

**EXPLORING THE LIVES AND EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS OF
MARGINALISED MIGRANT YOUTH: A CASE STUDY IN
JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA**

by

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Declaration

Exploring the lives and educational aspirations of marginalised migrant youth: A case study in Johannesburg, South Africa

I, Wadzanai Faith Mkwanzani declare the following:

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Abstract

As the migration phenomenon gains momentum, South Africa processes high volumes of refugee applications, particularly from neighbouring countries. One of the largest groups migrating is that of youths, in search of alternative livelihoods and opportunities in education and employment. In pursuit of these opportunities, challenges such as obtaining official documentation as well as resistance, intolerance and animosity from local residents are faced. Consequently, many unanswered questions remain on how the experiences of migrant youth influence their aspirations and desire for educational continuation or achievement. Although there are a number of studies on educational aspirations of migrant youth, most of these have focused on the Global North; there has not been an in-depth focus on individual educational aspirations of youth in the South-to-South migration context. Thus, this thesis seeks to provide additional insight into South-to-South mobility and marginalised migrant youths' educational aspirations. Through exploring the educational aspirations and developmental opportunities available to this group of youths, I argue that the capabilities approach (CA) provides a comprehensive framework, which incorporates diverse and complex challenges of migration, cutting across and beyond social, political, cultural and economic contexts. The use of the CA in this study not only acknowledges the complex nature of migration, but also demonstrates that human mobility, in addition to being a capability on its own, is an integral part of human development. This is illustrated by an assessment of available opportunities for migrant youth to expand their choices, as well as their capacity to improve other dimensions of their lives, such as an opportunity for education.

The study adopts an interpretivist paradigm, which draws on concepts that are important in understanding people's actions and behaviours, such as *agency*, *opportunities*, and *being* and *doing* in seeking to answer the following questions: (i) what are the everyday experiences of marginalised migrant youth in Johannesburg, South Africa? (ii) What educational aspirations do the marginalised migrant youth have? (iii) Which capabilities and functionings do they value? (iv) What advocacy strategies do the participants suggest

be put in place to support their educational aspirations? Data was collected using in-depth narrative interviews with 26 migrant youth who had accessed refugee services at the Central Methodist Church in Johannesburg. After preliminary open coding of individual interviews, a focus group was conducted to discuss some of the issues that emerged from individual interviews. Additional interviews were conducted with representatives from the refugee centre and Albert Street School respectively in order to gain detailed insight into migrant experiences.

Two key findings emerged from this study. Firstly, resources to achieve educational aspirations for migrant youth remain constrained in all key dimensions: political, social, and economic. With these constraints, opportunities for accessing higher education also become limited. As such, these narratives on educational aspirations have also shown that a gap in the literature on marginalised migrants and education extends to other dimensions. These include issues of access, experiences within higher education institutions, as well as achievement in higher education for the few migrant youth that have opportunities to progress further in education. Secondly, aspirations are complex and multidimensional, as is the environment that shapes them. Such complexity requires an in-depth and comprehensive analysis, as a simplistic understanding may overlook the lived realities of marginalised groups. Thus, I provide a new conceptualisation of aspirations intersecting along the axes of agency and structural conversion factors. Based on this conceptualisation I present an argument for four types of aspirations, namely *resigned*, *powerful*, *persistent* and *frustrated* aspirations. This construction of aspirations provides a different way of thinking about aspirations formation in contexts of marginalisation, disadvantage and vulnerability experienced by migrant youth in the study, as well as others living in similar environments. Furthermore, the thesis presents the intersectionality of conversion factors in the migrant youths' lives and how this intersectionality influences their educational aspirations.

Keywords: *capability approach, disadvantage, educational aspirations, higher education, human development, marginalisation, migration, youth.*

Opsomming

Soos die migrasie-fenomeen momentum opbou is Suid-Afrika een van die Afrika lande wat hoë volumes vlugteling aansoeke prosessee, veral van aangrensende lande. Een van die grootste groepe wat migreer is jeugdige op soek na alternatiewe metodes van lewensbestaan en geleentheid in opvoeding en werk. In die nastrewing van hierdie geleentheid word verskeie uitdagings ervaar, insluitend die verkryging van offisiële dokumentasie asook weerstand, onverdraagsaamheid en vyandigheid van plaaslike inwoners. Gevolglik bly verskeie vrae onbeantwoord oor hoe die ervaringe van migrerende jeug hul aspirasies en begeerte vir opvoedkundige voortsetting en bereiking beïnvloed. Alhoewel daar verskeie studies oor die opvoedkundige aspirasies van migrerende jeug is, is meeste van hierdie studies gefokus op die globale Noord; daar is nog geen soortgelyke, in-diepte studies oor individuele opvoedkundige aspirasies van jeugdige in die Suid-Suid migrasie konteks gedoen nie. Dus poog hierdie tesis om addisionele insig te voorsien oor Suid-Suid mobiliteit en gemarginaliseerde migrerende jeugdige se opvoedkundige aspirasies. Deur die opvoedkundige aspirasies en ontwikkelingsgeleentheid beskikbaar aan hierdie groep te bestudeer, voer ek aan dat die vermoënsbenadering 'n omvattende raamwerk verskaf wat die diverse en komplekse uitdagings van migrasie kan saamvat wat deur sosiale, politieke, kulturele en ekonomiese kontekste sny. Die gebruik van die vermoënsbenadering in hierdie studie erken die komplekse aard van migrasie, maar demonstree ook dat menslike mobiliteit, ook geag as 'n alleenstaande vermoë, 'n integrale deel van menslike ontwikkeling is. Dit word uitgebeeld deur 'n assessering van beskikbare geleentheid vir migrerende jeugdige om hul keuses te verbreed sowel as hul vermoëns om ander dimensies van hul lewens, soos die geleentheid vir opvoeding, te verbeter.

Die studie is gesitueer in die interpretatiewe paradigma wat gebruik maak van konsepte soos agentskap, geleentheid, en om te 'wees en doen' wat belangrik is om mense se aksies en gedrag te verstaan – en veral om die volgende vrae te beantwoord: (i) Wat is die alledaagse ervaringe van gemarginaliseerde migrerende jeug in Johannesburg, Suid-Afrika? (ii) Watter opvoedkundige aspirasies het die gemarginaliseerde migrerende jeug? (iii) Watter vermoëns om te 'wees en doen' plaas hulle waarde op? (iv) Watter strategieë stel die deelnemers voor moet in plek gesit word om hulle opvoedkundige aspirasies te kan

nastreef? Die data was ingesamel deur in-diepte verhalende onderhoude met 26 migrerende jeugdige wat gebruik gemaak het van dienste aan vlugteling deur die Sentrale Metodiste Kerk in Johannesburg. Na voorlopige oop kodering van individuele onderhoude is 'n fokusgroep toegepas om van die kwessies opgebring in die onderhoude aan te spreek. Addisionele onderhoude is gedoen met verteenwoordigers van die vlugteling sentrum en Albert Straat Skool onderskeidelik om 'n groter geheelbeeld van die migrerende jeug se ervarings te kry.

Twee sleutelbevindinge het vorendag gekom uit die studie. Eerstens, hulpbronne om opvoedingsaspirasies na te streef bly beperk in alle kerndimensies, insluitend politiek, sosiaal en ekonomies. Hierdie beperkinge veroorsaak ook dat toegangseleenthede tot hoër onderwys beperk word. Die verhalings oor opvoedkundige aspirasies het ook gewys dat daar 'n gebrek aan literatuur is oor gemarginaliseerde immigrante en opvoeding, wat ook na ander dimensies uitbrei. Hierdie dimensies sluit in kwessies oor toegang, ervarings binne hoër onderwys, sowel as prestasie in hoër onderwys vir dié gemarginaliseerde migrerende jeug wat wel geleenthede vir verdere opvoeding kry. Tweedens, aspirasies is kompleks en multidimensioneel soos die omgewing wat hulle vorm. Hierdie kompleksiteit vereis 'n in-diepte en omvattende analise omdat 'n simplistiese begrip die geleefde realiteit van gemarginaliseerde groepe mag oorsien. Dus voorsien ek 'n nuwe konseptualisering van aspirasies wat deurkruis met die akse van agentskap en strukturele konversie faktore. Gebaseer op hierdie konseptualisering lê ek die argument voor vir vier tipes aspirasies, naamlik *berustend*, *magtig*, *volhardend* en *gefrustreerde aspirasies*. Hierdie konstruksie van aspirasies verskaf 'n alternatiewe manier om oor aspirasie formasie te dink in konteks van marginalisering, benadeling en kwesbaarheid waarin die migrerende jeug van hierdie studie sowel as ander mense leef. Verder stel hierdie tesis die deurkruising van konversie faktore in die migrerende jeug se lewens voor, asook hoe hierdie deurkruising hul opvoedkundige aspirasies beïnvloed.

Table of Contents

Declaration

Acknowledgements

Abstract.....	i
Opsomming.....	iii
List of Tables.....	x
List of Figures.....	xi
List of Pictures.....	xii
Abbreviations.....	xiii
Chapter One: Introduction.....	1
1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.2 Definition of migrant youth.....	2
1.3 Introducing the aim and problem statement.....	3
1.4 Rationale and significance of the study.....	5
1.5 Research questions.....	6
1.6 Theoretical framework.....	7
1.7 Methodology and research design.....	8
1.8 Structure of the thesis.....	9
1.8.1 Chapter One: Introduction.....	9
1.8.2 Chapter Two: Literature review.....	9
1.8.3 Chapter Three: Capability approach.....	9
1.8.4 Chapter Four: Methodology and research design.....	10
1.8.5 Chapter Five: Orientation to study setting.....	10
1.8.6 Chapter Six: Behind the borders: Pre-migration experiences and educational aspirations of migrant youth.....	11
1.8.7 Chapter Seven: The imaginary narrative: Post-migration experiences and educational aspirations of migrant youth.....	11
1.8.8 Chapter Eight: Re-imagining educational aspirations in disadvantaged settings ...	12
1.8.9 Chapter Nine: Capabilities, conversion factors and aspirations.....	12
1.8.10 Chapter Ten: Reflections and conclusions.....	13
1.9 Conclusion.....	13
Chapter Two: Migration, globalisation and development.....	14
2.1 Introduction.....	14
2.2 Migration and globalisation.....	14

2.2.1	Traditional approaches to migration	16
2.3	Migration and human development.....	19
2.3.1	Interlinkages of migration and the Sustainable Development Goals.....	20
2.3.2	Gender, development and migration.....	22
2.4	Human security	24
2.4.1	Migration threats.....	25
2.4.2	Migration risks.....	28
2.4.3	Identity and belonging in migrant settings.....	31
2.5	Contextualising South-to-South migration	33
2.5.1	Migration to South Africa.....	34
2.5.2	Legislative framework	35
2.6	Migration, aspirations and education	45
2.6.1	Literature on educational aspirations.....	46
2.6.2	National literature	49
2.7	Conclusion.....	50
Chapter Three: The capability approach.....		51
3.1	Introduction	51
3.2	Why the capabilities approach?.....	52
3.3	Key constructs of the CA used in this study.....	54
3.3.1	Wellbeing	54
3.3.2	Capabilities and functionings.....	56
3.3.3	Conversion factors	56
3.3.4	Agency	57
3.4	Aspirations	59
3.5	Adaptive Preferences.....	62
3.6	Freedoms	63
3.7	CA and migration	67
3.7.1	Value of educational aspirations for marginalised migrants	68
3.8	Conclusion.....	72
Chapter Four: Methodology and research design.....		73
4.1	Introduction	73
4.1.1	Formulation of research questions.....	73
4.2	Research paradigm and design.....	75
4.3	Study setting.....	77

4.3.1	Sampling	77
4.4	Data collection instruments and process	79
4.4.1	Data collection instruments.....	79
4.4.2	Data collection process	80
4.4.3	Data transcription and interpretation	82
4.4.4	Data analysis	82
4.5	Quality criteria of the study.....	85
4.5.1	Validity and researcher positionality.....	85
4.5.2	Credibility, trustworthiness and rigour	87
4.5.3	Cleaning the data.....	88
4.6	Ethical considerations	89
4.6.1	Working with vulnerable groups.....	91
4.7	Limitations	92
4.8	Conclusion.....	94
Chapter Five: Orientation to study setting		95
5.1	Introduction	95
5.2	Demographics of migrant youth.....	95
5.2.1	Background of migrant youth	99
5.3	Outline of study area	100
5.3.1	Migrants in Johannesburg	100
5.4	Contextualising migrant education within legislation.....	111
5.5	Conclusion.....	113
Chapter Six: Behind the borders: Pre-migration experiences and educational aspirations of migrant youth		114
6.1	Introduction	114
6.2	Foregrounding the push and pull factors of migration into South Africa	115
6.2.1	Push factors	117
6.2.2	Pull factors	121
6.3	Schooling experiences in the face of structural challenges in Zimbabwe.....	124
6.3.1	Educational landscape in Zimbabwe	124
6.3.2	Schooling experiences	125
6.4	Impacts on migrant youths' high school aspirations	135
6.4.1	Effects of poverty on educational aspirations	136
6.4.2	Parental influence on aspirations	138
6.4.3	Influence of educational functionings on educational aspirations.....	139

6.5	Conclusion.....	141
Chapter Seven: The imaginary narrative: Post-migration experiences and educational aspirations of migrant youth.....		
7.1	Introduction	143
7.2	Opportunities in South Africa	144
7.2.1	Economic opportunities	145
7.2.2	Post-secondary schooling opportunities in South Africa	148
7.3	Value placed on education.....	155
7.3.1	Intrinsic value.....	155
7.3.2	Instrumental value.....	157
7.4	Re-thinking educational aspirations	163
7.4.1	Enablers of post-migration educational aspirations.....	163
7.4.2	Limitations of post-migration educational aspirations	167
7.4.3	Short-term aspirations.....	169
7.4.4	Long-term aspirations	173
7.5	Understanding the aspirations gap	182
7.5.1	The aspirations window	184
7.6	Conclusion.....	185
Chapter Eight: Re-imagining educational aspirations in disadvantaged settings		
8.1	Introduction	187
8.2	Conceptualising aspirations formation	188
8.2.1	Resigned Aspirations	188
8.2.2	Powerful aspirations.....	193
8.2.3	Persistent aspirations.....	197
8.2.4	Frustrated aspirations	201
8.3	Integrating conversion factors influencing migrants' lives and educational aspirations	205
8.3.1	Economic conversion factors.....	205
8.3.2	Personal factors.....	207
8.3.3	Social factors.....	208
8.3.4	Institutional factors	212
8.4	Re-thinking of aspirations by marginalised migrant youth.....	213
8.4.1	Unrealistic aspirations?.....	215
8.4.2	Understanding aspirations from a disadvantage perspective	216
8.5	Conclusion.....	220

Chapter Nine: Capabilities, conversion factors and aspirations	222
9.1 Introduction	222
9.2 Valued capabilities and functionings.....	223
9.2.1 Current constrained valued capabilities	223
9.2.2 Current available capabilities.....	225
9.2.3 Valued functionings	230
9.3 Intersections of capabilities, conversion factors and aspired functionings	232
9.3.1 Intersection of aspirations environment in migrant contexts	237
9.4 Agency	244
9.4.1 Interplay of conversion factors and agency in aspirations formation	246
9.5 Conclusion.....	248
Chapter Ten: Reflections and Conclusions	250
10.1 Introduction	250
10.2 Reflections on empirical findings.....	251
10.2.1 What are the everyday experiences of marginalised migrant youth in Johannesburg?.....	251
10.2.2 What educational aspirations do the migrant youth have?	252
10.2.3 Which capabilities and functionings do they value?.....	253
10.2.4 What advocacy strategies do the participants suggest be put in place to support their educational aspirations?.....	254
10.3 Reflections	256
10.3.1 Theoretical reflections	256
10.4 Key findings	259
10.4.1 Returning to the SDG's.....	261
10.5 Policy implications and possible plans of action.....	262
10.5.1 Policy recommendations.....	262
10.6 Recommendations for future research.....	265
10.6.1 The role of distance learning and vocational education in migration contexts.....	265
10.6.2 Child migration: Unaccompanied minors	266
10.6.3 Gender and migration	266
10.6.4 Role of NGOs	266
10.8 Conclusion.....	267
REFERENCES	270
APPENDICES	310

List of Tables

Table 2.1	SDGs, gender and development.....	23
Table 2.2	Rights and entitlements of citizens and migrants in South Africa.....	39
Table 3.1	Amartya Sen’s five instrumental freedoms.....	64
Table 5.1	Summary of the migrant youths’ demographic profiles.....	97
Table 5.2	Gender distribution of participants in the study.....	99
Table 5.3	ASS enrolment in 2008.....	104
Table 5.4	ASS enrolment in 2016.....	105
Table 5.5	Gender landscape of form ones and fours at ASS.....	105
Table 5.6	ASS Primary and secondary school gender landscape.....	105
Table 6.1	Push-pull factors of migration into South Africa.....	115
Table 6.2	Push-pull factors distribution table.....	116
Table 7.1	Summary of migrants’ educational functionings and aspirations.....	161
Table 7.2	Enablers of post-migration educational aspirations.....	163
Table 7.3	Limitations of post-migration educational aspirations.....	167
Table 8.1	Conversion factors impacting on migrant youths’ lives and educational aspirations.....	205
Table 9.1	Capability landscape of migrant youth.....	223
Table 9.2	Relationship between capabilities, conversion factors and aspirations.....	234
Table 9.3	An evaluation of marginalised migrant youth’s capabilities using Sen’s five instrumental freedoms.....	239
Table 10.1	Migrant youth voices: What we need to know and do about migrants’ educational aspirations.....	255

