institutional networks for the flow of information and assistance in both migration movements and successful integration into South Africa.

### 7.4.1. Social Networks

The data showed that their social networks (families, friends and other migrants) provided support and valuable information on how to access basic services or where to apply for school.

All migrants interviewed had heard about the Asylum Documentation through their networks and had been informed of its importance, although differing reasons were often cited. The migrants had also been informed of how to attain the documentation. The migrants call the asylum documentation an “Azlam” and, although most could not explain what the documentation meant for their legal status, they were all aware the possession of one meant they would not be arrested by the police. Some migrants interviewed understood that with the documentation they could live and work in South Africa.

The research identified that social networks often provided guidance and information on how to access schools, which schools to try to access, requirements for access and other information about education in South Africa. Variable school enrolment requirements (identified in Chapter 6) meant that this information varied depending on who was asked, and was often unreliable as a result. Some children were turned away because they were unaware of the documentation that was required for access,

or did not even attempt to access education as they did not have the documentation they were informed they needed to have. The children, whose networks guided them towards schools with less stringent admission requirements for migrants, were able to gain access.

Without these positive valuable social networks providing information the migrant children would have struggled even more with the migration process and would have battled to satisfy their own basic survival needs and integrate into South African society.

But the research also identified that not all social networks are positive. Those children who landed up on the streets and whose social networks revolved around the street community, which often used drugs (sniffing glue and smoking marijuana), were at a high risk of succumbing to a life of petty crime and prostitution. The interviews with social workers identified that very few of the children who accessed the street community network found their way back to education, as they enjoyed the freedom of the streets and were discouraged by peer pressure from attempting to return to school.

The research identified that other migrant children found their way into crime networks, becoming members of gangs or access networks that exploited under-age children desperate for work. The migrant children who accessed these networks were often barred from education by their networks.

Those migrant children who found work upon arrival in South Africa also tended stay out of school, using the money they earned to support their life in South Africa and to send remittances home. The discussions with the social workers revealed that the children who were working often did not try to access education as they became reliant on their income for their survival.

#### **7.4.2. Institutional nodes**

The nodes in the institutional network in the Research Area were developed with the same goal in mind: assisting the migrants, orphans and vulnerable children in The Research Municipality. Although each node had its own agenda, policies and practices, their end goals were the same.

The empirical evidence found that children who accessed this network were more likely to access education in The Research Municipality. The data revealed that those children accessing the institutional networks had their basic needs met (food and shelter) and had advocates working together to provide them with the support they need and ensure their human rights were protected. This institutional network included government agencies which strengthened the network's understanding of government policy, rules and regulations, along with providing opportunities for nodes to work together to encourage policy changes and advocacy for the rights of migrants. The involvement of the nodes in this network is valuable to both those children who access the network and, those who do not, as the policy changes and support developed could be beneficial to all migrants.

Informal nodes in the network are filling in the gaps that government policy is not supporting. There is a large demand for food and shelter of migrants in the Research Municipality. The local community has responded to this crisis by offering space in their homes, while the religious organisations provide food and shelter to those in need. These nodes also support the flow of information, exposing the gap between ideal information flow to migrant communities and the existing situation. Various NGOs were available at the DHA office to help provide information on safe movement, child rights and asylum rights to migrants who are applying for asylum.

The empirical data from this research found that all the migrant children accessing education were supported by their networks (social and/or institutional) through the provision of information, means of access, school uniforms and learning materials. These networks were an integral part of the successful educational access of migrants

in the research area. Better understanding of the networks, the nodes and ties involved could help provide a platform for better policy development, information dissemination, and implementation.

### **7.5. Analysis**

The empirical data in this study supports Massey et al (1993) Migration Network Theory by identifying the links between migrant networks, migration and integration. The social networks of these migrants studied not only supported their migration into South Africa, through the provision of information and lowering the risks associated with migration (Boyd, 1989), but also increased the likelihood of these migrants obtaining jobs (Newman and Massey, 1994) or accessing education. As in Bondhopadhyay's (2008) study in India, those children who did not have strong social and institutional networks suffered more and were more likely to be denied access to basic services.

This research examined the influence of migration network theory on filling gaps in service provision and support for migrants and in access to education for the migrant groups. The findings highlighted the importance of networks for this migrant group. The empirical data identifies the additional barriers to educational access that migrant children who are not living in camps face, and the influence of their networks in overcoming these barriers. It is the support of the networks that have helped fill the gaps in support provided by the national government, government refugee and migration policies, and international community. Further understanding of these networks and their involvement in supporting migrant communities could help with better provision of education and support for the migrant populations around the world.



## Chapter 8: Conclusion and Policy Recommendation

Chapter 8 concludes this study with a review of the insights that this thesis has generated, and a summary of the gaps in the national and international policies on EFA (Section 8.1). Section 8.3 reviews the access barriers faced and how the current policies address these barriers. It goes on to make recommendations for improvement. The final section (8.4) highlights the relevance of this research in the international context and the gaps that remain in the research, which future studies could fill.

### 8.1. Insights from the thesis

This thesis developed new understanding in three areas of barriers to educational access for migrants.