List of Figures

Figure 3.1	Conceptual Map.....	71
Figure 4.1	Methodology process summary.....	75
Figure 4.2	Data collection procedure.....	79
Figure 4.3	Highest level of education of participants in phase one interviews.....	84
Figure 5.1	Total population by province 2001-2011.....	100
Figure 5.2	Total population by province in 2016.....	101
Figure 6.1	Pre-migration functionings by gender.....	129
Figure 7.1	Opportunities in South Africa.....	145
Figure 7.2	Post-migration educational functionings.....	151
Figure 7.3	Men’s short-term aspirations and women’s short-term aspirations.....	169
Figure 7.4	Men’s long-term aspirations and women’s long-term aspirations.....	173
Figure 7.5	Relationship between instrumental and intrinsic aspirations.....	179
Figure 7.6	The means-ends process in the aspirations process of migrant youth.....	180
Figure 8.1	Resigned aspirations.....	189
Figure 8.2	Powerful aspirations.....	193
Figure 8.3	Persistent aspirations.....	197
Figure 8.4	Frustrated aspirations.....	201
Figure 9.1	Aspirations’ environment.....	237
Figure 9.2	Interplay of conversion factors and agency.....	247

List of Pictures

Picture 2.1	Some of the stories capturing the xenophobic violence in South Africa in early 2015.....	27
Picture 2.2	Examples of the inflated Zimbabwean dollar.....	44
Picture 5.1	Inside the Central Methodist Church.....	106
Picture 5.2	Albert Street School in 2015.....	107
Picture 5.3	Learners receiving food at Albert Street School in 2015.....	107
Picture 5.4	Learners having lunch at Albert Street School in 2015.....	108
Picture 5.5	ASS 2014 O-level results.....	109
Picture 5.6	ASS 2015 O-level results.....	110

Abbreviations

ASS	Albert Street School
CA	Capabilities Approach
CMC	Central Methodist Church
HE	Higher education
HEIs	Higher education institutions
HDR	Human Development Report
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

The importance of a study on migration is seen in Bell et al.'s (2015) assertion that migration has replaced fertility and mortality as the leading agent of demographic change. In 2009, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) estimated one billion of the world's seven billion people to be migrants (UNDP, 2009). The United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR, 2010a) indicated that, by the end of 2009, more than 42 million people had migrated worldwide, comprising over 15 million refugees and 27 million internally displaced people, making up the highest number of migrations since the mid-1990s. Among those migrating are youth in search of alternative livelihoods and opportunities in education and employment, among other factors (UNDESA, 2011). The global intensity of this is seen in some of the statistics regarding the latest migrations to Europe. UNHCR reports that in 2015, around 800,000 asylum seekers crossed the sea from Turkey to Greece. This migration by sea increased in October 2015, when over 221,000 people arrived in Greece (UNHCR, 2015). According to Birchall (2016) the current refugee crisis in Europe brings a new perspective to the statistics on migration. Between January and September 2015, 214,355 children applied for asylum in the EU, already surpassing the 2014 total figure of 160,000, and representing 27 per cent of all asylum claims in 2015 (Birchall, 2016). This has brought a shift in the gender and age characteristics of migrants and refugees entering Europe, as the number of women and children migrating to Europe continue to grow (Birchall, 2016). Within these migration statistics lies a number of developmental matters, one of them education, particularly in the South-South context as will be shown in section 1.3.

This Chapter introduces the thesis. I start by defining my understanding of migrant youth in this thesis, followed by an introduction to the aim and problem statement framing the study as well as the rationale of the study. Finally, I provide an outline of the whole thesis in which I provide a summary of each Chapter.

1.2 Definition of migrant youth

According to Birchall (2016) it is important to note that categories of migration are becoming less and less definitive and there are clear overlaps among the terms. One individual may pass through a number of these classifications during their lifespan and may fall into more than one category at a time (UNDP 2010).

In defining migrant *youth*, a variety of definitions have been considered; however, the definition of youth differs widely from country to country and from organisation to organisation. The standard United Nations (UN) definition of *youth* refers to people between 15 and 24 years of age (United Nations, 1992). In South Africa, the National Youth Commission Act of 1996 describes youths as persons in the age group of 14 to 35 years (National Youth Commission, 1996). For the purposes of this study, the focus will be on youth aged between 18 and 35. The motivation for 35 years as the upper age limit of youth is based on the definition of the National Youth Commission Act (No.19 of 1996). This study excludes those under the age of 18 because it does not seek to look at minors, based on the definition of minor/child in the Children's Act (No. 38 of 2005). The focus on youth is motivated by indications that youth between the ages of 18 and 29 are the most mobile of all ages and represent a major proportion of those migrating annually (UNDESA, 2011). Therefore, it would be useful to explore their daily experiences as migrants and how these influence their educational aspirations, seeing that education is one of the capabilities that has the potential to unlock further opportunities for individuals. Because of the complexity of defining migrants (de Brauw & Carletto, 2012; Munck, 2008; Kok, 1999), this study adopts the term 'marginalised migrant' to refer to refugees, asylum seekers and undocumented migrants. While, in practice, the distinction of different types of migrants is far from clear, referring constantly to 'marginalised migrants' would become tiresome to the reader. Thus, henceforth, marginalised migrants will be referred to as 'migrants', except in cases where specific statistics need to be provided for each category and/or unless otherwise specified. This is to avoid distorting and misrepresenting official statistics.

1.3 Introducing the aim and problem statement

Although the recent European crisis may be seen to overshadow the South-to-South migration patterns and intensity, South Africa processes high volumes of refugee¹ applications worldwide (UNCHR, 2014). The UNHCR 2014 planning figures show that if more asylum seekers' applications were successful, the total number of legal refugees and asylum seekers in South Africa was estimated to be 350,000 in December 2014 compared to a total of 300,600 in December 2013. The total number of recognised refugees in 2014 was estimated to be approximately 65,000 (UNHCR, 2014). In June 2016, the Minister of Home Affairs in South Africa, Mr. Malusi Gigaba, indicated that there were about 121,000 recognised refugees in the country, but the department receives thousands of asylum applicants each year (Gigaba, 2016).

Most migrants end up in urban areas, such as Johannesburg, Gauteng, which, according to Statistics South Africa (2016a; 2016b) is South Africa's largest city in the country's most populous province (see section 5.3.1 for detailed national and provincial statistics). As asserted by Peberdy et al. (2004), the city has been the country's financial and manufacturing hub for a long time. Although development policies in the city have not been successful in incorporating migrants and migration, its population includes a significant number of international migrants. Absence or failure of developmental policies is seen in the recurring attacks on foreign nationals evident in the January 2015 looting of foreign-owned shops in places such as Langlagte, Alexandra and Soweto (see City Press, 2015; Harrison, 2015; Kubheka, 2015; Nicolaidis & Kubheka, 2015). While the South African Refugees Act of 1998 provides extensive basic rights for migrants, based on the Bill of Rights enshrined in the Constitution (Khan, 2007), xenophobia directed toward migrants is not the only challenge they face.

¹A refugee is defined by the 1951 United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees as "a person owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality, and is unable to, or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to, avail himself of the protection of that country or return there because there is fear of persecution."

According to Landau et al. (2005), most migrants, on arrival in South Africa, are unable to navigate their way through the Home Affairs offices for official documentation for various reasons such as travelling costs. If they are able to, most of the rejected applicants do not go back to their home countries, but try to integrate themselves into society in the hope of getting official documentation at some point (Campbell, 2013). Furthermore, they usually experience difficulties integrating into society, often leading to an inability to access services such as higher education (Khan, 2007).

Moreover, since most migrant youth fall within the economically productive age group, they are expected by their societies (and often forced by their circumstances) to work, fend for themselves and send money back to their home countries. These expectations may limit their potential or considerations of pursuing higher education, which is important for instrumental and intrinsic purposes and to equip them for the multiple possible futures they face. This is highlighted by Collins's (2007) view that education has a fundamental role in career development, prosperity and economic wellbeing. Walker (2010) also stresses the importance of post-school education, which encompasses both personal and economic development. Such development helps bring social change directed toward justice in terms of equal opportunities for employment (Walker, 2010). For example, if migrant youth remain in the host country, the qualifications and skills gained will contribute to that country's workforce, but if they return to their home countries, higher education qualifications position them as potentially influential members of their communities. Additionally, higher education is crucial for migrant youth, as it is for other individuals, because it builds and determines additional opportunities that they require to lead lives that they desire and value.

Thus, in the midst of the challenges of navigating their way in a foreign land, many unanswered questions remain on how these experiences influence individual migrants' ambitions and aspirations for educational continuation or achievement. Therefore, the study aims to examine the everyday experiences and educational aspirations of migrant youth in Johannesburg, South Africa and, based on the findings, deliberate with the migrant youth on strategies that can be put in place to support their educational aspirations. This

exploration of the experiences and educational aspirations of the migrant youth will make a unique contribution to this gap in the literature.

1.4 Rationale and significance of the study

Internationally, a number of studies on migration, aspirations and education have examined educational aspirations of migrant youth. In particular, a strand of research concentrates on their access and educational outcome in comparison to local citizens (Boyden, 2013; Stevenson & Willot, 2007; Krahn & Taylor, 2005). Most of these studies conclude that, despite the challenges migrant youth face, they all have high aspirations for higher education in comparison to their peers who are citizens. However, there has not been an in-depth focus on individual educational aspirations of these youths in the South-to-South² migrational context, especially in South Africa. This is despite the estimation that South-to-South migration is nearly as large as South-to-North migration (Ratha & Shaw, 2007). It is against this background that there remains a lack of understanding regarding migrants' lived realities, needs, challenges and the lives they desire. The analytical focus on what the youth value enables a theoretical contribution, based on the capabilities the youth consider necessary to lead valuable lives. Drawing on qualitative data, the study intends to examine how migrant youth explore educational opportunities, while they try to negotiate possibilities of their wellbeing.

The emphasis in this study is not on generalisability, but on understanding the unique individual daily experiences and educational aspirations as narrated by each migrant youth. These experiences and aspirations are understood to be constructed within unique backgrounds, social, political and economic contexts. If this is achieved, the study will have fulfilled another dimension of appreciating the complex lives and lived realities of

² According to Bakewell (2009), there is no clear definition of South and North and different organisations provide different categories and definitions, which change over time. Ratha and Shaw (2007) argue that South-to-South migration is migration within developing regions (including less and least developed regions, for example, Africa, the Caribbean, parts of Asia and Oceania), while South-to-North migration is migrating from developing countries to developed countries (for example, Europe and North America). In this study, South-to-South migration is narrowed down to focus on migration between African countries.

marginalised migrant youth. Central to this study is the use of the capabilities approach (CA) in seeking to answer the questions. The CA provides a comprehensive approach that incorporates diverse and complex challenges of migration, cutting across and beyond social, political, cultural and economic contexts. The use of the CA in this study not only acknowledges the complex nature of migration, but also demonstrates that in addition to being a capability on its own, migration is an integral part of human development. In this study, this is illustrated in reference to the expansion of migrant youth's capacity to aspire based on their intrinsic and instrumental values. That is, considering available opportunities for the migrant youth to expand their choices, as well as their capacity to improve other dimensions of their lives such as an opportunity for education. Education has been at the core of the CA from the start; it forms people's existing capacities into developed capabilities and expands human freedoms (Nussbaum, 2011; Walker, 2005). Thus, the use of the CA builds on and contributes to work on migration studies, human development and education studies. This research does not intend to speak objectively from a neutral position. Acknowledging my position as the researcher is based on the belief that research cannot be "neutral, objective or detached" from the knowledge and evidence that researchers generate, but is "rather interactive, creative, selective and interpretative" (Mason, 2002:30). As a researcher, constant reflection on my own positioning is important in this study in order to avoid ascribing nationality, gender and other forms of assumptions and biases into the study.

Based on the literature review, the research questions are presented below and their formulation discussed in detail in Chapter Four.

1.5 Research questions

I explore the life experiences and educational aspirations of marginalised migrant youth by answering the following research questions:

1. What are the everyday experiences of marginalised migrant youth in Johannesburg?
2. What educational aspirations do the migrant youth have?
3. Which capabilities and functionings do they value?

4. Based on the findings, what advocacy strategies do the participants suggest be put in place to support their educational aspirations?

The formulation of these research questions was influenced by the CA as discussed in the section that follows.

1.6 Theoretical framework

While a number of studies have attempted to explain the growth in international migration and its stratified nature, using a wide variety of theories and frameworks (Crush & Frayne, 2010), some researchers have bemoaned the absence of a comprehensive migration theory (De Haas, 2008). This could be attributed to the fact that migration is a diverse and complex phenomenon. As such, it is a challenge to separate it from other socio-economic and political processes (De Haas, 2008). The multidimensionality of the CA might contribute a more comprehensive approach, incorporating the diverse and complex challenges of migration, and cutting across and beyond social, political, cultural and economic contexts.

From the viewpoint of the CA, education forms people's existing capacities into developed capabilities and expands human freedoms (Nussbaum, 2011; Walker, 2005). Additionally, from the outset, the Human Development Report (HDR) has identified two facets of human development that are important for the achievement of human wellbeing: the formation of human capabilities, and the use of the acquired capabilities (HDR, 1990), which can be enabled through education. Walker (2005) identifies education as influential in the process of identity formation, for instance, choosing to be a certain kind of person rather than another (e.g., choosing to be an electrician rather than a teacher). Although this identity formation may be in relation to how an individual views him/herself in reference to education, education can also empower an individual to view themselves differently in society, for example, viewing oneself as an agent of change within society regardless of migration status. This may be as a result of attributes such as confidence brought about by

education. These theoretical issues will be discussed in detail in Chapter Three and picked up throughout the thesis.

1.7 Methodology and research design

To answer the research questions, the study adopts an interpretivist paradigm which draws on concepts important in understanding people's actions and behaviours, such as *agency*, and *opportunities*, as well as *being* and *doing*, which a positivist paradigm would not often focus on. Thus, the study uses a qualitative research design that also allows for reflexivity and reflection, which is an important part of the research process. The study is both descriptive and exploratory. It is exploratory because little is known about the topic under research (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). The descriptive aspect allows for the interpretation of experiences, opinions, beliefs, knowledge and aspirations held by migrant youth. In-depth narrative interviews were used since they allow the telling of interview transcripts in the form of a story (Goodley et al., 2004). This method emphasises viewing participants as experts and is an opportunity to provide an in-depth focus on lives, experiences, socio-cultural conditions and aspirations (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000) of the migrant youth. In this study the in-depth interviews proved to be important, as they comprehensively captured the participants' stories, thereby providing detailed data.

The study looked at the lives of 26 migrant youth who had access to the services of the Central Methodist Church (CMC) in Johannesburg before it was forced to shut down its refugee shelter in December 2014. Two representatives from the Albert Street School (ASS) and the refugee shelter (see Chapter Five for orientation in the study setting) were interviewed. The purpose of interviewing these representatives was to get an overall understanding of the services that are required by migrant youth and to understand the role of the school to migrant youth. Data analysis involved descriptive interpretation and a theorisation of the data based on CA concepts that had emerged. In the next section I provide the overview of the Chapters in the thesis.

1.8 Structure of the thesis

1.8.1 Chapter One: Introduction

This Chapter outlines the purpose of the thesis by providing the overall background, problem statement and rationale of this study. It discusses the importance of research on the educational aspirations of marginalised migrant youth. The CA and methodology adopted are introduced and their relevance to the study briefly discussed.

1.8.2 Chapter Two: Literature review

In this Chapter I review the literature relevant to this study. I locate the phenomenon of migration within the broader context of globalisation. I also discuss some of the traditional approaches that have been used in migration studies. This is followed by a discussion on migration and human development, in which I identify the relationship between migration and the millennium development goals, as well the sustainable development goals. I also provide a brief discussion on the relationship between gender migration and development. This is followed by a discussion on how migration is understood in terms of human security, the threats and risks that come with this phenomenon, and how this impacts on identity. This leads to the contextualisation of South-to-South migration, filtering through to the South African context and its legislative frameworks. The final discussion in this Chapter is on migration and aspirations where I also examine international and local education aspirations in these different contexts.

1.8.3 Chapter Three: Capability approach

Chapter Three discusses why the study favours a human development-focused framework. Drawing on the capability approach (CA), the Chapter shows how the CA can be used to address the complex and diverse nature of migration. Building on work discussed in Chapter Two regarding the experiences of migrants, Chapter Three establishes a basis for the evaluation and analysis of the lives lived by migrant youth and how these experiences influence their educational aspirations. To do this, the work of Amartya Sen (1980; 1992;

1999; 2009) is pivotal, in that it shifts the traditional focus on migration from being monetary-related to understanding that the quality of life enjoyed by migrants is not only about their achievements, but the *freedoms* (options) available to them to pursue and achieve the things that they value. This is the locus that distinguishes the CA from other ethical evaluation approaches whose focus on wellbeing is often based on the means to a good life.

1.8.4 Chapter Four: Methodology and research design

In this Chapter I describe the methodology and research design adopted for this study. Data collection methods, research site where the study was conducted, sampling and ethical considerations are also described. I start the Chapter by discussing how the research questions were formulated. This is followed by a discussion of the decision to adopt the interpretivist paradigm and qualitative methods. Thereafter, I provide an outline of the study setting and the data collection process that followed; I also introduce the migrant youth who participated in the study. This is then followed by a presentation of the data collection instruments and process. The Chapter also presents how data was analysed, followed by considerations of the ethical implications of this research, which were observed throughout the whole research process. An introduction to the research context is also provided; this is done through a brief introduction to CMC and ASS which, during the time of interviews, emerged as key factors in understanding marginalised migrant youth's experience in South Africa and educational aspirations.

1.8.5 Chapter Five: Orientation to study setting

Chapter Five provides a detailed contextual orientation of the study setting. The aim of this Chapter is to provide a detailed overview of the context and therefore provides the demographics of the migrant youth who participated in the study. The social and economic backgrounds of the youth are also presented. I introduce the city of Johannesburg as the country's most populous city, as well as a brief introduction to Albert Street School, where most of the male migrant youth completed their secondary education. The school became

an important part of this study during the interviews, as it emerged as an influential factor on migrants' educational aspirations. Additionally, the attention on ASS was motivated by the study's focus on educational aspirations as well as the fact that schools such as ASS are atypical in the South African context. The school was established to accommodate foreign children of school going age who were affected by xenophobic violence in 2008. As will be discussed in detail in section 5.3.1.2, many children who lived at the Central Methodist Church did not attend school. As a result of this, many volunteers, also refugees living at the church, set up the school using a building belonging to the church. The school operated on donations, from tuition fees and stipends for the volunteers (Kuljian, 2013). In this Chapter, I also discuss the country's legislation in relation to education so that there is an understanding of the environment in which educational aspirations may be formed.

1.8.6 Chapter Six: Behind the borders: Pre-migration experiences and educational aspirations of migrant youth

In Chapter Six, I report the findings that answer research questions one and two: *What are the experiences of marginalised migrant youth? What educational aspirations do the migrant youth have?* The report provided here is in relation to the youths' pre-migration experiences. Thus, the Chapter provides insights into the life experiences of these youth while in Zimbabwe. The presentation of these experiences contributes to our understanding of the contexts that influence aspirations formation among marginalised migrant youth. Although the primary focus is not on theoretical concepts, I also show how the CA can be valuable in understanding marginalised peoples' lives and experiences.

1.8.7 Chapter Seven: The imaginary narrative: Post-migration experiences and educational aspirations of migrant youth

Chapter Seven builds on Chapter Six, presenting and discussing the migrant youths' opportunities; experiences and educational aspirations post migration. In addition to answering research questions one and two as was begun in Chapter Five, this Chapter also

answers research question three, *Which capabilities and functionings do migrant youth value?* This is seen in the discussion of short and long-term aspirations. Thus the aim of this Chapter is to build on the pre-migration context and provide an understanding of how that past influences their current lives, specifically the formation of educational aspirations; and while doing so, identifying what the youth value being and doing.

1.8.8 Chapter Eight: Re-imagining educational aspirations in disadvantaged settings

While in Chapters Six and Seven experiences, aspirations and valued capabilities were presented descriptively, this Chapter (and Chapter Nine) conceptualises and analyses the data presented in the previous two Chapters using the human development and capability lens. One of the key aims of this Chapter is to show that although material support is important for migrant youth, it is inadequate on its own and may fail to prepare this group fully for the future. Therefore the Chapter seeks to help understand the diverse conversion factors that influence migrants' educational aspirations formation and what this may mean for their future plans in relation to human development. I theorise aspirations' formation by drawing on four migrant stories which represent all the other 26 stories. These four stories were chosen because of the detail and richness of the data gathered.

1.8.9 Chapter Nine: Capabilities, conversion factors and aspirations

The analysis and categorisation of CA themes emergent from migrant narratives resulted in many overlapping themes, making the conceptualisation of capabilities, conversion factors and aspirations very complex. This Chapter therefore aims to reconcile these overlapping themes by way of classifying them into capabilities and conversion factors. The discussion starts by looking at what was identified as capabilities and functionings valued by the migrant youth and how these relate to their aspirations. With this done, another aim is to show the interaction of capabilities and conversion factors in influencing aspired functionings. Here I also show the relationship between capabilities, conversion factors and aspirations. In analysing the capabilities available for migrant youth, I use Sen's (1999) five instrumental freedoms to understand the current external capability context of these

youth. Based on the evidence, these instrumental freedoms are key for any development that will be directed toward marginalised migrant youth. I also discuss the intersectionality of conversion factors in an attempt to understand how they interact with each other. Finally, I show the role of agency in the interaction of capabilities and conversion factors. I illustrate this role by referring to the four migrant stories shared in Chapter Eight.

1.8.10 Chapter Ten: Reflections and conclusions

Reflecting on the thesis objectives and evidence gathered, this Chapter synthesises the various issues highlighted in the discussion Chapters; summarises the answers to the research questions; identifies theoretical and policy implications of the study; and provides possible directions for future research. In doing so, the Chapter presents concluding judgements on what this means for broader human development, particularly individuals in marginalised and disadvantaged settings. The Chapter starts by reflecting on the empirical findings based on the four research questions guiding this study. This is followed by theoretical and methodological reflections where I discuss the contribution of this study to human development as well as to the field of qualitative research. I then provide a synthesis of how the key findings are relevant to policy; this is where I provide recommendations on how to address key issues that emerged from the data. Finally, I offer recommendations for areas of future research.

1.9 Conclusion

In this Chapter I have introduced the thesis by defining the use of 'migrant youth' in the study, as well as introducing the aim and problem statement, and the rationale and significance of the study. I have introduced the discussions of the theoretical framing and methodology of the study, which will be discussed later in the thesis. I have also provided an outline of the structure of the thesis. The next Chapter reviews literature relevant to the topic under study in order to identify the gap and how this study can contribute towards filling this gap.

Chapter Two: Migration, globalisation and development

2.1 Introduction

This Chapter reviews the literature relevant to this study. I start by locating the phenomenon of migration within the broader context of globalisation and discuss some of the traditional approaches to migration. This is followed by a discussion of migration and human development, in which I identify the linkage between migration and both the millennium and sustainable development goals. I then turn to how migration is understood in terms of human security, threats and risks that come with this phenomenon and how these impact on identity. This leads to the contextualisation of South-to-South migration, filtering through to the South African context and its legislative frameworks. The final discussion is on migration and aspirations. The section also provides a brief discussion of international and local literature on educational aspirations in these diverse contexts.

2.2 Migration and globalisation

*Run my exhausted feet,
Away from the rumbling tanks
With power to revoke my life
Run across the horrendous border
To my neighbour's hostile domain,
Leaving is the only hope to stay alive
Hell is home for those left behind (Adams, 2001:59)*

The above poem, written by a migrant, depicts some of the experiences of international migration. The growing tide of literature on migration acknowledges of the interrelationship of globalisation and migration across the world. Castles and Miller (2009) assert that a notable key dimension of globalisation is the rapid increase in ideas,

knowledge about democratic governance, cultural and media products, as well as people. Young (2004) suggests that our actions and tastes have also been globalised, thus informing the decisions to migrate and our expectations and predictions inform the destinations of migrants. This leads to what Castles and Miller refer to as 'globalisation of migration', which is 'the tendency for more and more countries to be crucially affected by migratory movements at the same time' (2009:10). However, opponents of globalisation argue that it has created an economic world of "winners and losers", leaving the majority of people condemned to a life of misery (Giddens, 2000:33; Bauman, 1998).

Despite the challenges that come with globalisation, international migration may thus be seen to be part of a new globalisation process, which is reshaping geography, economics, political systems and cultural parameters (Munck 2008). As a result, the twenty-first century could also be viewed as a wave of migration that many nation states have difficulty controlling. Yet it remains necessary for these nation states to help migrants, such as those from Syria and the boat people transiting through North Africa. Along with it, migration has brought the question of brain drain. It has increasingly been debated in the field of migration research that migration of highly-skilled individuals is both a problem and an opportunity for many countries, both recipients and exporters. The benefits to the recipient country are obvious, yet to the exporting country it is economical, in that emigrants have a tendency to become their greatest export. That is, they repatriate a lot of much-needed foreign currency. Chikanda (2010) writes that skilled professionals such as engineers and medical practitioners emigrating from developing to developed countries are cited as one of the major forces shaping the landscape of the twenty-first century globally. In the same vein, while South Africa may be gaining some migrant professionals, it also is facing brain drain to other countries (Mattes & Mniki, 2010). These authors conducted a study in 2002 on final year undergraduate and postgraduate students (in a university, college or Technicon) and their potential for emigration after completion. Out of the 2400 participants, 28 percent noted that it was very likely that they would emigrate to live and work outside the country for two years or more, while 21 percent noted that it was very likely that they would migrate (Mattes & Mniki, 2010:28-29).

In addition to the question of brain drain/gain within migration, another dimension that has been of interest in recent years is that of its gendered and stratified nature discussed in section 2.3.2. To understand some of the dynamics that come with migration (and how this might relate to the globalisation of migration), a variety of theories have been used by researchers over the years; some of the most common are discussed in the next section.

2.2.1 Traditional approaches to migration

Traditionally, theories of migration have been grouped into three levels: macro, meso and micro. **Macro** level theories examine the aggregate migration trends: *Neoclassical migration theory* is often used to explain migration by geographical differences and as part of economic development which requires more labour (de Haas, 2008; Hagen-Zanker, 2008; Bauer & Zimmerman, 1998; Massey et al., 1993). Presupposing that regions in the developing world have specialised migration patterns that flow to certain more developed regions, the *migration systems theory* suggests that the flow of migration acquires a measure of stability and structure over time. This allows for stable international migration systems (Massey et al., 1993) characterised by a powerful trade-off of goods, capital and people between certain countries; for example the North American migration system, which links countries like Mexico to the United States of America (Massey et al., 2008). According to Hagen-Zanker (2008), this theory is vague and does not allow for concrete predictions of migration trends. The argument pursued by the *dual labour market theory* is that migration is not caused by push factors in sending countries (low wages and/or high unemployment), but by pull factors in the country of destination (Piore, 1979, cited in Massey et al., 1993). Although this theory is important in understanding and explaining some of the post-war trends in Europe, it does not strongly interrogate migrants' decision-making (Hagen-Zanker, 2008). Complementary to this theory is the *social systems theory* in which migration is seen as a result of resolving structural tensions. While migrants aspire to achieve their goals in a specific destination, often pressure and challenges are transformed rather than reduced. The success they achieve is largely dependent on the global distributions of different systems. Although this theory places economic push factors

in a wider context of other societal push factors and considers what happens to migrants in their host countries, it is not easy to apply or test (Hagen-Zanker, 2008). On the other hand, the *world systems theory* argues that international movements follow the political and economic organisation of an expanding global market (Massey et al., 1993).

At *meso*-level, the theories look at both the macro and micro levels. The *institutional theory* assumes that once international migration has started, private institutions and voluntary organisations arise to satisfy the demand created by an imbalance between large numbers of migrants who seek entry into capital rich countries and the limited number of immigrant visas such countries usually offer (Massey et al., 1993). In so doing, this type of migration yields a black market in migration which breeds counterfeit documentation, arranged marriages between migrants and local citizens, and so forth (Massey et al., 1993). *Network, social capital and cumulative causation theories* are important for understanding the patterns and volume of migration and assume that international migration expands until network connections are wide enough that all individuals who wish to migrate can do so without any challenges (Castles & Miller, 2009; Hagen-Zanker, 2008). Migrants who follow others to a specific host country are better informed through those already at the destination. Migration networks decrease the risks and costs of migration over time, hence making migration widespread in a particular community (Massey et al., 1993). Growth of networks and migrant-supporting institutions allows international migration to sustain itself (Massey et al., 1993). In *New Economic of Labour Migration theory (NELM)*, the decision to migrate is not only made by one person (the one that migrates), but by the other household members and for the wellbeing of the family as a whole (Hagen-Zanker, 2008; Massey et al., 1993). This theory supports the view that migration is a deliberate attempt by social groups to spread income risks, improve social status, and overcome local developmental constraints, rather a reaction to absolute poverty (de Haas, 2008). Scholars of this theory refute the neoclassical and structuralist theories, as well as the associated push-factors that view migration as a linear process of spatial income and opportunity disparities, or as a consequence of the poor being incited by the incorporation of countries and regions into a capitalist economy (de Haas, 2008).

At *micro*-level, *neoclassical migration theory* views migrants as individuals: agents, who decide to move on the basis of a cost-benefit analysis calculation (de Haas, 2008; Massey et al., 1993). These individuals have concluded that they will receive positive net return (usually monetary) from migration. Practising their freedom of choice and access to information, these individuals are expected to move to where they will be most productive in terms of income compared to their country of origin (Borjas, 1990), depending on the skills and education each individual possesses and the structure of the labour market. On the other hand, the *human capital approach*, based on the works of Larry Sjaastad (1962), views migration as an individual and personal investment decision to increase one's productivity. Much focus is on the labour market with individuals making a rational cost benefit analysis of the returns of migration (Hagen-Zanker, 2008). This theory emphasises that migration might lead to occupational upgrading; however, according Hagen-Zanker (2008), it is difficult to test empirically and ignores the structural influences on migration.

Scholars such as Salt (1986) and Van Amersfoort (1998, cited in de Haas, 2009) take the view that there is a possibility that there will never be a general theory on migration. This is because of the difficulty in trying to combine the macro and micro level theories of migration. Another complexity is that migration is an interdisciplinary phenomenon as it involves the fields of cultural studies, demography, geography, law, political science, economics and sociology (Brettel & Hollified, 2000). All the relevant factors are part of human development, as applied by the Human Development Reports (Alkire, 2010). Although most debates on globalisation and development have mainly focused on the consequences of increased capital and goods flows on economic development, movement of people across borders fosters development, just as capital and trade flows might too. Therefore, within the subject of migration and globalisation, it is inevitable to talk about development (Wickramasekara, 2009; Lopez-Cordova, 2006).

Without rejecting the importance of economic growth and increased income, the focus of development ought to be people (HDR, 1990). As such, human development is concerned about: (1) capabilities formation: that is, people should have an environment conducive to developing their capabilities such as wealth, health, knowledge and skills, among others;

(2) use of acquired capabilities: people have the opportunity and are able to use their acquired capabilities without limitations (HDR, 1990). In essence, human development should enlarge all human choices and promote greater participation among people in order to maximise human capabilities (HDR, 1993). Such inclusivity requires equal human rights to be in place in all systems, including political, social, economic and administrative (HDR, 1995). Thus, in contrast to traditional migration and development theories that viewed development as synonymous with economic prosperity, the human development framework views economic prosperity as a means to achieve the primary goal of human development.

2.3 Migration and human development

The 2009 Human Development Report (HDR) report on migration defined human development as the 'expansion of people's freedoms to live their lives as they choose' as well as 'putting people and their freedom at the centre of development and realising their potential, increasing their choices and enjoying the freedom to lead the lives they value' (HDR, 2009:14-16). Although migration did not feature prominently in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) framework, which had a human development agenda, it cuts across most of the goals. The goals were to: (1) eradicate extreme poverty and hunger; (2) achieve universal primary education; (3) promote gender equality and empower women; (4) reduce child mortality; (5) improve maternal health; (6) fight HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases; (7) ensure environmental sustainability; and (8) develop a global partnership for development. According to the United Nations, the development-focused goals were established taking into consideration essential values such as freedom, human dignity, peace, human rights, tolerance, solidarity, respect for nature and shared of responsibility in relation to the socio-economic challenges that are faced globally (UN, 2000:2).

In relation to these goals, the human development framework recommends essential conditions for such development to take place, while the MDGs provide specific measurable

and time-bound indicators for this development to take place. According to Usher (2005), the integration of migration into development policy agendas is becoming a matter of importance, particularly in primary receiver countries of migration (the United Kingdom, Netherlands, Denmark and Sweden among others). This is because, arguably, migration may have a direct and positive influence on the attainment of the MDGs as well as posing a challenge to development (Chappell et al., 2010; Usher, 2005). Thus, there is a need for migration to be addressed in moving towards the attainment of these goals. For example, the Former United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Anan established the Global Commission on International Migration (GCIM) in 2003, contending that links between migration and development could be positive in offering a potential win-win scenario in which the sending country benefits from remittances while the host country gains skills and labour, and individual migrants have opportunities for economic improvement (GCIM, 2005). On the other hand, migration can be seen to present challenges to development efforts when looking at how the brain drain of health workers impacts on the sending countries (Usher, 2005).