The first of these is the identification of **additional layers of educational access barriers** faced by migrant children. The research found that the migrants who did attempt to access education once in their host country were faced with what could be described as ‘traditional access barriers’ (e.g. lack of space in school, school fees, cost of uniforms, etc.). However, what the data also revealed was that in conflict-affected and geographically displaced environments, children who migrate to another country, and wish to continue schooling, face additional barriers to educational access. These barriers (physical access to the host country, access to information, access to learning – see Section 7.2.1) are a product of the unclear policies about how to address access needs of economic migrants even though there is a clear commitment to the right of education for all.

Secondly the research identified that there is a **lack of recognition of the nature of these additional challenges faced by migrant children**. The research identified that even when the migrant groups valued education (as was the case in this study), their economic survival instinct had overridden this desire to be education, with their

priority in South Africa being to satisfy their basic needs (food, shelter, and clothing). Access to education was more of a 'want' than a 'need'.

The education policies and amendments designed to remove the access barriers do not adequately take into account these additional challenges faced by the migrants. The fee free schooling policy is an example that, although removing one economic barrier to access to schools, does not remove the other economic barriers (cost of uniforms, learning materials and transport) these children face for daily survival.

Another example is admissions policies, which require specific documentation to be provided prior to admission. Although undeniably important, requiring full documentation does not take into account the challenges the migrants face to acquire the documentation. Those fleeing conflict are usually unable to bring their documentation with them, while others who are migrating for economic reasons either never had the required documentation or were unaware of the school entry requirements in South Africa and did not bring them with them. The problem is compounded because, once they have gained their asylum documentation they may not return to their country of origin, making it impossible for them to legally obtain documentation needed for educational access. All these children are effectively barred from school because of an inability to provide the required documentation for admission.

The third point identified through the research was the **value and importance of the social and institutional networks** of the migrant children. The data revealed that these social and institutional networks helped fill the gaps left by inadequate policy and implementation thereof, and provide the essential support needed by these migrant children. The various nodes in the networks provided the children with support through each of the additional barriers faced by these children. Their social networks provided them with the information and support for overcoming the first hurdle – access to South Africa. The social and institutional networks enabled the migrant children to satisfy their basic needs – providing food and shelter. Once their basic needs were met these institutional networks were valuable in helping the children gain

legal status and access education. The effects of these networks could be seen where the State's and international community's response to the migrants was ineffective or non-existent.

## **8.2. Insights into the process**

As discussed in Chapter 4 (Section 4.6.4), access to the group of informants on which the study was based was challenging due to their vulnerability and fear of deportation or attack. This heavily influenced the development of the research methods discussed in Chapter 4. The original research design had included collecting the qualitative data through following a group of migrant children over two years, seeing where their lives took them and how their social networks influenced their access to education. However, during Phase 1 fieldwork, the near impossibility of gaining access to and the trust of the community to do this research became acutely apparent. Also, following these children would draw unwanted attention to them and put them at even greater risk, so it was decided against. The research design was therefore modified, with qualitative data now being gathered from surveys, interviews and informal conversations. This limitation restricted the depth of the qualitative data obtained.

The migrants studied are very private and secretive group, often unwilling to divulge information. During the research, informants were very wary about giving formal interviews, even for research purposes. They were however willing to have informal conversations about their experiences, although with limited depth and as long as it was not in relation to the politics of Zimbabwe (a topic that was deliberately avoided). These informal conversations provided valuable data for this research.

The informants were extremely vulnerable and marginalised, with the fast changing environment and the continued migratory movement of informants making it necessary to adapt the research methods in order to be able to obtain sufficient data in the time period available.

There is limited research on this integrated undocumented and documented migrant group. So there is limited information on the challenges faced with researching this group or the best research methods to best collect data from this group. This meant that the methods and methodology used in this study to collect the required data had to constantly evolved as the realities of research in this environment became apparent.

### **8.3. Barriers and recommendations regarding policy**

The empirical research of this study and the literature reviewed identified the policies that most affect the educational access of cross-border migrant children in South Africa. The research identified gaps in policies and challenges with their implementation strategies. With regard to educational access for all children in South Africa (national and non-nationals alike), the research identified a number of possible amendments or supplements to the current policies and implementation strategies. Below are the barriers faced and suggestions for possible supplements and amendments to the current national policies:

#### **8.3.1. Issue: Physical access**

The empirical work revealed some children in the Research Municipality were unable to access schools due to the lack of infrastructure (classrooms and furniture).

#### **Recommendations:**

Option 1: Approach DoE to request the **construction of additional classrooms**

**Challenge:** This was discussed with an education official who confirmed that South Africa has a chronic shortage of infrastructure, with the demand for additional infrastructure consistently exceeding the supply and the situation only forecast to deteriorate over the next few years. The education officials stated that the DoE had to

stick with its announced building program, despite changing enrolment patterns affecting the capital development plans of Provinces. The extra pressure on schools created by migrant children could be taken into account when finalising these development plans. But the Zimbabwean migrants are seen as creating a temporary congestion problem, with additional permanent infrastructure not considered an optimal solution. The South African DoE is committed to providing for the educational needs of national children primarily. Once all South African national can access quality education then diverting resources to assist non-national can be a more realistic goal.

**Option 2: Temporary/prefab classrooms** - One option, for which a precedent exists, is the use of temporary/prefab classrooms. This option has already being implemented by UNICEF in the research area.