2.3.1 Interlinkages of migration and the Sustainable Development Goals

Similar to MDGs, an interlinkage also exists between migration and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).³ Adopted on September 12 2015, the purpose of the SDGs is to address environmental, political and economic challenges facing the world, and like the MDGs, have a 15-year time-frame (United Nations, 2016). The aim is to end poverty, protect the planet, and ensure prosperity for all. Although all seventeen goals are in one way or another related to migration, those most closely related to migration and education are goals 1-5, 8, 10 and 16 (see footnote). According to Skeldon (2002), migration can either be a cause or a result of hunger; in other words, poverty can be both reduced and intensified through migration. While poverty may affect migration rates, migration can also decrease

³ 1. No poverty; 2. zero hunger; 3. good health and wellbeing; 4. quality education; 5. gender equality; 6. clean water and sanitation; 7. affordable clean energy; 8. decent work and economic growth; 9. industry, innovation and infrastructure; 10. reduced inequalities; 11. sustainable cities and communities; 12. responsible consumption and production; 13. climate action; 14. life below water; 15. life on land; 16. peace, justice and strong institutions; and 17. partnership for the goals.

poverty and improve wellbeing, especially in countries of origin where remittances can be used for consumption and sustenance or other investments (Waddington & Sabates, 2003; Adams & Page, 2003; Skeldon, 2008), especially considering the ever-increasing disparity in the exchange rate of hard currencies against 'smaller' ones'.

Another area in addressing poverty is the increasing independent migration of female breadwinners, thus leading to greater independence and autonomy (IOM, 2003). This increased proportion of women in paid employment contributes to improved self-esteem associated with education, skills and knowledge that can make women powerful in their countries of origin. However, the migration of both women and men independently of the families may interrupt of traditional family relations. Because of this, the developmental benefits that migration has on empowering women and promoting gender equality have been affected. Migration patterns, especially irregular patterns, have an influence on the health of migrants. Often, the legal status of migrants upon arrival defines their access to health services. On an institutional level, although the emigration of health professionals impedes the delivery of health services in the country of origin (brain drain/human capital flight), they can help re-build infrastructure through knowledge gained when they return to their communities. For example, countries that have functional health systems, structure and human resources may be able to improve maternal health and combat major diseases such as tuberculosis and malaria. The improvement of individual's health may in turn have an effect on reducing poverty because people are able to work with minimal health complications. Hanushek & Woessman (2015) argue that education, in the form of knowledge capital, is necessary to achieve the SDGs. As such, the importance of the education goal should be elevated as it will help reduce poverty, improve health, and provide inclusive growth that lessens inequality within and between countries. This exemplifies the importance of education as a capability that has the potential to unlock further opportunities for individuals, important for both personal and economic development (Walker, 2010).

In the next section, I locate gender within the processes of development and migration.

2.3.2 Gender, development and migration

Over the years, gender and development has been a growing field of research (see Nussbaum, 2000; Unterhalter, 2007), and with globalisation, the gendered and stratified nature of migration has been a topic of interest (Piper, 2009). Women have increasingly become significant in international migration. Castles and Miller (2009:10-12) refer to this as the *feminisation of migration*.⁴ Thus, it is now evident that the relationship between migration and human development operates in gender-differentiated ways (Ghosh, 2009; O’Neil et al., 2016) and cannot be overlooked. Dannecker and Sieveking (2009) call for a more nuanced conceptualisation of the interrelation between migration and development by taking into account the various migration patterns and gendered migration trajectories.

With the SDGs in place, women are both affected by, and key to achieving, these goals, including migrant women. Although SDG 5 is specifically directed toward women, women can be actors in all the goals. While many of these international flows are comprised mainly of women migrating for jobs as domestic work (UN Women, 2013), the SDGs seek to promote gender equality and empowerment. This dimension has implications for the rights of migrants (Piper, 2009), and thus cannot be disregarded in this study which seeks to explore the *experiences* of migrants. For example, gender analysis emphasises the significance of broader social factors involved in influencing women’s and men’s roles, experiences, aspirations, and their access to resources. O’Neil et al. (2016) have forwarded the contribution of women to the Sustainable Development Goals 2030 Agenda by highlighting the need for an understanding of the relationships between migration and key development issues, such as health, education, gender, labour and urbanisation. With reference to the literature on gender and migration and the SDGs I identified in the previous section as closely related to migration and education, Table 2.1 shows how migrant women are a part of these SDGs.

⁴ Castles and Miller (2009:10-12) outline what they refer to as six general modern migration trends; *Feminisation of migration, globalisation of migration, acceleration of migration, differentiation of migration, politicisation of migration and the proliferation of migration.*

Table: 2.1: SDGs, gender and development

SDG	Current development challenges faced by migrant women and girls	Aim of SDG
Goal 1: No poverty	Child labour, girls dropping out of school, or missing out on food.	Address issues of female child labour and promote access to schooling.
Goal 2: Zero hunger	Women and girls often excluded from decisions on resources that pertain to their livelihood.	Women to make decisions about their own lives. Promote access to land and financial services for women.
Goal 3: Good health and wellbeing,	Sexually transmitted diseases can be a result of sexual abuse during migration; limited access to healthcare; high mortality rates.	Ensure services and access to healthcare and reproductive health services; and reduce maternal mortality.
Goal 4: Quality education	Girls have limited access to education as they often have to drop out of school to take up gender roles such as early marriages and caring for family	Promote inclusive, equitable and high quality primary and secondary education for boys and girls globally. Promote access technical vocational and tertiary education and relevant skills for sustainable development and allow breathing space for educational aspirations.
Goal 5: Gender equality	Women experience discrimination and violence in workplaces and in communities.	Eliminate all forms of discrimination and violence against women everywhere. Ensure full participation and equal opportunities for leadership, political and economic opportunities.
Goal 8: Decent work and economic growth	Most migrant labour women are in domestic labour and have limited access to other fields of work.	Women should have equal opportunities for decent work across all sectors. Provide opportunities for entrepreneurship. There is a need for education and training opportunities.
Goal 10-: Reduced inequalities	Intersectional discriminatory social norms based on age, gender, language, ethnicity poverty and other social norms	Break social barriers that hold women and girls back as women are now breadwinners and providers.

The contribution of female migrants to the development of their home countries and their families also contributes to the eradication of poverty and the achievement of the SDGs. A gender focus on migration and development ought to emphasize the importance of broader social factors involved in influencing women’s roles, experiences, aspirations, and access to resources (Dannecker & Sieveking, 2009). Thus, while female migrants represent a high number of remittance senders in some countries (UN, 2006), the shift in women’s development should not only be considered based on their economic contribution, but also the altering of social and cultural development spheres. Therefore, any development initiatives need to incorporate strategies for promoting female empowerment and gender equality.

Without gender equality, human development is impossible (HDR, 2015: 12). As such, a deeper analysis is required of the role of women in both human and sustainable development, by looking at how the migration of women affects gender roles, power relations and decision-making processes in households and communities.

Furthermore, this gendered effect of migration is important for consideration as it helps us understand the consequences of gender migration on different outcomes and experiences of men and women. According to Boyd and Grieco (2003) in the past, migration generally referred to the migration of men and sometimes with 'their families' referring to their wives and children. This made the migration of women nearly invisible and passive. However, the assumption that the place for women was the home gradually changed as migration emancipated women from their gendered roles and responsibilities. One the key considerations of the impact of gender migration has to do with the women's authority in the home, that is power relations between men and women and having men take over household responsibilities in comparison to the past. According to Boyd and Grieco (2003), the shifts of these roles affect relationships within families.

In the continuing endeavour to understand migration from a development perspective, the movement of migrants has also been perceived as a threat to order, security, and identity (Castles & Miller, 2009), as discussed below.

2.4. Human security

According to Munck (2009), migration is not a purely economic process dictated by market forces, but a key element in shaping the contemporary culture of politics. As a result, the social construction of migration as endangering the security of the nation has a profound impact on the discourse of migration. In the West, as a result of terrorist attacks on September 11 2001 in the US, July 2005 in London, and November 2015 in Paris, security has increasingly become the dominant prism through which migration is viewed, shifting from societal security to state security (Munck, 2009). Such incidences have contributed to security becoming the main procedure of governance and have created a generalisation of insecurity about migrating populations. As a result, migrants' countries have become

misconstrued as the bearers of all bad and dangerous things. According to De Haas (2009), European states have responded to public fears about mass irregular migration by further restricting immigration policies and intensifying border controls since the 1990s. In the early 1990s Werner (1993) addressed how international migration was becoming a threat to countries. He differentiates between migration and security and how sending and receiving countries are connected by several security challenges. For instance, political refugees might create a risk to the host country when they make use of their migrant status to advocate for political change in their home country.

In order to understand human security as human development, in May 2003 co-chairs of the Commission on Human Security (CHS) Amartya Sen and Sadako Ogata presented the CHS report 'Human Security Now' to the then UN Secretary-General, Kofi Annan. It aimed to protect:

...the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfilment.....protecting fundamental freedoms. It means using processes that build on people's strength and aspirations...creating political, social, environmental, economic, military and cultural systems that together give people the building blocks of survival, livelihood and dignity. (CHS, 2003:4)

Threats to these spheres of human life may cause people to face deprivation, leading to tension which in turn affects human-wellbeing (see section 2.4.1). This view of human security highlights its interlinkage with human development, in that the two concepts are people-centred. In relation to migration, another interlinkage between human security and human development is that while migration may be viewed as a threat to the security of some fundamental spheres of human life, it also enhances other aspects of human development.

2.4.1 Migration threats

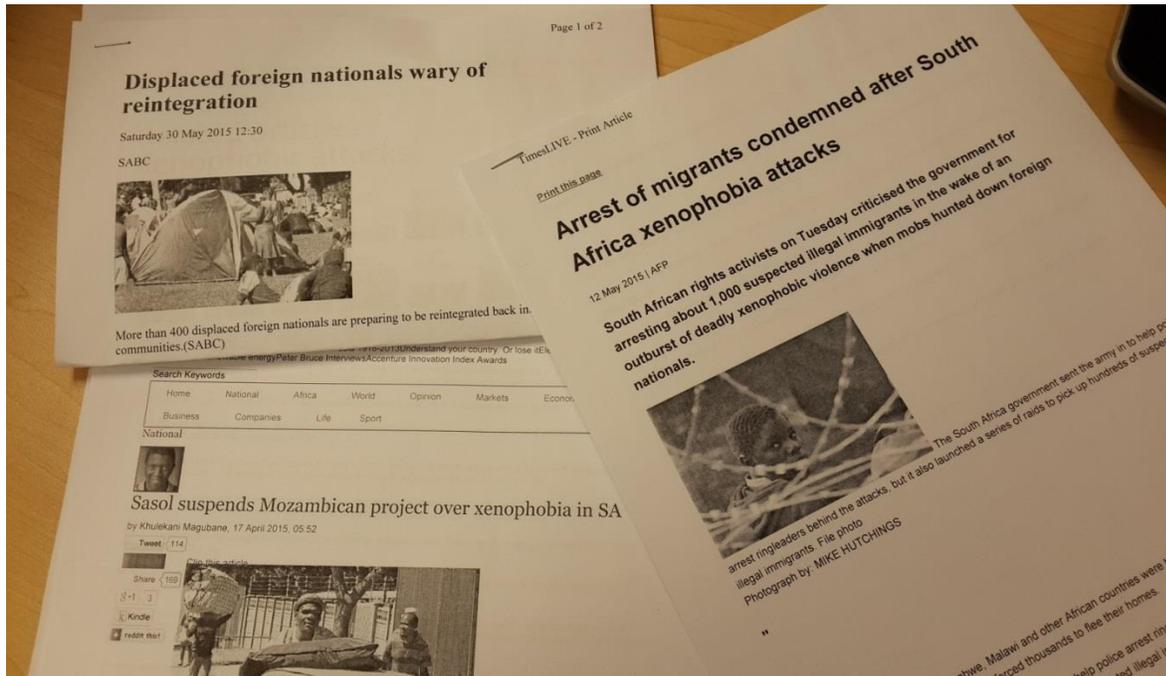
The literature shows that the arrival of immigrants may prompt a sudden rediscovery of national identity and cultural traditions. In looking at Haitian descendants born in the

Dominican Republic, Bartlett (2012) suggests that in South-to-South migration, migrants receive little support and can encounter hostility and discrimination from those whose livelihoods might be thought to be threatened. In Libya, Hamood (2006) reports that xenophobia is mainly expressed in blanket accusations of criminality, verbal and physical attacks and harassment, a situation that has come to the fore in South Africa in more recent times. Cultural differences are also a cause of prejudice and threat to human security (McBrien, 2005), and these challenges currently affect not only South Africa, but many host countries' ability to benefit from migrants, as they appear threatening to the security of local communities.

Such attitudes toward migrants are also evident in some parts of South Africa where the self-settling refugee policy encourages migrants to work and support their own livelihoods, yet some of the migrants who do this encounter hostility from local communities. This is seen in the on-going experiences of some Somali refugees operating Spaza⁵ shops in different communities when they are chased out of their shops and the shops are looted. The motivation for such action is often based on the view that foreign nationals are taking jobs from local citizens. Jonny Steinberg's book *A man of good hope* (2015) provides a clear narration of how safety is one of the core factors affecting migrants. Although the Somalian protagonist's story has a happy ending because he eventually leaves the community where he felt unwelcome, his experiences and constant fear for his life while trying to run his Spaza businesses in various parts of South Africa point to a concern about security.

The fatal stabbing of Mozambican hawker Emmanuel Sithole during the xenophobic attacks in Alexandra Township in April 2015 is another example of the fragile nature of security for migrants. In earlier xenophobic attacks in 2008, the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) reported that fifty people had died earlier that year in xenophobic-related incidents (Naidoo, 2008). As a result, many more migrants were displaced and faced homelessness after abandoning their homes due to fear for their lives or being driven out by local residents.

⁵ Small convenience shops often located in someone's home. Often, residents sublet part of their homes to Spaza shop owners.



Picture 2.1: Some of the stories capturing xenophobic violence in South Africa in early 2015

Looking at factors that influenced the integration of Congolese refugees living in Johannesburg, Hlobo (2004) found that it seemed almost impossible for local integration to be a long-term solution for refugees as long as refugees are still perceived as a threat to local communities. He acknowledges that not every South African sees refugees as a threat or burden on the already strained resources in their community. However, those that do support and appreciate migrants are not in significant enough numbers to have the capacity to create a change in popular perceptions of refugees and migrants (Hlobo, 2004). A number of refugees he interviewed noted that the host community is often assumed to know the challenges that bring them to South Africa; however the absence of support suggests otherwise. He notes that a part of the bigger challenge is that integration has been viewed as a process only relevant to refugees and not the host country (Hlobo, 2004). Focusing on demographic, economic, housing and psycho-social conditions of Somali immigrants, Majodina and Peberdy (2000) conducted a study in Johannesburg with the aim of assessing the degree to which the Somali community had fitted into the South African

community. They found that negative attitudes were most strongly expressed against African cross-border migrants and attitudes included attacks on non-nationals (Majodina & Peberdy, 2000). The recurring nature of such violence is an expression of negative attitudes to foreign nationals, which is not a new phenomenon. Thus, though not in the forefront of migration debates until recently, when the discourse of human development and globalisation became significant in the global agenda, issues of human security in migration have long been present.

2.4.2 Migration risks

In addition to security risks associated with migration, migrants risk being randomly arrested, detained, deported or stripped of their assets. Mozambican immigrant taxi driver Mido Macia's case may also be referred to by some migrants as to why they fear for their security. Macia, then 27 years old, died in police custody after he was handcuffed to the back of a police van and dragged in the township of Daveyton in Johannesburg. This happened in February 2013 after police⁶ said he had obstructed traffic and resisted arrest (Kabizokwakhe & Muchavi, 2013). O'Dowda (2016) uses this case as an example of the resentment towards foreigners in the context of high unemployment in South Africa. This example shows that while migrants struggle to overcome the challenges associated with obtaining official documentation, they continue to experience resistance, intolerance and animosity from local residents within the communities where they live. Disaffection with the unaccountability of local government structures and frustration with the lack of government services has led to increased popular violence, characterised by service protests and attacks on foreign nationals (Polzer, 2010). Furthermore, because migration has an impact on provincial and municipal functions, particularly on planning for service delivery, Polzer (2010) further argues that infrastructure planning should take into account actual migration patterns. In doing so, one needs to be cognizant that human security is not the only factor that is found with migration, but there are risks that are associated with this process.

⁶The policemen involved were later sentenced to fifteen years each on 11 November 2015 (Timeslive, 2015).