**Challenge:** The prefab classrooms are expensive and the decision on which schools require the support most would be contentious. The Provincial DoE **could consider approaching other international donors for** more assistance in this regard. **The benefit** of the temporary/prefab classrooms is that when the migrant students **repatriate** these classrooms **can be dismantled and re-erected in other areas of need** around the province or country. While the international community is normally reluctant to finance recurrent expenditure, it could be argued that temporary classrooms fall into the category of capital investment. Equipment and supplies for these children fall more into the category of recurrent expenditure, but the temporary nature of these migrant non-national children provides some room for manoeuvre in the same way that humanitarian expenditure often covers recurrent items, even teacher salary or salary supplements, and learning materials.

**Option 3: Double-Shift Schooling - as a temporary exemption to their current policy** the DoE could introduce double-shift schooling into high migrant areas. This would reduce the need for additional infrastructure as the facilities can be used to teach one set of children in the morning and an additional set in the afternoon.

Double-shift schooling is already present. For example, a private religious school in Johannesburg currently offers, on their own initiative, a double shift program. They call it “3 to 6”. The program provides 100 Zimbabwean migrant children with basic mathematics and reading teaching from 3pm to 6pm each day. As part of the program Zimbabwean migrant teachers are taught the South African curriculum and supported in gaining their South African teaching qualifications. This program gives children the opportunity to learn the curriculum taught in their host country and further their education in South Africa.

**Challenge: Funding.** The government could appeal to development partners to provide grants for incentives to teachers who offer the afternoon sessions, and cover the cost of running the school for the additional hours. The point about donor support for recurrent expenditure made above applies here as well, since these are costs that would last only as long as the migrant children remain in the country and are not fully integrated into the mainstream system. A **shortage of teachers** is another potential threat to this proposal.

**Option 4: Private Sector support** - the private schooling sector could assist by providing space to migrant children to attend the private schools with the support of scholarships, which could be solicited from both national and international donors.

**Challenge:** Any scholarship programme that targeted migrant children only would meet with strong resistance from South African stakeholders, since there are many nationals who seek access to private school scholarships. It may be more practical to have a migrant component to a scholarship scheme. In addition, because these scholarships are awarded on a competitive basis, they would tend to exclude children in greatest need who lack the language skills and education background to compete with other migrants.

### 8.3.2. Issue: Admission requirements

The empirical evidence found that a number of the admission requirements for the Zimbabwean migrant children in the Research Municipality proved to be a barrier to their educational access. The data revealed that requiring migrants to produce documents they did not have resulted in: (i) many migrants breaking their asylum regulations in order to return to Zimbabwe to gain the required paperwork, (ii) some resorting to counterfeiting, while (iii) others did not attempt access again.

#### **Recommendation:**

Option 1: Amending current policy to reduce the minimum documentation requirement for migrants to their **asylum documentation**, which is both a form of identification and proof of legal status.

Challenge: Without the requisite documentation, determining the child's inoculation status, grade level placement and true age of the child is very difficult indeed. One way of mitigating these challenges is to appeal to the development partners (such as MSF and UNICEF) to assist with inoculations for all migrant children. Grade level testing can be introduced as part of the enrolment procedure allowing for children to be placed at their correct level, regardless of age.

### 8.3.3. Issue: Fees and educational costs

The DoE has already initiated a policy of fee free schooling to remove fee costs as an educational barrier. The problem identified through this research was the implementation of this policy and the impact on school budgets. Migrant children attempt to access schooling at all points of the year, yet school funding is calculated in November on the previous year's enrolment, with allocations paid in May and September.

## Recommendations:

### *For implementation:*

Option 1: Greater clarity in the form of guidelines and better communication of implementation to the schools and wider public. During the year the Circuit Manager (DoE) should work with the school staff, parents and the community to sensitise them to the policy and the implications of its implementation. During the year, the school management team should design a budget with knowledge of the amount of funds they would receive from the government.

### *For school funding:*

Option 1: Grant Fund: The DoE to discuss with development partners to set up a grant fund, through which schools could apply for a supplementary grant in respect to the additional migrant children who enrol late (i.e. after November). This could be used as a stop-gap until the DoE calculated the following year's budget based on enrolment in November. This would direct grants to schools with migrant children, on a basis similar to that used in the BEAM programme in Zimbabwe for Orphans and Vulnerable Children (OVC). Lessons learnt from BEAM could be used to develop the policies and procedures required to implement this new program.

### Additional/Direct Costs

Option 1: NGO assistance in the provision of school uniforms and teaching and learning materials for Migrants, Orphans and Vulnerable children (MOVs). This is already being implemented in the Research Municipality.



### 8.2.3. Issue: Language of Instruction

Children who do not speak a South African language, or those whose home-language is not that of the school they attend, are at a disadvantage as South African education policy requires children to pass a “home language” test in order to progress to the next grade level.

#### **Recommendations:**

Option 1: Extra language lessons: Encourage the private sector and donors to help with payments to teachers to provide extra language lessons to those children who are struggling (nationals and non-nationals).

Option 2: Language Exemption: Provide non-national children with an exemption from the home language requirement of that school, providing that they can pass a competency test in the migrant’s mother tongue.