The recent European migrant crisis exemplifies the risks associated with migration. The UNHCR (2015) reported that at least 3,600 people were reported either dead or lost as they attempted to reach Europe. Among those migrating for asylum and refuge purposes are women and children, who in the recent European crisis comprised a larger proportion than adult males (UNICEF, 2016). Birchall (2016) notes that due to data gaps, it is difficult to ascertain the percentage of unaccompanied minors in the EU; however, 2014 saw 23,160 asylum applicants considered to be unaccompanied children, of which 19,915 were boys. A similar trend was seen in Central America in 2014, when more than 66,000 unaccompanied children headed to the US, with the number of women being three times higher than the previous year (Birchall, 2016). While in the European context women migrate in families or affiliated groups, in the Southern African context women migrate as individuals; this may be because the journeys are often shorter and less dangerous compare to Europe where most of them travel via the sea for longer periods of time.

2.4.2.1 Conceptualisation of migration risks

Theoretically, one of the risks associated with migration is that of trade-offs. People gain in some aspects of their lives and lose in others. For example, an individual may be restricted to a certain job that is available at that particular time, and not necessarily their aspired professions. Because there is an urgent need for survival, what job one does is of little importance compared to having the means to live a decent life. Thus, to achieve a certain standard of living, an individual may have to sacrifice things he or she values. An example is that of some Filipino women who sacrifice their dignity for financial income in Japan who, at times, resort to sex work (Piper, 2009). Most of the women accept a “higher risk of death in order to put food on the table and by this fulfil their functions as breadwinners” (Wolff and De-Shalit, 2007:65). Goldin et al. (2012) note that the gains (such as wages) experienced by most migrants are qualified by the obstacles they face in their host countries. The authors refer to ‘downward assimilation’, which is spiralling into permanent poverty and assimilation with the underclass. For example, Latinos in the US who have

weak cultural ties may follow a downward assimilation path towards the norms of the marginalized populations of inner cities. This path is largely a consequence of prejudice in the host population (Gratton et al., 2007).

Wolff and De-Shalit also argue that being open to risk is an advantage; some people welcome an element of risk as part of a flourishing life (2007:66-67). However, such risks should be taken in the absence of options or where there is constrained opportunity for choice otherwise the risk becomes a disadvantage. At times, a disadvantaged individual may be 'forced' to take risks because there is no reasonable alternative. Not taking the risk would typically result in a greater risk. For example, an undocumented economic migrant in South Africa with an option of a job needs to take the job so that they can survive at minimal standards, so if they do not take the job they risk living a very deprived life. The other risk is that if they do take the job without proper documents, there is a risk of being deported if immigration officials discover the situation. Therefore, the individual has weighed the risk of starving and being homeless against the risk of being detected by immigration service and being deported. Very often, individuals are disadvantaged because they are exposed to risks they would not have taken had they had the option (Wolff & De-Shalit, 2007).

Having to take such trade-off risks might render many migrants vulnerable to exploitative labour. For example, in the US, Mexican migrant workers receive the lowest wages in comparison to the native population and other immigrants. The wage disparities in the manufacturing industry illustrate the inequality between the US and Mexican economies. In the case of undocumented immigrants, which are a substantial number of Mexican workers, hourly wages drop to \$5 (Wise & Covarrubias, 2009: 139). Although the rate is double that of the Mexican average, it still constitutes a form of extreme exploitation and oppression. Most of these jobs involve low qualifications, low wages, risks and illegal abuse on the part of employers (Wise & Covarrubias, 2009), leading to the marginalisation of these migrants.

Marchand (2009) provides an outline of the interlinkage of violence, development, marginalisation and migration. Her case is based on Mexican migration, where migrants

come from poor backgrounds and face a vicious cycle of relative marginalisation and poverty. With the securitisation of the border systems, crossing the border has become increasingly difficult and dangerous. In addition to the money that they have to pay to the smugglers, the migrants risk being caught by border patrol and exposure to extreme weather conditions. Some migrants have to swim across, risking drowning and attack by crocodiles and hippos, as has happened to migrants from Zimbabwe before (Muleya, 2105 and 2016). Finally, Maddox (2010) identifies another risk of the poor not being able to complete their schooling: that of identity and belonging.

2.4.3 Identity and belonging in migrant settings

Consideration of how identities, solidarity and community are constructed is important. These connections are informed by historical and cultural environments (Strath, 2008). Jones and Krzyzanowski (2008: 44-45) note that identities are constructed both internally (by us through our self-representation and alignment with others) and externally (by the powerful 'other', such as institutional gatekeepers who can set threshold criteria, such as citizenship requirements). If identity is underpinned by processes that are reproduced and/or sustained through a series of social practices, it can be noted that as individuals we have a range of similarities and connections that shape how we perceive ourselves, and more importantly, ourselves in relation to others (Jones & Krzyzanowski, 2008).

According to Gasper and Truong (2010) migration transforms migrants into individuals without their own place in the social, cultural, and economic sense. This dislocation of being in the new space in terms of practices, values, and customs, ways of acting and thinking (Hirano 2014:3) challenges individuals' identity, sense of belonging and affiliation. The attempt to integrate into society leads to different identity formulations for migrants who typically experience major feelings of loss (Samers, 2010). This process requires negotiations between "different, and at times conflicting and changing experiences and values" (Arnot et al., 2013:575). This is particularly resonant in the South African self-settling policy, where migrants may generally be seen as people without a place while they

await a decision on their refugee status application, and experience another phase of identity reformulation as they try to self-settle after being granted recognition documents. As such processes happen, Koser-Akcapar (2006) cautions that the integration of migrants into new social, economic and political environments can be disruptive to their identity and their sense of belonging. Someone who was formerly a citizen of his/her country suddenly becomes a 'refugee'; a limitation for an individual to choose their own identity (Sen, 2006). This is often what results in attitudes such as xenophobia, which stems from the "other" being and remaining unfamiliar (Adams, 2001:5) with the complex reasons why individuals migrate. The distinctive feature of this 'othering' also results in ordinary prejudices in subtle ways and often, too, in ways that are unconscious (Delanty et al., 2008). Therefore, those unfamiliar with the complex nature of migration often link migrants with anything that contributes to a sense of social, political or economic crisis in the country.

An Australian study by Marston (2003), which involved 51 in-depth interviews with migrants and 15 interviews with service providers working in the area of migrant support and resettlement, found that issues of national identity play a large part in successful integration. Ingram (2012) argues that in a world of globalisation, the distinction between "us" and "them" between social relations among insiders who recognise each other with a sense of common purpose and identity, and social relations among strangers who regard each other as outsiders, is problematic. The security, risk, and identity challenge discourse associated with migration continue to overshadow migrants' lived experiences and aspirations.

From a globalisation viewpoint, the role that migrants play in global development and socio-economic development is clear. Yet, they have certain vulnerabilities to social and economic exclusion and poverty, in the form of security, risks and identity among other factors. Thus, Marston questions how migrants can reclaim a respectful social identity in an impoverished and reactionary political discourse, dominated by the policies of 'border protection and how socially constructed divisions, based on a mix of fear and prejudice, can be overcome' (Marston, 2003:2). Arguably, this may well be answered by Golding et al.'s view that although most modern day migration policies are based on misconstructions and

fears about migration's long-term contributions and social effects, future migration policies will determine whether societies can effectively reap migration's opportunities while managing the risks that it brings (Ingram, 2012). Considered carefully, this view is of benefit to both the host country and the individual migrant. I now turn to a discussion of South-to-South migration.

2.5 Contextualising South-to-South migration

Recent decades have seen a considerable increase in South-to-South migration (Ratha & Shaw 2007) and despite its growing significance and global scope, South-to-South movement has been neglected in the global policy debate on migration and development (Crush & Ramachandran 2010; Bakewell, 2009). Substantial flows of migration occur within regions rather than across them, generally from low-income to middle-income or high-income countries (Piper, 2009). Crush and Ramachandran (2010) argue that many times the debate is focused on South-to-North, evidently corresponding to the idea that what seems to matter in development is how the South can be more like the North. This is attributed to the view held by many, that there are more opportunities for work in Europe compared to Africa. Most general conversations about migration in the South are about how one aspires to move to Europe or America one day. Until recently, fewer restrictions on immigration such as visas and associated expenses of travel have led many people to migrate within the continent (Ratha & Shaw, 2007). For example, in 2000, India (6.3million), Pakistan (4.2 million), Iran (2.3million), and Jordan (1.9 million) were some of the major receiving countries in the South (Crush & Frayne, 2010:4). Nevertheless, it is important to acknowledge that the statistics and matters pertaining to migration remain poorly understood, as a result of inadequate and unreliable data in developing countries (Ratha and Shaw, 2007); as a result, it is also not possible to know the exact number of marginalised migrants living in South Africa.

Marked by the history of labour migration, Africa has, for a long time, been portrayed as a continent of people that are on the move, seeking to expand their livelihoods in different

ways (Van Dijk et al., 2001). In sub-Saharan Africa, migration has been an intrinsic component of the developmental process since the colonial era, notably in Southern Africa. Mines, such as in the Copperbelt in Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia), drew thousands of labourers from within the region (Crush, 2008). Wentzel and Tlabela (2006:74) note that at the beginning of the twentieth century, extensive migration patterns had emerged across Southern Africa based on labour possibilities around the industrial sector. Changes in migration patterns were evident in the 1980s, seeing increasing numbers of skilled migrants migrating within the Southern African region (Wentzel & Tlabela, 2006). Although there are still those who aspire to migrate to the North, the change in migration patterns signals that the days are long gone when developed countries such as the USA, Canada and Australia were viewed as the only countries of immigration (Richmond, 2010). South Africa is one of the countries that have seen significant flows of migration over the years.

2.5.1 Migration to South Africa

Khan writes:

Patterns of migration observed in South Africa have become progressively more complex and diverse in recent times with South Africa attracting not only refugees and asylum seekers but also skilled professionals from across the continent as well as environmental and socio-economic migrants. (Khan, 2007:1)

The country's historical events in the 1990s, such as the 'negotiated transition' from apartheid, and the wars, disasters and famine elsewhere in Africa, have been crucial factors in the rise of the numbers of migrants to South Africa (Trimikliniotis et al., 2009). The rise of migration to South Africa reflects how much such movement is the product of an historical relationship between South Africa and its neighbouring countries (Crush & James, 1995) and shows that historical labour migration patterns are still evident in the present day, particularly economic migrants. Trimikliniotis et al. (2009) argue that even before the gold rush of the nineteenth century, there was an established system of labour migration. The colonialists were using migrant labour from the entire region for multiple purposes; development and wealth were products of various types of black labour

(Trimikliniotis et al., 2009). For example, during the 1990s, farmers of eastern Free State became increasingly reliant on seasonal migrant labour, particularly from Lesotho (Ulicki & Crush, 2010). Also, the bilateral agreement between South Africa and Lesotho, which is still in force, allows South African employers to recruit temporary labour in Lesotho on legal contract (Crush & Tshitereke, 2001), including farmers. As a result of the treaty, Agrilabour, Lesotho's recruiting agency, recruits approximately 2,000 Basotho each year to work for asparagus and potato farmers (Ulicki & Crush, 2010). In addition to international migrants, there is growing internal migration in South Africa. The country's historical background of migration is indicative of how the dynamics of cross-border migration are closely interrelated with internal migration within the country.

The discovery of diamonds in Kimberley and in the Witwatersrand created huge demand for unskilled labour in both towns. By 1896 the South African Chamber of Mines Rand Labour Association was recruiting heavily, both locally and from countries such as Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Mozambique, Malawi and Zambia. Between 1880 and 1899 there was a rise from 1,400 to 97,000 migrant workers, of whom 60 percent were Mozambicans (Trimikliniotis et al., 2009: 97). Between 1920 and 1990 almost every country in the SADC region had at one time or another sent migrants to the South African mines (Wentzel & Tibela) with 80 percent of the mine workers being migrants (Jeeves & Crush, 1995). I now turn to discussion of the legislative framework wherein Crush and his colleagues (2005) argue that the movement of international migrants into South Africa has been made easier by flexible and liberal policies towards migrants and asylum seekers since the collapse of apartheid in South Africa.

2.5.2 Legislative framework

The principal conventions that govern international refugee matters are the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, and the 1967 Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees. These instruments mark a shift in attitudes and approaches that seek to

protect refugees and asylum seekers. The Convention sets out the rights of refugees and the standard for their treatment in countries that host them. Its definition of a refugee is:

Any person who, owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his or her nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself or herself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.
(p.2)

Following the 1967 Protocol, African states adopted the 1969 Organisation for African Unity Convention Governing Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa. This instrument expanded the definition of refugee as provided in the earlier Protocol to include contemporary reasons for flight, as a result of internal conflict, human rights abuses, war, and many others. In addition to the 1951 Convention's definition of refugee, the OAU added that the term refugee shall also apply to:

Every person who, owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination, events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his country of origin or nationality, is compelled to leave his place of habitual residence in order to seek refuge in another place outside his country of origin or nationality.

Like the 1951 UN Convention, the OAU Convention obliged states to refrain from forcefully returning a refugee to a state where he/she is likely to suffer persecution or that will compromise his/her life or freedom. By ratifying the Convention, South Africa is obliged to comply with the provisions of protecting refugees according to the stipulated standards of treatment specified in the international law document.

According to Crush (2008), before democracy, immigration policy in South Africa was used as a weapon of racial control with any immigrant required to integrate into the minority population. South Africa did not officially recognise refugees and asylum seekers and,

before the demise of apartheid, had no legislation to protect of refugees (Khan 2007). Those who would otherwise have qualified for refugee status under international provisions were treated as illegal or undocumented migrants under the then Alien Control Act (1991). In 1993 the UNCHR and the Department of Home Affairs signed a Passport Control Instruction that allowed for the processing of political asylum applications based on the Alien Control Act 96 of 1991 (amended in 1995) (Hanmaker et al., 2001). According to the original Act, an individual could be prosecuted if he/she entered the country illegally. Thus the Act was incompatible with international refugee law, which stipulated that individuals cannot be persecuted for entering any country illegally, as long as they report to the Refugee Reception Office within the stipulated time for the purpose of applying for asylum (Bernstein, 1998). Thus critics argued that there was need for major legislative reforms and change.

Soon after the formation of the Government of National Unity in 1994, the migration debate, which led to the Green Paper on international migration, suggested ways of regulating the flow of people from neighbouring countries, which Bernstein (1998) argued would be impossible for the South African government to implement, given the amount of resources it required. After numerous controversies surrounding refugee and asylum seekers, the 1998 Refugee Policy (Act 130) was put in place. Backed by the Constitution (1996), the South African Refugee Act (of 1998) stipulates the application of the definitions of refugee as contained the 1951 Convention and the 1967 Protocol. Grounded in the Constitution, the Refugees Act (Act 130 of 1998) promotes self-settlement and self-sufficiency for asylum seekers and refugees; in other words, they are allowed to seek employment and live within communities, among other rights such as access to public healthcare and education services. Refugees, just like any other immigrants entering the country, have the 'freedom' to find their way around the country or settle within the refugee centres established by government or Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs). Since the asylum seekers permit acknowledges that an application has been lodged for refugee status, there is no clarity and official presentation of the rights that the holders of these permits have in comparison to refugee status holders. For example, although the permit allows one to work, it is not clear if it allows one to study, have a bank account and access

other services considered necessary, especially in a self-settling environment (see letter to a newspaper by a migrant later in this section). Thus, there needs to be an understanding that the two documents, an asylum seekers' permit (often referred to as the Section 22 Permit) and a refugee permit (the Section 24 Permit), although they allow their holder to live in the country, confer different privileges.

The Refugees Act was followed by the Immigration Act (2000), which allows permits for skilled migrants, students and tourists as well as different categories of permanent and temporary migrants. As of 2009, countries around South Africa came to a bi-lateral agreement allowing citizens of these countries a free visa to enter South Africa for short periods of time, although not for work purposes. Despite its obligation to uphold the rights of asylum seekers, refugees and other migrants, the Immigration Act 13 of 2002 criminalises undocumented migrants (asylum seekers), making it possible to arrest, detain and deport illegal migrants. Outside voting and standing for political office, refugees are afforded the same rights as local citizens, such as access to social services (e.g. healthcare and basic education; accessing higher education, seeking employment and full legal protection in the Bill of Rights). Adapted from Perpedy et al. (2004), Table 2.2 summarises the privileges of each type of legalised stay in the country.