Challenge: to determine language competency. This could be done through the use of a grade level test from Zimbabwe and evaluated by Zimbabwean migrant teachers.

### 8.3.4. Issue: Curriculum

If education is to help children integrate and settle into the host community, then the host country curriculum should be used. If the education is to prevent the children from ‘missing out’ on education while in exile, with the understanding that the children are only in the host country temporarily, the curriculum from the country of origin should be used in order to better facilitate reintegration upon repatriation. That said, being taught either curriculum is preferential to not being taught at all. Education provides children with structure, psychosocial support and helps to keep them off the streets and working towards a better future. Since the reasons for migration and seeking education vary within migrant groups, international experience points to a

more sophisticated approach than is suggested by this simple dichotomy between host country and country of origin curricula.

### **Recommendation:**

*Option 1: Offer both curricula* - Due to the complex nature of the migration and the lack of clarity about when the migrants will return to Zimbabwe the recommendation is that migrant children have the option of being taught the Zimbabwe curriculum in afternoon schools or integrating into mainstream schooling and being taught the South African curriculum. In some cases, it may be possible to develop a core curriculum aligned with that of the host country with supplementary subjects that are more aligned with country of origin being offered as optional extras.

*Challenge:* Qualified teachers, and costs. In the case of Zimbabwe migrants there is a ready supply of teachers who are working in non-education positions because they are prohibited from working as teachers. Policy could be amended to provide temporary work permits for teachers of migrant children. Salaries for these teachers and extra running costs of the schools could be supported by the development partners.

The use of qualified migrant teachers would not only support the children in the school, but also provide employment for the migrant children. The DoE could appeal to development partners to assist with the extra running costs of the schools and salaries for the additional teachers.

### **8.3.5. Issue: Certification**

Studying the host country curriculum and taking host country examinations is a benefit for a migrant child while in exile, however often upon repatriation these host country certifications are not recognised by the department of education in the country of origin.

### **Recommendations:**

Option 1: Offer Zimbabwean national examinations in South Africa. The DoE in South Africa could appeal to the examination authority in Zimbabwe to share their national examination papers and moderate the marking for those children in exile.

Challenges: The level of cooperation between the Ministries/Departments of Education is an issue. During times of conflict or emergencies many education systems collapse and rebuilding requires time and support. Country of origin Departments of Education are largely focused on rebuilding their in-country education system. Experiences in other countries have shown that getting this agreement is a challenge, however the West African experience has shown that with the support of the governments and development partners it is possible.

### **8.4. Assessment: Research relevance, gaps and future studies**

The literature review identified the gaps in research on self-settled migrants, along with the barriers to educational access that migrants on a whole face. The major challenge for the study was the identification of and access to the non-national population as they were integrated into the South African community. Additional limitations were due to the nature of migration and its challenges: (i) legal status, (ii) vulnerability, (iii) reasons for migration and (iv) access to the protected community. This research delves into this realm and adds the dimension of the importance of networks for the particular group.

Although this research is localised in South Africa, and focused on a particular migrant group – Zimbabweans - and it offered suggestions for improved support of migrants in the South African context, and does highlight broader themes for further research by the international community.

*Some thoughts on the specific types of research that would take the issue further are:*

1. Further research and follow up in the area of survival migrants – who they are and why they migrate.
2. Further understanding of State and international community obligations in respect to migrant children, and encouragement of dialogue between the development partners and the government.
3. Further review of States' refugee policies - in terms of short-term migration problems, perhaps the use of camps could assist in the support this group with satisfying their initial basic needs (food, shelter, security, specialist support and education).
4. Further research into the value and involvement networks in migration and education access for survival migrants. This research initiated this relationship; however more research into the network links and educational access could better support policy development for migrants.

This research has taught me a great deal about the gaps in education provision for migrant children. It exposed a gap in understanding of the additional barriers to access this vulnerable group face, highlighting a need for policy makers to take these into consideration when developing policy for migrant children.

This research is a starting point, spotlighting the involvement of networks in educational access of migrants and providing insight into the barriers to access faced by migrant children. Further studies could help with understanding how better to provide education for migrants and bringing the world a step closer to achieving the goal of universal educational access by 2015.

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## Appendices

### Appendix 1: Phase 1 - Research Assistant Training Brief

PhD Research: Educational Access of Zimbabwe Migrants in South Africa  
S. Buckland – University of Sussex, United Kingdom

#### Research Assistant Information and Training

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#### Background Information: The Research

##### **Social Networks and Migrant Educational Access:**

Zimbabwe migrant children and their *Access to Education* in South Africa

**Research focus:** The current policies with regards to cross-border migrants; as funding and provision of basic education in South Africa constitute a major factor compounding the problems of access to school for a significant proportion of cross-border migrant school-age children in South Africa. The research will study documented and undocumented, marginalized school aged cross-border migrant (non-national) children to develop a deeper understanding of their challenges to educational access in South Africa, and to identify the official, economic and socio-cultural dynamics that shape exclusion. The research will focus on challenges faced by those migrant children in school, and those unable to access school. Further understanding of the challenges these children face, and the impact on the schooling system once these migrant children have accessed education could further aid in policy development. An examination of the social network of these migrant children may also provide key information with regards to their educational access, identifying some key actors that may influence this.