Table 2.2: Rights and entitlements of citizens and migrants in South Africa (Perpedy et al., 2004:8)

Rights/services	Citizen*: Born in South Africa, or to South African parents, or acquired citizenship under the SA Citizenship Act	Permanent resident: Indicates intention to remain permanently in South Africa. Permits acquired prior to, or after	Temporary resident: Status/permit for specific purpose of entry and for specified time period under immigration legislation. Permits may be renewed. Reasons for temporary permit issue: Visitor Work Business Study Medical Transit Crew Family reunification	Refugee: Permits issued under SA Refugee Act, 1998 (effective 2000). Must meet 1951 UN Convention and/or 1967 OAU Convention definitions of refugees.	Asylum seeker: Permits issued to people who have applied for refugee status and are awaiting decisions on their applications by the Dept. of Home Affairs. Decisions can take over 2 years.	Irregular migrant: (undocumented, illegal) People who have entered South Africa without documents, or whose permits have expired, or who have broken the terms of their permits
Vote	Y	N	N	N	N	N
State social security	Y	Y	N	Y – some only	Y – some only	N
State housing subsidy	Y	N	N	N	N	N
State health services	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N**
State education services	Y	Y	N	Y	Y - until December 2002	N***
Employment	Y	Y	Y – if permit allows	Y	Y – since December 2002	N
Private health, education,	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Police protection	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
sports centres, buses,	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N – if ID required to register
Banks	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N

* Citizens with dual nationality (or citizenship of two countries) have the same rights as all South African citizens, but cannot vote in both countries, and should travel on their South African passport.

** Doctors and hospitals should not turn away anyone whose life is in danger.

*** Under the Constitution, every child has the right to an education; however, learners are required to hold study permits, so effectively most irregular migrant children are excluded from the school system.

Table 2.2 points to the gaps within a policy that promotes the self-settling and self-sufficiency of asylum seekers. Therefore, the presence of legislative instruments does not suggest that asylum seekers and refugees have had an easier time in South Africa. In the same vein, incidents of xenophobia discussed earlier in the Chapter remind us of Wentzel and Tlabela's (2006) view that, while South Africa is a signatory of both universal and regional instruments and later adopted its own policies, the lives of refugees and asylum seekers in South Africa remain constrained. In the South African context there remains a blurry line between the definition of asylum seekers and undocumented migrants as most of them are economic migrants who often are with or without documentation at given times. In 2014, Business Day Live published a letter from a migrant which depicts some of the challenges migrants experience in making their way through society:

...having arrived as a refugee in South Africa about three years ago. I still hold a temporary asylum document, which I renew every six months. This document legalises my stay in South Africa. It also provides that, as an asylum seeker, I am entitled to study and work in South Africa. Sadly, this entitlement ends on the document itself. On the ground, it is a different story.

First, through this legal document I have found it impossible to send or receive money anywhere in South Africa through the less costly Shoprite or Pick n Pay services. Neither of the companies accepts asylum papers as proof of identity, although all legal details are there. They always demand a valid South African ID before assisting.

Second, none of the South African banks accepts asylum papers for the opening of a bank account. This means that, although the government has accepted me as a legal resident and thus allowed me to work, I cannot enjoy this right as I do not have one of the basic necessities — a bank account, through which I may receive pay.

It is high time the private institutions respected such rights as the South African government has already done..... (Business Day Live, 2014).

In the same year, the UNHCR acknowledged that migrants are not always able to enjoy some rights, because some public institutions do not recognise their permits (UNHCR,

2014). Khan (2007) wrote that despite these policies, refugees still face huge obstacles in converting their legal rights into effective protection. According to Peberdy et al. (2004) some of the hostility towards non-nationals may, to a certain degree, reflect the difficult situation that faces many South Africans; however, the authors suggest that migrants may experience these difficult situations in different ways. Therefore, some interventions and solutions may need to take cognisance of the specificity of migrants' situations. Landau and Duponchel (2011) caution that receiving "refugee status" is not a good indicator of one's real experience; hence the need to have refugee-centred social services that are based on potential obstacles to self-reliance and social integration.

A study by Rugunanan and Smith (2011) on the challenges facing Burundian and Congolese refugees living in Pretoria found that accessing services was one of their greatest challenges, in addition to the inability to find employment due to lack of identity documents. This is despite the fact that both refugee permit holders and asylum seekers' permit holders are allowed to seek employment in the country. The authenticity of this policy is not clear because section 22 of the Refugees Act (1998) allows asylum seekers without refugee documentation to stay in South Africa; however, until their refugee status has been determined, they do not have a right to work or study (Dalton-Greyling, 2008). Gordon (2010) further argued that the new immigration policies were characterised by ambiguity and inconsistencies.

Refugee youths are also incorporated in the country's Youth Policy (2009-2014), which guides the approach to youth development and is based on principles of justice, human rights and empowerment, among others. Wellbeing and education are key intervention areas. However, again the policy only makes reference to *refugees*, and this refers to a person who has been granted official refugee status and protection under section 24 of the Refugee Act of 1998, which defines a refugee in accordance to the 1951 United Nations Convention (Department of Home Affairs, 2015). In essence, this does not include asylum seekers' permit holders, many of whom are economic migrants rather than asylum seekers by the Convention's definition. Such disparities and lack of clarity in policy indicate some of the challenges faced by the government in addressing the continued growth of immigration in the country. However, because migrants (both internal and international) constitute a relatively significant and sustained part of the

population, any development policies for the city need to account for migrants and migration (Peberdy et al., 2004). Thus of late, the government has been active in addressing some of these gaps in an inclusive and orderly way. In an effort to manage many undocumented migrants and asylum seekers in the country, in February 2016 the Department of Home Affairs introduced the Lesotho Dispensation Programme, where Lesotho nationals could apply for work visas with limited restrictions. Prior to that, the Department employed this project for Zimbabwean migrants discussed in the following section as an example of government efforts in dealing with irregular migration.

2.5.2.1 Dispensation of Zimbabweans Project

As the high number of undocumented migrants in the country became apparent, as a result of economic crisis in Zimbabwe, the South African government put in place the Dispensation of Zimbabweans Project (DZP), implemented in April 2009. It was intended as an amnesty to Zimbabweans who had been using fraudulent South African identity documents and was implemented by the Department of Home Affairs in order to regularise the stay of undocumented Zimbabweans. It offered them free four-year work and study permits with relaxed requirements, such as submitting applications without fingerprints and issuing the permits free of charge (Scalabrini, 2014; Amit, 2011). According to the Department of Home Affairs (2015), the aim of the DZP was to create a record of Zimbabweans who had, until then, been living illegally in South Africa. Applicants were required to produce a valid passport and a letter from an employer or a schooling institution in South Africa. In addition to regularising illegal Zimbabwean migrants in the country, the other objectives were to:

- ❖ Reduce the deportation of illegal Zimbabweans
- ❖ Reduce pressure on the asylum seeker and refugee process
- ❖ Provide amnesty to Zimbabweans who had obtained South African documents fraudulently.

Despite the projects put in place by the South African Department of Home Affairs, the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr. Malusi Gigaba, acknowledged the continued challenge of economic migrants in South Africa, as no other avenue is available to recognise or

regularise their stay in the country, as such economic migrants apply for asylum in order to regularise their stay (Gigaba, 2016). In order to lessen the burden of asylum applications, on 24 June 2016 the department released the 2016 Green Paper on International Migration for public consultation. While the special dispensations provide an opportunity for Zimbabwean (and recently, Lesotho) nationals to regularise their stay in South Africa, the Green Paper proposes that the current international migration policy must be replaced so that it enables South Africa to adequately embrace global opportunities while also safeguarding the country's sovereignty, public safety and national security. As such, although the Green Paper proposes to address the gaps of previous migration instruments (such as the 1999 White Paper, which was limited to compliance rather than managing international migration), from a human development perspective, there are still gaps in the Green Paper. Similar to previous legislation such as the Youth Development Policy, the Green Paper focuses on the formalities, that is, the officially-recognised refugees. As such, many marginalised migrant youth, including some of the participants in this study, remain excluded. Therefore, the same question remains as to what happens to those individuals who fall through the cracks, who all are potential contributors to the development of the country.

2.5.2.2 Zimbabwean economic migrants in Johannesburg

A detailed focus on Zimbabwean migrants is important because the initiative to regularise undocumented migrants was targeted at Zimbabweans. Secondly, although it was not the study's intention to focus on Zimbabwean migrants, all participants who volunteered to be interviewed were from Zimbabwe (see section 5.2).

As Perpedy and colleagues (2004) suggest, Johannesburg, with its concentration of wealth and production, is a city that has always attracted migrants from inside and outside South Africa. Thousands of African migrants continue to seek refuge in South Africa, especially in Johannesburg. Of these migrants, the number of Zimbabwean migrants has been fast increasing, especially since the early 2000s as a result of Zimbabwe's political violence and economic crisis (Lubbe, 2008; Kriger & George, 2006). Inflation in Zimbabwe saw the country's' currency inflate by 2200 percent by March 2007 (Makochekanwa, 2007). According to Hanke and Kwok (2009:354),

hyperinflation in Zimbabwe peaked at 79, 6 billion percent in mid-November 2008. Thousands of Zimbabweans fled to neighbouring South Africa (Hanke and Kwok, 2009).



Picture 2.2: Examples of the inflated Zimbabwean dollar; ZW\$100 billion purchased three eggs

Source: *Globalization and Monetary Policy Institute Annual Report (2011)*

Economic and political instability compromised education service delivery, as there was a lack of basic financial (affordability) and human (qualified teachers) resources to keep schools functioning. This is in line with Mawadza's (2008) assertion that the education sector in Zimbabwe suffered shortages of learning materials, teaching staff, and inadequate basic infrastructure. According to Dekker (2009), almost all rural schools remained closed in 2009 as a result of these challenges, with some teachers refusing to report for duty as their salaries became eroded by inflation. Although this crisis affected various social and age groups in the country, Chirisa and Muchini (2011) point out that youth were the most affected, leading to young people fleeing to different parts of the world, with thousands migrating to neighbouring South Africa. In 2009, UNICEF reported an influx of unaccompanied minors into South Africa creating a humanitarian emergency. The report indicated that over 800 unaccompanied minors from Zimbabwe

were being helped at various drop-in centres in Johannesburg (UNICEF, 2009:1). I take this discussion further in the next section where I discuss the links between migration, aspirations and education.

2.6 Migration, aspirations and education

As I have presented in the previous section, migration into South Africa has intensified over the last years. Chapter One also highlighted that among those that migrate are many youth, some of whom reach youth age while they are already in South Africa (see Table 5.1 in section 5.2). Thus, it is important to assess where aspirations and education fit into this process of development among youth, particularly in the South-to-South context where little has been written on migrant educational aspirations using the human development lens. I also argued in Chapter One that the importance of HE and a focus on educational aspirations in this thesis is because higher education is important for both intrinsic and instrumental development of an individual and equips one for multiple futures. However, there is a need to understand current structures and systems within HEIs and how these may influence marginalised migrant youths' educational aspirations.

The continuous restructuring of education to focus more on the economic aspects such as employability and creation of wealth, as suggested by Arshad-Ayaz (2008), has shifted the values of higher education towards a neoliberal capitalist political economy, with the language of globalisation emphasising concepts such as "outputs" and "outcomes" (Banya, 2008:231). This has led to knowledge becoming a commodity that moves between countries, and the growth of the knowledge-based economy has led not only to brain drain in developing countries, but to a number of government and higher education institutions strategically aligning their policies to link knowledge to global competitiveness (Naidoo, 2011). This impact on education policies, structure, and practice suggest two possible scenarios that may influence the educational aspirations of migrant youth (Arshad-Ayaz, 2008). Firstly, the rising demand for higher education in developing countries and the limited resources available to government (Naidoo, 2011) may lead to unaffordability of higher education. Secondly, it impedes on the intrinsic purpose of higher education, which Nussbaum (2011), Walker (2010) and Sen (1999) argue is

important for personal development and contribution to individual and collective values, rather than economic development. However, while economic attention of education can potentially impede on the intrinsic purpose of HE, such focus on education can possibly encourage HE aspirations among disadvantaged groups with the hope of gaining better economic opportunities in the future. Across the world, a number of migrants who find themselves in challenging situations shared their thoughts about the unavailability of higher education opportunities. This includes Tibetan refugees in India, despite comparatively good practices in their refugee policies (Corrigan, 2005). Similar to many countries in the world, Liberian refugees in Ghana are faced with a burden of unaffordable fees. In Tanzania, the Rwandan Hutus have uncertain opportunities to access higher education (Malkki, 1995). Many more refugees are in similar predicaments of little opportunity to access higher education (HE) (see Kirk, 2009, Barakat, 2008).

Thus, in the South African context, in addition to the everyday social challenges that marginalise migrant youths, they may still have to meet the requirements of HEIs (e.g. proof of availability of funds) in order to realise their educational aspirations. In the next section, I explore literature on educational aspirations among marginalised migrant youth.

2.6.1 Literature on educational aspirations

Johnson et al. (2009) found that there were different situations that influence one's educational aspirations. Firstly, different individuals have different things that they prefer which shape their ambitions (ibid.). The authors add that the willingness to make an effort by the individuals and their overall motivation are key factors in deciding progression options. Even in cases where families support high aspirations in general, they may be unable to support the decision-making process due to lack of knowledge (Johnson et al., 2009). In Marar's (2011) study of Palestinian refugees in Jordan, finances emerged as one of the major factors that constrain the pursuit of educational aspirations. Thus, often individuals from less economically advantaged families are discouraged from further academic progression due to the costs involved. Some studies have found this to be particularly the case among young migrants who might have familial obligations, hence need to find work in order to support their families

financially (Kiche, 2010; Collins, 2007). Another factor applicable to migrants is confidence levels, whereby some young people may lack confidence in their abilities as a result of past traumatic experiences or difficulty adapting to their new life conditions (Stevenson & Willot, 2007). Generally, young peoples' aspirations are influenced by their environments and those around them. In his 2004 study, Kniveton writes about the influence of parents on their children's career aspirations through relating to their own experiences. Kniveton also found an influence of gender-biased socialisation, where many of the participants indicated that their parents often gave advice in a gender-stereotyped manner. For example, girls were advised to pursue careers such as nursing or clerical positions, whereas boys were advised to take up careers regarded as masculine such as becoming a doctor or a police officer (Kniveton, 2004). However, in an earlier study, Otto (2000) found that parents were regarded by most young people as the only source of career-related information.

There is a considerable amount of international literature on migrants' educational aspirations. In Peru, Dercon and Krishnan (2009) explored the relationship between poverty and educational aspirations of young people and found a strong and positive correlation between material circumstances and educational aspirations. In the same country, a study on aspirations failure on indigenous young people found that the gap between their aspirations and their present socio-economic status was too large and had a 'disincentive effect on forward looking behaviour' (Risso Brandon and Pasquier-Doumer, 2013:2). This is in line with Hart's (2009) assertion that some aspirations require fulfilment of one aspiration before the realisation of another, and that each person experiences different degrees of agency in determining and fulfilling their aspirations. These are the same sentiments as expressed by Ray (2006), who acknowledges that the concept of aspirations itself may be inherently multidimensional. For example, according to Watts and Bridges (2006) students who choose not to go on to higher education do not necessarily have low aspirations; they may simply be different. For instance, marginalised young migrants may not aspire to get a degree or diploma, but rather to provide for themselves, as the immediate challenges to attending university lie in financial and socio-economic resources (Watts & Bridges, 2006). This may be accompanied by the reality of having to forego educational aspirations to do jobs that can bring in an income.

In the United Kingdom, Dryden-Peterson (2011) and Stevenson and Willot (2007) document that migrant youths are committed to and prioritise education. Despite this commitment, Stevenson and Willot (2007) found that the continued failure to focus on young migrants as a specific widening participation group will perpetuate their continued absence from education, a challenge that is applicable to most migrants worldwide. A UNICEF study by Brownlees and Finch (2010) revealed that migrants' priorities were to be in and stay in education, very often aiming to reach university. Applicable to the South African context, it was found by the Refugee Support Network (2012) that in the UK, access to higher education for migrant youths was still a battle, due to difficulties such as lack of tuition fees and inadequate, inaccessible, inaccurate advice, as well as limited English Language ability. A study by Kiche (2010) on the educational and occupational aspirations of Sudanese refugee youths in an American public high school found that refugee youths had high educational and occupational aspirations, with all of them aspiring to obtain a college degree and some intending to go into professions such as medicine, law, dentistry and engineering. The reason for the choice of most of these professions was so that the migrant youths could have secure jobs that would lead to a better life in the future (Kiche, 2011).

In Canada, research showed that migrant youth had high educational aspirations despite the challenges they faced. The absence of parents and family members led to a lack of emotional, social and financial support necessary for education, as well as other conditions for a successful academic life. Similar findings emerged in Kiche's (2010) study where she reported that for Sudanese refugees, educational and occupational aspirations were formed when students have strong social support from parents, guardians, significant others, teachers, peers and their community (Kiche, 2010). As is the case with many migrants, Collins (2007) also found that the need to study and work concurrently made it difficult to cope, particularly because the youths had to learn a second language that they had not learnt in their countries of origin. Furthermore, the need to balance two different cultures conflicted with some life decisions regarding career paths and lifestyle choices. Finally, survivor guilt led to youth dropping out of school in order to work and send money to family members in their home countries, thus sacrificing their own advancement in order to help others. Further international

studies have been done on refugees (Hek, 2005; Doyle and McCorriston, 2008) and have found that even where high levels of educational aspirations exist, refugees experience similar challenges such as language and financial constraints. In the next section, I review South African literature related to migrants' educational aspirations.