The research will focus on survey/interviews with child migrants in the [REDACTED] community to gain their perspectives, beliefs and experiences. While semi-structured interviews will be held with teachers, principles, local actors and government officials will examine their perspective on these educational barriers and their roles and responsibilities with regards to access. It will also examine their beliefs and experiences once these migrant children enter South Africa and enter into the education system. These interviews with teachers and school faculty will be conducted in order to gain a deeper understanding of the challenges they face when migrant children access the education system, and what responses and recommendations they have.

##### **Expected Outcomes**

- Deeper understanding of the Zimbabwe migrant children population within South Africa
- New insight into the interface between what is suppose to happen and *what does happen* with regards to the responsibilities and legal structures for education
- Deeper understanding of the links between social networks and educational access, identifying key actors to aid in policy development and implementation
- Development of constructive recommendations for policy changes

Primary Researcher Contact information: **Stephanie Buckland - 076 546 7980**

#### **Research Assistants:**

The 6 Research Assistants (RAs) will help to facilitate the collection of primary data. As research assistance you will work closely with myself, Stephanie Buckland as the primary researcher, and will undergo intensive training on each of the research tools and methods used during data collection. A pilot test and training period will be carried out before the study data is collected.

For the data collection you will be divided into pairs – one research assistant focused on collection of child data, while the other will focus on parents and guardians. Over a four day period you will be divided across various locations in Musina, each day a different location. The aim is to facilitate a child survey to about 100+ Zimbabwe migrant children, aged 6 – 17, both in and out of school, and a separate guardian survey to their parents and guardians (where possible).

The child survey will focus on children's social background, educational background, networks, movement to South Africa and their access to, or exclusion from, education. This survey will provide vital information of the children's perspectives regarding the characteristics of Zimbabwe child migrants and their educational access. This survey will also examine the perceptions and beliefs of education: if and how they have changed within South Africa. For those who are accessing education this survey will further explore the challenges they face within the education system, and how it affects their attendance and progress. For those who are not accessing education, this survey will explore the reasons and barriers behind this.

The guardian survey will focus on their beliefs and perspectives on education, the barriers to accessing education that they have faced, along with identifying the key actors involved in educational access.

#### **Tentative Timeline:** (Thursday 30 July – Tuesday 4<sup>th</sup> August, 2009)

Day 1: Thursday (eve): Introductions, training and pilot testing  
Day 2: Friday: Morning brief /collect supplies, interviews (location 1, 2, 3), Evening debrief  
Day 3: Saturday: Morning brief (collect supplies), interviews (location 4, 5, 6) Evening debrief  
Day 4: Monday: Morning brief (collect supplies), interviews (location 7, 8, 9), Evening debrief  
Day 5: Tuesday: Morning brief (collect supplies), interviews (location 10, 11), Evening debrief, payment

#### **Research Assistants are expected to:**

- Abide by agreed work hours and targets
- Abide by confidentiality agreements
- Record each interview – both written and audio
- Journal shortly after each interview, writing down their beliefs, perspectives and feelings about the child and the interview.
- Required to return research equipment and supplies to the primary researcher each evening.

#### **Compensation:**

Each RA will receive R20 daily, this to help with the costs of transport (to/from location) and food. At the end of the research period, if the RA has complied with the contract agreement, he/she will receive a small stipend payment of R250 (R50/day for 5 days).

**Appendix 2: Phase 1 – Research Assistant Work and Confidentiality Agreement**

PhD Research: Educational Access of Zimbabwe Migrants in South Africa  
S. Buckland – University of Sussex, United Kingdom

**Work and Confidentiality Agreement**

I, \_\_\_\_\_ (name), agree and understand all the terms and conditions for my assistance with the collection of data for this doctoral research.

I understand that I will be expected to facilitate interviews, which I will record both written and audio form, over the four research days. I understand that I am responsible for the equipment and supplies that I use during the research and will be required to replace anything if it is broken or stolen.

I understand that any of the information that is collected during this time is for research purposes only and that this data is confidential and can not be shared with a third party. I understand that I can not and will not give out any personal information such as names, ages, networks, legal status, contact information, etc, that I collect during this research. I do understand my moral and ethical responsibility to report any abuse or harm that is caused to an informant to the primary researcher, Stephanie Buckland, who will then pass this information on to the correct authorities.

I understand that if I do not abide by all these requirements my work agreement is subject to unpaid termination.

I, \_\_\_\_\_ (name) fully understand and agree with the above information.

\_\_\_\_\_  
(Signature)

**Research Assistant Contact Information:**

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Contact #: \_\_\_\_\_

Address: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Received CV: ☐

Location:

### BASIC INFORMATION:

- EDUCATIONAL INFORMATION/EXPERIENCE:**

- a. Yes:

- i. Last grade completed :  
☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ 6 ☐ 7 ☐ 8 ☐ 9 ☐ 10 ☐ 11 ☐ 12

- ii. When? (Date)

- iii. What school did you attend?

- iv. What language(s) were you taught in?

- v. Did you pay school fees? ☐ Yes ☐ No

- vi. How much were the fees?

- vii. Why did you leave?

- viii. Did you like school in Zim ☐ Yes ☐ No

- ix. What do you like or not like about school in Zimbabwe?

- b. No:

- i. Why did you not attend school?

- ii. Did you want to go to school? ☐ Yes ☐ No

- iii. What did you do during the day?

9. Do you go to school in South Africa?

☐ Yes

☐ No

b. Yes:

i. Which school do you go to?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

ii. What grade are you in?

☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ 6 ☐ 7 ☐ 8 ☐ 9 ☐ 10 ☐ 11 ☐ 12

iii. What paperwork did you need to enter school?

☐ Birth certificate ☐ School report card

☐ Transfer Letter ☐ Parent ID

☐ Permit/Asylum \_\_\_\_\_

☐ Other: \_\_\_\_\_

iv. Do you like school in RSA? ☐ Yes ☐ No

v. What do you like or not like about school in South Africa?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

c. No:

i. Why did you not attend school?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

ii. What did you do during the school day?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

iii. Would you like to go to school? ☐

Yes ☐ No

#### MIGRATION INFORMATION:

10. Where are you from in Zimbabwe? (Town/village/township) \_\_\_\_\_

11. When did you first come to South Africa? \_\_\_\_\_

12. Why did you come to RSA? ☐ School ☐ Work ☐ Family ☐ Other: \_\_\_\_\_

13. How did you travel here? ☐ Parents ☐ Own ☐ Siblings ☐ Friends ☐ Other: \_\_\_\_\_

14. Can you tell your story of how you came to South Africa? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

13. Do you want to stay in Musina? Or are you planning to move on? \_\_\_\_\_

14. Where do you want to go? And why?

☐ Johannesburg ☐ Pretoria ☐ Polokwane ☐ Bloemfontein ☐ Other: \_\_\_\_\_

Why? \_\_\_\_\_

15. Where do you want to go?

☐ Johannesburg ☐ Pretoria ☐ Polokwane ☐ Bloemfontein ☐ Other: \_\_\_\_\_

16. Do you travel back to Zimbabwe? : ☐ Yes ☐ No

a. Why? \_\_\_\_\_

**NETWORK:**

13. Who are the people that help you in Musina? How do they help you?

Name	Relationship	How they aided?

**ASSISTANT RESEARCHER REFLECTION:**

## Appendix 4: Phase 1 Parent/Guardian Survey

PhD Research: Educational Access of Zimbabwe Migrants in South Africa  
S. Buckland – University of Sussex, United Kingdom

Research Assistant: \_\_\_\_\_ P. Research #: \_\_\_\_\_ ☐

Location: \_\_\_\_\_

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**BASIC INFORMATION:**

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- Interview #: \_\_\_\_\_
- Guardian of S. Research #: \_\_\_\_\_
- Relationship: ☐ Mother ☐ Father ☐ Grandparent ☐ Aunt ☐ Uncle ☐ Friend ☐ Other \_\_\_\_\_
- Number of Children of school age: \_\_\_\_\_
- Native/Mother Tongue: ☐ Shona ☐ Ndebele ☐ English ☐ Other: \_\_\_\_\_
- What other RSA language can you speak and write in?  
☐ Afrikaans ☐ English ☐ Ndebele ☐ N. Sotho ☐ S. Sotho ☐ Swati ☐ Tsonga ☐ Tswana ☐ Venda ☐ Xhosa ☐ Zulu

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**EDUCATIONAL INFORMATION/EXPERIENCE:**

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- Does/do your child/children currently attend school? ☐ Yes ☐ No
 

a. Yes:

  - Which school does he/she attend?  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_
  - Why did you choose this school?  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_
  - What paperwork did you need to enter school?  
☐ Birth certificate ☐ School report card  
☐ Transfer Letter ☐ Parent ID  
☐ Permit/Asylum \_\_\_\_\_  
☐ Other: \_\_\_\_\_
  - Do you pay school fees? ☐ Yes ☐ No
  - How much were the fees? \_\_\_\_\_

b. No:

  - Why did your children not attend school?  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_
  - What do they do during the day?  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_
  - Do you want them to attend school?  
☐ Yes ☐ No



PhD Research: Educational Access of Zimbabwe Migrants in South Africa  
S. Buckland – University of Sussex, United Kingdom

**MIGRATION INFORMATION:**

8. Where are you from in Zimbabwe? (Town/village/township) \_\_\_\_\_
9. When did you first come to South Africa? \_\_\_\_\_
10. Why did you come to RSA? ☐ School ☐ Work ☐ Family ☐ Other: \_\_\_\_\_
11. How did you travel here? ☐ Parents ☐ Own ☐ Siblings ☐ Friends ☐ Other: \_\_\_\_\_
12. Do you want to stay in Musina? Or are you planning to move on? \_\_\_\_\_
13. Where do you want to go? And why?  
☐ Johannesburg ☐ Pretoria ☐ Polokwane ☐ Bloemfontein ☐ Other: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Why? \_\_\_\_\_
14. Where do you want to go?  
☐ Johannesburg ☐ Pretoria ☐ Polokwane ☐ Bloemfontein ☐ Other: \_\_\_\_\_
15. Do you travel back to Zimbabwe?: ☐ Yes ☐ No
- a. Why? \_\_\_\_\_

**NETWORK:**

16. Who are the people that help you in Musina? How do they help you?



Name	Relationship	How they aided?