2.6.2 National literature

In South Africa, a number of studies on migration have looked at experiences of schooling, social integration experiences, identity, and inclusion in host communities (see Steinberg, 2015; Vandeyar & Vandeyar, 2012, 2011; Crush & Tawodzera, 2011; Palmay & Landau, 2011; Vandeyar, 2010; Greenburg & Polzer, 2008; Landau, 2006), but very few have looked at educational aspirations. This further highlights the gap in education and migration research in South Africa. Of the few studies closest to this PhD study is by Perumal (2015), who conducted a study with refugee children attending the Refugee Bridging Programme at a college in Johannesburg. One of the interview questions asked migrants about their short- and long-term academic plans and career aspirations. Many of the children aspired to professional careers connected to their experiences so that they could address the challenges that they or their families and friends had experienced. For example, Perumal reports that a participant who witnessed his family destroyed by war wanted to be a lawyer so that he could fight against inhumanity. She also found that the children valued being accepted, recognized and treated with respect and dignity more than where they lived (Perumal, 2015). Resonating with this study is Perumal's assertion that dealing with marginalised individuals and groups should go beyond the 'rights' language; otherwise we limit ourselves to a confinement of rights and miss the notion of broader development that is outside rights. For example, a discussion on the right to education, legally speaking, would focus on the universal right of access to basic education; yet the attainment of education is only a part of the process of development, which needs to be succeeded by access to higher education (high school and university). Access to these institutions (as a right) would mean that individuals have expanded developmental opportunities. This does not mean the language of rights is not important in development discussions, but rather means it would be beneficial if it is discussed together with other approaches.

Thus, in this study I use the capabilities approach (CA) discussed in detail in the next Chapter.

2.7 Conclusion

The purpose of this Chapter was to provide a background of the experiences of migrant youth in an effort to contextualise the environment in which educational aspirations may be formed or re-imagined. I also set out the broader national policy context of South-to-South migration. In view of the literature discussed above, it is clear that a significant number of studies have documented the lives and experiences of migrants. However, very few of these studies have focused on educational aspirations of migrant youth, particularly in the South African context, and thus the relevance of this research is to fill this existing gap. The discussion of how migration is understood in terms of globalisation and development provides a new way of thinking about how traditional theoretical perspectives may be understood from a human development perspective. In the next Chapter, I discuss the theoretical grounding of this study.

Chapter Three: The capability approach

3.1 Introduction

Chapter Two provided the context of migration and a brief discussion of some of the experiences associated with it. This Chapter discusses the theoretical underpinning of the thesis. Although many studies have examined and explained the growth and stratified nature of migration using a variety of theories and frameworks (Crush & Frayne, 2010), some researchers have bemoaned the absence of a comprehensive approach (e.g. De Haas, 2007). The absence of such an approach may be attributed to the difficulty of separating the phenomenon of migration from socio-economic and political processes. In favour of a human development-focused framework, this study draws on the capability approach (CA) in an attempt to address the complex and diverse nature of migration. Building on work discussed in Chapter Two, this section establishes a basis for the assessment and analysis of the lives lived by migrant youth and how these experiences influence their educational aspirations. The work of Amartya Sen (1980; 1992; 1999; 2009), who pioneered the CA, is pivotal in this study in that it shifts the traditional focus on migration from being monetary-related towards understanding that the quality of life enjoyed by migrants is not only about their achievements, but the *freedoms* (capabilities) available to them to pursue and achieve lives that they value. This is the locus that distinguishes the CA from other ethical evaluation approaches whose focus on wellbeing is often based on the means to achieve a good life.

I start this Chapter by showing why the CA is important for the work on migration and development. This is followed by a presentation of CA's key constructs relevant for this study. I then turn to a discussion of aspiration and show why it is important to understand aspirations from a CA viewpoint. This is followed by a discussion of freedoms, specifically dwelling on Sen's five instrumental freedoms (also used in the analysis of migrant opportunities and freedoms in Chapter Eight). Finally, I discuss the interconnections between CA and migration and show how the two relate to each other.

3.2 Why the capabilities approach?

In Chapter Two, I discussed traditional theories on migration. In relation to development, the four common approaches to development do not incorporate complex features of migration, as I show here. The *participatory approach to development* is accompanied by conflicting interest groups within beneficiary communities. This, according to Botes and Van Rensburg (2000) is because some interests are accommodated only at the expense of others. As such, this domination by some limits the individual freedoms and autonomy of others to make genuine choices and contributions. The *basic needs approach* is deemed limited in expanding individual freedoms and agency (Reader, 2006) as it emphasises material needs. The approach therefore fails to capture issues of individual freedom and the opportunity to live a life that one has reason to value, which is highlighted by the CA. Although the *human-centred approach* highlights the importance of freedom and agency, this approach does not sufficiently interrogate other concepts such as diversity and influences of external environments (e.g. social, economic), which are critical concepts when addressing marginalisation. Finally, the *human scale development approach* is based on a view that human beings are driven by a limitless craving for diverse needs such as material possessions, creativity, relations and leisure (Max-Neef, 1991). Although the approach is powerful in identifying human needs, it does not take into account the required capabilities to satisfy these needs. Additionally, the view held by this approach that human needs are constant and finite fails to capture the influence of different contexts and environments on each individual's needs.

Working with Sen, Mahbub ul Haq initiated the idea of focusing on money and markets as means rather than an end in an effort to approach development from a *human development perspective* (Fukuda-Parr, 2003). As a result, the CA is used as a theoretical and conceptual base for the broader human development approach (Conradie, 2013). In operationalising the CA, the role of money and economic growth is not disregarded, but rather viewed as instrumental to human development and not the ultimate achievements in and of themselves. We live in a world of deprivation, vulnerability and marginalisation, evidenced by poverty, hunger, environmental degradation and migration, and so addressing these difficulties becomes an essential part of the practice

of human development. The role of freedom(s) in countering these challenges therefore becomes central. Philosopher Martha Nussbaum has made substantial contributions to the CA. She provides an explicit account of the ten most basic entitlements⁷ that she argues should be the goal of public policy (Nussbaum, 2000). This list aims to be a 'partial' theory of justice and Nussbaum (2011) proposes this list to provide a threshold as to what is a dignified life, central to human development. Nussbaum (2016) further highlights that the list creates a space in which people can aspire, and is in itself aspirational as the process of constitution begins in both hope and fear. This is because as people reflect on bad things past, they also aspire toward a good and secure state.

Although Sen (2005) and Nussbaum (2011) concur that human rights and capabilities are intertwined, Nussbaum offers a different viewpoint. Nussbaum (2011) argues that her list offers a formulation of the social goal of getting citizens above the capability threshold (Nussbaum, 2011; 2000). Sen is of the view that through public reasoning, it is possible to agree on capabilities and universal rights even when individual or group values diverge across borders of nationality and community. He writes:

The viability and universality of human rights and of an acceptable specification of capabilities are dependent on their ability to survive open critical scrutiny in public reasoning (Sen, 2005: 163)

In addition to his view on public deliberation and rights, Sen maintains the approach of public deliberation in thinking about issues of social justice (Sen, 2009). For Nussbaum (2000; 2011), the idea of entitlement is the core of an account of minimal social justice and enunciates political principles that can be used as the basis for constructing a set of essential constitutional elements of the system. Both Sen's and Nussbaum's viewpoints contribute to looking at the lives of marginalised migrant youth, as they can help us understand migrants' experiences from a human rights perspective as well as a public deliberation angle.

⁷Life; bodily health; bodily integrity; senses, imagination and thought; emotions; practical reason; affiliation; other species; play; and control over one's environment.

Sen's (1992) question of 'equality of what?' challenges the idea of thinking about social justice as the equal distribution of resources. Thus, as Lopez-Fogues (2014) suggests, the CA allows us to think about core ethical and egalitarian questions that underlie the different contexts and individual choice, although it is not a complete theory of justice. Rather than being equal only in terms of possessions, individuals should be equally free to pursue what they have reason to value. Through public deliberation, the question of 'equality of what?' allows us to engage and decide on the type of equality and freedoms that we want to pursue in society. For example, in migrant conditions, the ability to engage in dialogue would be a way of upholding several rights (such as voice and participation) in determining what is valuable to migrants and whether education is among these valued items. Unless the capability for voice and participation are upheld, this group is deprived of its rights, resulting in their marginalisation. In *The Idea of Justice*, Sen (2009) refers to the degree to which diverse voices from various backgrounds are in fact heard and, in addition to public deliberation, invites us to consider social arrangements on a global scale. Hence, the question of justice, for Sen (2009) remains open-ended and incorporates a number of dimensions for consideration, informed by the practical realities of individuals. This openness provides a broader analytical space. CA constructs are discussed in the following section. For this study, the approach will be used to explore how concepts such as agency and conversion factors operate within migrants' lives.

3.3 Key constructs of the CA used in this study

3.3.1 Wellbeing

The CA allows for assessment of individual wellbeing in terms of opportunities and freedom that individuals have to achieve what they value being and doing; how well a migrant is doing is determined by the kind of life he/she is living. For example, for an employed migrant youth, his/her income position will influence the life that he/she lives and if he/she is able to achieve that which he/she values and the status of his/her aspirational maps. Similarly, the position of an unemployed migrant youth will determine the kind of life he/she is living, including whether or not he/she is succeeding in doing and being what he/she values. As a result, Gasper and Truong (2010) insist on referring to objective wellbeing; that is, socially-approved criteria or

essentially important capabilities and functionings, not only the subjective wellbeing or state of mind. Cheerful migrants may not necessarily be happy overall; one should still investigate the 'level of happiness' despite their circumstances (Gasper & Truong, 2010:340). Therefore, previous approaches to migration, which have long made reference to remittances as development and as a unit of happiness, were limited in terms of capturing multi-dimensional aspects of wellbeing: that is, the real experiences of migrants and what they valued in their lives.

While a number of researchers have expanded the dimensions of wellbeing in different fields (Wilson-Strydom & Walker, 2015; Bell et al., 2012; Dolan et al., 2011; Smith & Clay, 2010), this has been lacking in migration studies. The World Migration Report (2013:24), indicated that only a few studies have considered the wellbeing of migrants, and these have focused only on happiness, overlooking other dimensions such as quality of life, individual experiences, feelings, education, and values.

The United Nations Millennium Declaration, drawn up in September 2000, emphasises that the wellbeing of an individual ought to be the key purpose of development. With the UN Millennium Declaration's principles based on the human development approach, this means that wellbeing should be approached from different dimensions that impact on an individual's life. This is also shown in Robeyn's (2011; 2003) work, where she suggests that we look at the CA in view that freedom to achieve wellbeing is to be understood in terms of people's real opportunities (freedoms). Such opportunities allow individuals to carry out the activities they want to engage in and to 'be whom they want to be' (Robeyns, 2003:7). Correspondingly, Wilson-Strydom & Walker (2015) highlight the need to understand wellbeing as human potentials and achieved functionings, and recommend that in doing so, we ask whether one has genuine opportunities to choose to do and be what he/she values. There is therefore a need to look at how migration affects the different dimensions of a person's quality of life and wellbeing.

3.3.2 Capabilities and functionings

The central notion of the CA is the evaluation of achievements (functionings) and freedoms (capabilities) that individuals have to do that which they have reason to value (Sen, 1999). Individual capability sets influence what one is capable of being and doing (Dubois and Trani, 2009). These opportunities can be assessed by focusing on the functionings that an individual is able to achieve. The individual functionings provide a window into their achieved wellbeing (Wilson-Strydom & Walker, 2015). In the context of this study, an examination of migrant youth's capabilities and functionings will be associated with what they are able to do and be based on the opportunities available to them. It will, however, be considered that although some functionings may be unachievable as a result of different influences (conversion factors), this does not mean that they are not valued by the migrant youth aspiring to them.

3.3.3 Conversion factors

In addressing the difference between means (resources) and ends (functionings), the CA considers the processes that influence the conversion of one into the other (Sen, 1999). Resources influence the substantive freedoms a person enjoys to live the life he/she values (Sen, 1999) and unequal access to or ability to use these resources leads to inequalities in capabilities (Robeyns, 2003). These resources not only include material, but also various human resources such as skills and social resources (Kabeer, 1999).

In relation to this study, it is important to consider that not everyone can convert resources into valued functionings the same way. For example for a migrant youth to access education, factors such as documentation, finances, grades and language come into play. Neither does availability of all these resources necessarily result in a similar functioning being achieved. This is as a result of other influencing conditions such as environment, social connections, agency and other individual differences. Robeyns (2005:99) groups these various conditions into three types of conversion factors: personal (e.g. gender, age, and sex), environmental (e.g. physical environment and geographical location), and social (e.g. policies, norms, class and race). Sen (1992) provides an illustration to better understand the conversion of resources from

individual to individual. We may be interested in a bicycle not because of its colour and shape, but because it can swiftly take us to places we want to go. However, two individuals may/ may not lack the capability to utilise the bicycle, due to their ability/inability to ride it. Thus, the bicycle may not provide the same function in enhancing mobility for the two individuals. It may be effective for the individual who has been taught how to ride it, and ineffective for the one who does not know how to ride it (Sen, 1992:160).

Adapting this example to migrant situations, two migrant youths may have the same opportunity to attend an English medium university with an all-expenses paid scholarship. This opportunity is effective to the migrant who has been learning in English, and not so effective to the Francophone migrant, although he may also have educational aspirations. Thus, the CA provides an assessment that applies to interpersonal variations in the conversion of available resources into functionings. In doing so, it acknowledges human diversity (Sen, 1992) as an important factor not addressed by mainstream migration approaches. In acknowledging human diversity, it is important to focus on personal and socio-environmental conversion factors and the possibility of converting resources into functionings, taking into consideration that each individual has a unique profile of conversion factors (Robeyns, 2011). By applying social and environmental conversion factors, one is able to account for a number of societal influences such as cultural influences on development, individual experiences and aspirations. In a similar vein, Sen (2009) acknowledges the influence of social arrangements on capabilities, which is also reflected in Stern and Seifert's (2013) argument that people's capabilities are influenced by social ecology. In this study, I apply this by focusing on migrants' previous personal, social and environmental profiles together with their current profiles and how these influence their long-term aspirations.

3.3.4 Agency

When seeking to understand how well a person's life is going or to what extent a person is flourishing, we need to ask about both wellbeing and agency (Wilson-Strydom & Walker, 2015). Sen (1992; 1999) highlights the concept of agency as fundamentally

important, where agency is seen as the freedom to bring about one's valued achievements. He defines an agent as:

Someone who acts and brings about change, and whose achievements can be judged in terms of her own values and objectives, whether or not we assess them in terms of some external criteria as well (Sen, 1999:19)

In many contexts, including migration, agency may also be understood as the ability to establish command over resources (Fargues & Bofanti, 2014). Appadurai (1996) notes that moving to and living in a new environment has important consequences, because as agents of their own lives, individuals retain and develop new agencies in new environments that are related to their imaginations, thoughts and ability to aspire. This formation of new agencies is important in understanding how diverse individuals regroup themselves in a deterritorialised space and how they reconstruct their past. Consequently, closer attention to agency shows that agency involves the setting and realisation of goals as well as what one values and has reason to pursue, whether or not these goals and values are directly related to the individuals' own wellbeing (Burchardt, 2005). This is in consideration of the new environment one is operating in/from.

In essence, what an individual decides to do (or not do) does not necessarily have to make him/her realise what he values for himself/herself (individual wellbeing), but has to be reflected upon. The outcome of the action may benefit either family or community. In his explanation of agency, Bandura (1999) demonstrates that the focus of the action is concentrated on formulating strategic choices. For example, a migrant may decide to forgo or delay pursuit of educational aspirations in order to earn an income to support his/her family. Such a migrant would have strategically put his/her own wellbeing secondary and focused on others'. As a result, agency is important because it helps us to understand whether the principal source of differences in wellbeing is a result of individual agency, unequal abilities to convert goods into capabilities, or unequal access to resources (Fargues & Bofanti, 2014). While understanding this aspect of agency, it is important to remember that agency cannot be perceived in isolation, as it is constrained by social, economic, personal and other conversion factors discussed earlier. Negative influences of these conversion factors may lead to limited freedom for one to exercise

his/her agency. It is fundamental that these influences are considered when analysing agency. As such, questions of agency and conversion factors will be used as a yardstick to measure the freedoms that migrant youth have, and are an example of the openness of the CA. These questions/constructs will be of use in evaluating what freedoms migrant youth have to pursue their aspirations.

3.4 Aspirations

A number of authors have defined aspirations (DeJaeghere, 2016; Nussbaum; 2016; Conradie & Robeyns, 2013; Hart, 2013; Ray, 2006; Appadurai, 2004). I adopt Appadurai's definition, which is that aspirations have to do with wants, preferences, choices and calculations. They are multidimensional, socially-embedded, and usually formed through social cohesion and vary from individual to individual and society to society (Appadurai, 2004). DeJaeghere (2016) suggests that we consider the influence of aspirations and agency in achieving one's valued wellbeing. She conceptualises the relationship between aspirations and agency as dialectical within a given social context and changes over time (p.2). Thus, one of the important considerations in this study is that aspirations and agency are intertwined; as such, this section may present both aspirations and agency concepts. In this thesis, the focus on migrants' educational aspirations is motivated by the fact that as migrant youth navigate their way in a foreign land, little is known about their educational ambitions. Yet, education is important for the expansion of other capabilities that may be valuable for one to live the life that he/she values.