**ASSISTANT RESEARCHER REFLECTION:**

### Appendix 5: Phase 1 - List of Child Migrants Research Informants surveyed

Male					Female				
	Interview #	Age	Documented?	Accompanied?		Interview #	Age	Documented?	Accompanied?
1	PBFBPM03	15			1	PBFBPF01	10	Y	Y
2	PBFBPM04	17			2	PBFBPF02	17	Y	
3	JRFPM03	17	Y		3	JRFPF01	14		Y
4	JRFPH04	16	Y		4	AGFBPF03	15	Y	Y
5	JRFPM05	14	Y		5	AGFBPF05	15	Y	
6	JRFPM06	17	Y		6	AGFBPF06	16	Y	Y
7	JRFPM07	15			7	AGFBPF07	16	Y	Y
8	AGFBPM02	8	Y	Y	8	MMFBPF03	17	Y	
9	AGFBPM08	17	Y	Y	9	MMFBPF05	14		
10	MMFBPM09	16	Y		10	MMFBPF06	15	Y	
11	MSHPM03	10	Y	Y	11	MMFBPF07	14	Y	Y
12	SMMSM02	13		Y	12	MMFBPF08	15	Y	
13	SMMSM04	10	Y	Y	13	MSHBF01	12	Y	Y
14	MMNFM01	16			14	MSCMF04	6	Y	Y
15	AGNFM01	16	Y		15	SMMSF01	12	Y	Y
16	AGNFM04	14	Y		16	SMMSF03	17		Y
17	JRNFM01	10		Y	17	SMMSF07	12		Y
18	JRNFM03	13	Y		18	SMMSF08	9	Y	Y
19	JRBFM04	16	Y		19	SMMSF09	11		Y
20	PBNFM04	16			20	MMNFF02	13		
21	JRMTM01	16			21	AGNFF02	16	Y	
22	JRMTM02	15	Y		22	AGNFF03	8	Y	Y
23	JRMTM03	12			23	JRNFF02	16		
24	JRMTM04	15	Y		24	JRNFF05	16	Y	
25	JRMTM05	14		Y	25	PBNFF01	14	Y	
26	JRMTM06	16			26	PBNFF02	12	Y	
27	SMMTM01	17			27	PBNFF03	15		
28	SMMTM04	17			28	PBNFF05	15		
29	SMMTM05	14			29	JRMTF07	16		
30	SMMTM07	15	Y		30	JRMTF08	16		Y
31	SMMTM08	17			31	SMMTF06	13	Y	Y
32	AGMTM01	15	Y		32	PBMTF04	16		
33	AGMTM02	17	Y		33	PBRMF01	8	Y	Y
34	AGMTM03	16	Y		34	PBRWF02	11	Y	Y
35	AGMTM04	16	Y		35	JRRWF02	14		Y
36	AGMTM05	16	Y	Y	36	MMRMF01	9		Y
37	AGMTM06	17	Y		37	MMEMF02	9		Y
38	AGMTM07	17	Y	Y	38	MBBDF03	12		
39	LBMTM01	15			39	JRRWF03	12	Y	Y
40	LBMTM03	17			40	JRBDF04	17		Y
41	LBMTM04	17			41	MBMHF06	6		Y
42	LBMTM06	17							
43	MBMTM03	12		Y					
44	MBMTM05	17							
45	MBMTM06	17							
46	PBMTM01	16		Y					

47	PBMTM02	15		
48	PBMTM03	11		
49	PBMTM05	14		
50	JRRWM01	14		
51	MMRWM03	13		
52	SMRWM01	17		
53	SMSPM04	11		Y
54	AGRWM01	13	Y	
55	AGBDM02	9	Y	Y
56	MBRWM02	16		Y
57	MSHPM02	17		Y
58	MBMTM01	17		
59	MBMTM02	17		

#### Appendix 6: Phase 1 - List of Parent/Guardian Migrant Informants surveyed

Male					
	Interview #	Documented?	Reasons for Migration	Children in school in RSA	Children in School in Zim?
1	PBFBM01		political	Y	
2	SMHRM02		work		
3	AGFPM02	1	deportation		
4	JRFPM08	1	political	Y	
5	JRNFM03	1	work	Y	
6	AGNFM03	1	political		
7	AGNFM06	1	political	Y	
8	MBMHM07	1	work	Y	
9	MMRWM02	1	work		Y
10	MMEMM04	1	work	Y	
	<b>Total:</b>	<b>8</b>		<b>6</b>	<b>1</b>

Female					
	Interview #	Documented?	Reasons for Migration	Children in school in RSA	Children in School in Zim?
1	PBFPF02	1	family in RSA		
2	SMHRF01	1	work		
3	SMCPF04		work		
4	JRFPF01		work		
5	PBNFF03	1	work		
6	PBNFF01	1	work	Y	
7	AGNFF01	1	work		
8	AGNFF02	1	work		
9	AGNFF04	1	work		
10	MMNFF03	1	work		Y
11	MMNFF04	1	work		Y
12	MMNFF05	1	political		Y
13	MMNFF06		work		Y
14	MMNFF08	1	work		Y
15	MMNFF05		work		Y
16	MBMHF02	1	education		
17	SMMHF05	1	work	Y	
18	SMMHF06	1	medical treatment for child		
19	MMNFF02	1	political	Y	
20	MMNFF01		work		
21	AGRWF01		work		
22	AGBDF02	1	work		
23	AGBDF03		work		
24	MMRWF01	1	work		
25	JRRWF03	1	work		
	<b>Total:</b>	<b>18</b>		<b>3</b>	<b>6</b>

## Appendix 7: Phase 1 – School Information Survey

PhD Research: Educational Access of Zimbabwe Migrants in South Africa  
S. Buckland – University of Sussex, United Kingdom

Name of School: \_\_\_\_\_ Primary/Secondary

Location: \_\_\_\_\_

**BASIC SCHOOL INFORMATION:**

1. Name of Principal: \_\_\_\_\_
2. Total Enrolment: \_\_\_\_\_ ( \_\_\_\_\_ M; \_\_\_\_\_ F)
3. Total Number of Zimbabwe students: \_\_\_\_\_ ( \_\_\_\_\_ M; \_\_\_\_\_ F)
4. Capacity of the school? \_\_\_\_\_
5. Other non-nationals? \_\_\_\_\_
6. Number of educators: \_\_\_\_\_
7. Average Class size: \_\_\_\_\_
8. Languages of Instruction: \_\_\_\_\_
9. Do you charge school fees? \_\_\_\_\_
10. What are your fees? \_\_\_\_\_

**PRINCIPAL QUESTIONS:**

11. What are your entry requirements for non-nationals? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
12. What is your understanding of the DoE entry requirements? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
13. How does having non-national children in your school change the dynamic or affect the teaching? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

**TEACHER QUESTIONS:**

14. What are the challenges of having non-nationals in your classroom? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix 8: Phase 1 – Teacher Focus Group Interview Schedule

PhD Research: Educational Access of Zimbabwe Migrants in South Africa  
S. Buckland – University of Sussex, United Kingdom

Name of School: \_\_\_\_\_ Primary/Secondary

Location: \_\_\_\_\_

**TEACHER QUESTIONS:**

1. Do you have Zimbabwean children in your class? \_\_\_\_\_
2. About how many? \_\_\_\_\_ and how many students in your class? \_\_\_\_\_

Grade:	# <del>Zim</del>	Total # students

3. What are the challenges of having non-nationals (Zimbabwean) children in your classroom?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

4. What are the benefits of having non-nationals (Zimbabwean) children in your classroom?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

5. What do Zimbabwean students need in order to register for your school?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix 9: Phase 2 - School Principal Interview Schedule

### Fieldwork Session 2:

#### Principals Interview Questions:

1. Has there been a change in the number of Zimbabwe children in your school?
  - a. What is the reason for this? (numbers? Male \_ Female \_)
2. Has there been policy changes?
  - a. What are the policies? (Circulars?)
  - b. When were they introduced?
  - c. What do they mean?
  - d. How are they implemented or monitored in your school?
  - e. Has it improved access?
3. Biggest challenges faced with migrants in school?
4. How have the DoE supported you?
5. What challenges have you faced with the DoE?
6. What support would you like from the DoE? How can they help?
7. Is your school full to capacity?
  - a. Do you turn children away due to over capacity?
  - b. What is your response/plan?
8. Are social grants available to the migrant children?
9. Do you have a transport grant/policy? Is this open to migrant children?
10. What Quintile is your school?
11. Do you see school fees as a barrier to accessing schooling?
12. Does the school provide addition support to those from low income families who are unable to buy school uniforms? (Zimbabweans?)
13. Do you feel that language of instruction is a barrier to education? Has it affected those who can't speak the language?
14. How do you place the children in the correct grade level?
15. How do Zimbabwean children know to access your school? Do parents approach you? Is there any information available to the community on access to schooling?

**Appendix 10: Phase 2 Teachers Interview Questions**Fieldwork Session 2:Teacher Interview Questions:

1. What are the benefits or challenges of having non-national/Zimbabwean children in your classrooms?
2. Do you feel they benefit your classroom? Why?
3. Do you feel that the language is a barrier to education? Do you find the challenge with the language? How do you support this integration?
4. Do you find a challenge with the curriculum? How do you support this integration? How do you deliver this curriculum to the students?
5. Why do you feel Zimbabweans come to South Africa?
6. Has there been a change in policy with Zimbabweans? Have you seen an increase in the numbers attending school?
7. Why do you think Zimbabweans come to your school?

**Appendix 11: Phase 2 - Student Focus Groups**Fieldwork Session 2:Student Focus Group Questions:

1. Why did you come to South Africa?
2. Why did you decide to go to school in South Africa?
3. Where you in school in Zimbabwe?
4. Why did you choose to come to this school?
5. How did you know what school to choose?
6. How did you know what you needed in order to get into school?
7. How did you find it settling into a South African school?
  - a. Was it hard? Are things different?
  - b. Are the things you are learning different?
8. Do you find the language a challenge?
9. Do you find school fees a challenge? Who pays for your fees? How do you get the money?
10. Are you receiving any support for the school or government?
11. Who helped you when you came to South Africa? How did you know what to do and where to go?
12. Documentation? (Asylum)