In her study on young people's aspirations to higher education in the UK, Hart (2013) finds that promoting the capability to aspire in a supportive environment provides a starting point for young people. This starting point may help address the deprivation trap that young people find themselves in, which Chambers (1983) also talks about. The trap consists of poverty and unemployment, and usually results in powerlessness and vulnerability. Disarming such traps promotes confident young people that are well prepared to articulate their needs and competently guide their future. Hart (2013) reiterates Appadurai's (2004) notion of the multidimensionality of aspirations with

concepts such as *adapted*⁸, *concealed*⁹, and *revealed*¹⁰ aspirations providing a new way of thinking about the aspirations of marginalised migrants and diverse vulnerable groups. The formation of these aspirations, also understood as the freedom and possibility of aspiring (Hart, 2013), is influenced by social and cultural contexts (conversion factors). Conradie's (2013) work with vulnerable women from a poor township in Cape Town on aspirations and capabilities may be used as an example of the influence of conversion factors on the capability to aspire. Because of their underprivileged conditions, most of these women had not imagined themselves making something meaningful of their lives. After being part of the project, they realised their capability to live meaningful lives, and thus remained motivated to achieve their aspirations despite challenging circumstances. Conradie (2013) thus established that deliberate attempts to realise aspirations can, in certain conditions, increase the capabilities of the poor and unlock agency.

As Ray (2006) asserts, individuals cannot aspire to what they do not know, and are therefore likely to be influenced by what they see and what they hear in their daily lives. Such influence informs their understanding of a good life. Ray refers to this process as the '*aspirations window*' where individuals draw from lives, achievements or ideals of those who enter their 'radar screen' (2006). Within the aspirations window, individuals can see the gap that exists between their current circumstances and that which they desire. This gap will cause the individual to act in a particular manner: in the case of a very wide aspiration gap, individuals tend to have little incentive to raise standards, because the gap is too large. Appadurai (2004: 69) notes that the rich expand their capacity to aspire; however, because they have fewer opportunities (to practise and experiment), the poor have a thin and 'brittle horizon of aspirations'. For example, in situations where the poor aspire to be like the rich, the gap may be too large as a result of the high investments required. Wolff and de Shalit (2007) refer to the opportunity that the rich have to aspire as a *fertile functioning*¹¹, since it can lead to other wider choices, freedoms and capabilities, as well as future agency. The authors refer to an opposite condition, where a disadvantage may cause other disadvantages (such lack of

⁸ Aspirations that are subject to review and change (Hart, 2013:91).

⁹ Aspirations that have not been shared with others (Hart, 2013:88).

¹⁰ Aspirations that have been shared with others (Hart, 2013:86).

¹¹ Where doing well in one functioning leads to improvement in other functionings (Wolff and De-Shalit, 2007: 33-134).

education resulting in continued poverty) as ‘corrosive disadvantage’¹² (Wolff and De-Shalit, 2007).

Ray (2006) further argues that it is the aspirations gap (rather than aspirations per se or one’s standard of living) that affects future-oriented behaviour (agency). As a result of the aspirations gap, Camfield et al. (2012) find an indication of an adaptation process (adaptive preferences) in Thailand, in which the poor stop aspiring for what they cannot achieve. Similarly, in a study of aspirations failure in indigenous young people in Peru, Risso Brandon and Pasquier-Doumer (2013) found that the gap between their aspirations and their present socio-economic status was so large that it had a ‘disincentive effect on forward-looking behaviour’ (2013:2). This lack of motivation and adapting to one’s circumstances is a reflection of one’s changing contexts, altering one’s perception of what is possible and achievable (Parker et al., 2013). Although her writing on aspirations largely refers to constitution formulation, Nussbaum’s (2016) assertion that history and circumstance should be considered in framing nation aspiration thresholds, largely because these may vary from nation to nation, is relevant to individuals. Similarly, individual aspirations are influenced by one’s past and current context.

According to Hart (2009) some aspirations require fulfilment of one aspiration before the realisation of another, and argues that each person experiences different degrees of agency in determining and fulfilling their aspirations. For example, young migrants may aspire to access higher education; however, before they realise this aspiration, they may want to fulfil other aspirations such as getting a job to support their family and pay for schooling. So, depending on one’s position in the socio-economic hierarchy, aspirations may complement one another or be mutually exclusive (Ray, 2006). Hart (2013) also notes that while individuals may have their own aspirations, at times they are persuaded to pursue other aspirations by others. This may also be seen in ones’ agency where one is actively involved not only in his own development, but also that of others (Sen, 2009; Crocker, 2009). Such action is indicative of collective aspirations. In other words, what one wants for oneself may be influenced by family and community and may lead to an individual acting in such a way that potentially develops this shared

¹² Where a disadvantage in one area affects other areas (Wolff and De-Shalit, 2007:133).

aspiration. This may be conscious or unconscious; for example, the desire to get a job to support one's family is an aspiration that has been influenced by some else's needs. We can therefore hold that while aspirations may be a capability that is developed over time, they are also fluid and can have a temporary dimension. This flexibility is based on the changing contexts in which one operates at a given time. In many migrant situations, the fluidity of their aspirations is influenced by new social, cultural and economic practices that they are exposed to in the new country, which change the aspirations window. This fluidity requires agency shifts in negotiating conversion factors. If realised, these aspirations become a functioning; for example, a migrant may aspire to employment in South Africa to support family back home; on arrival, the migrant finds work; and this aspiration has now developed into a functioning. Consequently, he/she may realise he/she needs an education to get a better job, and so the aspirations therefore have changed based on the labour market environment and other reasons such as monotony, low wages etc. Drawing on this discussion, the study holds that when provided with the opportunities and freedoms to realise their aspirations, marginalised groups are willing to take necessary action to avoid the poverty trap, to achieve what they value.

3.5 Adaptive Preferences

Negative circumstances and hardships that limit individual freedom can lead to acceptance of one's situation (Sen, 1985). Nussbaum (1997) views adaptive preferences as preferences that change to the low level of functioning than what an individual can achieve. This acceptance or adjustment may sometimes be beneficial, particularly if this deters one from unrealistic aspirations that can never be achieved (Nussbaum, 2000). In *Human Capabilities*, Nussbaum reiterated that these preferences are a response to social conditions, when some things are out of reach; some people 'learn not to want those things' (Nussbaum, 2011: 54). In such a situation, one may also adjust one's aspirations. This adaptation can also be seen as an adjustment of aspiration to what is viewed as achievable (Elster, 1983, cited in Conradie, 2013). Hart (2013:11) refers to such a failure of aspirations as, 'falling through the net'. That is, as other individuals experience the negative effects of conversion factors and are left behind, others pursue their aspirations. Watts's (2009) view is that adaptive preferences may sometimes be

informed by a rational decision and may be the realisation of one's aspiration. Drawing on the CA, Watts argues that young people's choice to pursue a trade vocational qualification instead of a university degree should not necessarily be understood as an adaptive preference, but rather a valued alternative career. According to Watts (2009), this is not a result of capability deprivation and neither is it the failure of resources to gain entry into university, but a well-thought-out choice.

In this study, adaptive preferences will be understood as the decision or action taken to address the aspirations gap. In other words, whether or not one exercises the necessary agency required to narrow the aspirations gap. The aspirations gap is defined by Ray (2003) as the difference between the standard of living aspired to and the standard of living one already has. Thus, the decisions that young people (as agents) have made since their arrival in South Africa will help assess if they have adapted their preferences. For instance, migrant youth have different experiences on arrival in South Africa; some may see opportunities in their circumstances, whereas others may accept the situation as it is.

3.6 Freedoms

According to Sen (1999), development has to do with the freedom of each individual. This suggests that freedom is both intrinsic and instrumental to development. Sen (1999) further argues that freedom is the most appropriate standard by which to evaluate development, as it is the goal of development. Agency is essential for this freedom to be exercised, as individuals have to act in order to bring about change based on what they value (Sen, 1999). As such, development agendas need to broaden the conceptualisation of freedom, rather than a debate about poverty versus prosperity. Gasper (2002) stresses that the concept of human freedom is not simply what an individual does or can do, but also how much of what the individual does is consistent with what he/she believes is worth doing. In expanding an individual's choice, freedom is enlarged; this is the intrinsic argument as to why mobility is an essential part of human development (De Haas & Rodriguez, 2010). Thus, human mobility still constitutes a key element of human freedom and a choice that has to be available to individuals. Sen (1999) highlights five types of instrumental freedoms that are

important for individuals: *political freedom, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantees and protective security*.¹³ These freedoms provide a foundation for a democratic society and define comprehensive, universal, moral and ethical principles that can be used in development initiatives. Table 3.1 shows a description of each freedom along with typical constraints.

Table 3.1: Amartya Sen’s five instrumental freedoms (Sen, 1999:39-40)

Type of freedom	List of freedoms	Constraints to migrant freedoms
Political freedoms	Ability to participate in public discussions, political representation (in the form of elected bodies), institutional arrangements	Absence of assessments required to inform policy-makers about capabilities and potentials of development, constraints on access to law and order services, constraints on access to information, no protection against eviction
Economic facilities	Open labour market, protection from bondage, access to product markets, saving opportunities, stable business ethics	Loans from moneylenders, individual disabilities, no access to credit, no access to training facilities, no access to markets, no ability to mobilise sources of finance
Social opportunities	Good health, basic education, childcare	No access to healthcare, constraint to access basic services such as water and schooling, constraint to school attendance
Transparency guarantees	Absence of corruption, mechanism for seeking justice, access to police protection	No facilities to report crime (e.g. unreported thefts or rapes)
Protective Security	Emergency facilities, shelters, arrangements for protection from extreme deprivation	No access to networks, no access to emergency for food, emergency and delay (xenophobia), constraints to access shelter

Sen (2005) has argued that the importance of freedom can be shown by considering other issues central to human rights. For example, the evaluation of the realisation of the right to education requires examination of whether individuals have access to resources (and the freedom to utilise these resources) to realise their aspirations and whether or not they are free to make the choice of learning or not. Understandably, political freedoms such as voting may be reserved for citizens; however, fora for free debate and the ability to participate in public discussions, political representation (in form of elected bodies) are necessary freedoms for marginalised migrants. Sen writes

¹³ These freedoms articulate macro-level influences on wellbeing and freedom.

extensively about the role of public deliberations as a way of advancing the lives of individuals. The recognition of public debate and dialogue on freedoms and 'unfreedoms' is important for what the individual values (Sen, 1999; 2009). Sen emphasises the processes of choices involved, especially the alternatives available. Critical to the CA is the role of a democratic process in public dialogue in enhancing justice. Sen (2009) refers to the degree to which diverse voices from various backgrounds are in fact heard. This is alluded to by Walker and Unterhalter (2007), who note that these processes of choice require attention to power, voice and participation. Therefore, giving migrants a voice to freely express their ideas and participate in issues that affect them would potentially influence social policies directed at them. The ability to engage in dialogue is a way of upholding several rights (participation, speech, and being heard, among others) that migrants have in determining what they value. If these rights are not supported, then the individuals or groups are deprived of their capabilities, resulting in injustice. Against this background, if an individual is to achieve full functioning through freedoms (capabilities), then questions of human rights and social justice come into play.

On economic facilities, individuals need to have opportunities and freedom to use economic resources available to them; this includes access to finance and being able to make a living. The lack of such a freedom constrains development. Social opportunities also have significant importance in upholding freedoms of individuals. Sen (1999) writes that the arrangements and choice of opportunities that the institutions make for essential services such as education for its citizens is significant in assessing the level of development. This could be argued even for those that are not citizens, but residing in the country by virtue of policies (such as refugee policies). Sen further believes individuals need to be provided with guarantees of openness, information, and trust so that the social contract between administration and the groups of people is clearly defined (Sen, 1999). State institutions also need to provide freedom to access protection that prevents poverty and suffering caused by acts of war and epidemics. Thus, Sen also argues that policy is pivotal to the type of lives that individuals live. He notes that the expansion of the capabilities of individuals to live lives they value are enhanced by public policy, which can also be influenced by public participation in formulating these policies. In this case, freedom can be used to evaluate success and failure and also

determines individual initiative and social effectiveness (Sen, 1999:18). Similarly, in *Disadvantage*, Wolff and De-Shalit (2007:3) expand the CA with a goal of offering guidance to policy-makers by providing 'a version of egalitarian theory which can be applied to actual social policy'. They add the concepts of *disadvantage, security and risk* and propose that attention in the CA should move beyond the presence or absence of opportunities and cover how secure these opportunities are.

Sen (1999) highlights that these freedoms are interlinked, and are essential to the development of an individuals' general capabilities that allow an individual to live freely. Assessing migrants' lives and opportunities using these freedoms can provide a picture of the opportunities that migrant youth have. With freedoms emphasised as key means and end of development (Sen, 1999: xii), throughout his work, Sen writes about the role of public deliberation as a way of advancing the lives of individuals. Public deliberation provides an opportunity for migrants to bring to the table what is valuable to them and whether or not educational opportunities are part of what they value. From there, ideas could be put in place as to how migrants can realise these aspirations. The challenge in South Africa (and many countries) is that migrants are often not consulted on how they can be helped in realising their wellbeing. The self-settling policies assume that migrants will be able to lead the lives they desire; however, this may not be true considering the experiences of migrants, particularly those who have experienced violence in the communities they have settled in. I therefore argue that there is a need for a pro-active, standardized approach from stakeholders on how migrants can grow personally and professionally. Such a deliberate attempt may contribute towards the broader development of migrants, economically and socially.

I believe both Sen's (1999) and Wolff and De-Shalit's (2007) views on social policies are relevant and necessary in evaluating refugee and migration policy. Similar to other disadvantaged citizens, migrants experience unfreedoms, such as little access to healthcare, clean water, functional education, gainful employment or economic and social security (Sen, 1999). However, concerns on security and risks associated with the process of migrating have not been given enough attention by relevant institutions. Although 2015 has seen greater attention on South to North migration resulting from an increase in boat migrants from Syria, this has not been the case in the South-South

context. Unless governments and their institutions address broader social policies, these challenges may limit the opportunities for migrant youth to expand their aspirational maps of accessing higher education (HE) in their host country.

3.7 CA and migration

Although migration has not received as much attention in comparison to poverty in Sen's and Nussbaum's frameworks, their work has some references to human mobility. As such, scholars such as Gasper & Truong (2010) and De Haas (2009) have used the approach in migration research. Gasper and Truong (2010) evaluated cross-border migration and concluded that the CA allowed for migration to be studied and evaluated as action by and on people, not only as economic flows. Similarly, De Haas (2009) used the approach to understand the migration-development nexus and concurred that the CA was a broader pluralist view in which to perceive migration, rather than the traditional narrow focus on economics. De Haas, (2009; 2008), Gasper and Truong (2010) emphasise the need to be cautious about using monetary income to measure development of migrants by drawing attention to the limitations of income to migrants, as not all migrants get jobs on arrival in their host countries. In other words, although it would be short-sighted to argue that economic growth is irrelevant to development, particularly in migration situations, it is similarly possible to argue that focus on economic growth only is a limited perspective in which to understand development and migration.

The CA therefore provides a base for improved understanding of the links between migration and development. The approach disaggregates the individual and the non-monetary systematic accounting of other interests such as health, affiliation, respect, identity, aspirations and other values, which can often generate new insights (Gasper & Truong, 2010). The approach views economic prosperity as a means to advance human development, including the development of the capacity to aspire and the opportunity for higher education. This view allows for an additional perspective with which to explore and understand the daily lives of migrant youth, their aspirations for higher education, and what they value and why. Additionally, the concepts discussed not only help in understanding the complex nature of migration, but also identify educational

opportunities for migrant youth within these complexities. Doing so also helps to identify how opportunities may be expanded for this group of migrants.

3.7.1 Value of educational aspirations for marginalised migrants

Education has always been at the core of the CA, and a growing number of scholars have advanced the CA in different facets of education, for example education and gender (Unterhalter, 2009, 2003; Walker, 2006), the role of universities (Boni and Walker, 2013), access and success (Wilson-Strydom, 2015) and education and aspirations (Hart, 2013).

While it is obvious that not every person can derive equal benefit from the same kind of degree or qualification and that each individual has different dreams and desires, Sen (1999) states that education is a capability space that enables freedom. In her study on HE for Burmese refugees in Thailand, Zeus (2009) notes that looking at HE and refugees seem a contradictory exercise because the two seem to hold two opposing social meanings. Firstly, she argues that higher education institutions (HEIs) are associated with various types of freedoms, whereas refugees are considered 'unfree', particularly if they are in refugee camps with restricted rights and freedoms. Furthermore, HEIs are considered long-term and sustainable, while refugees (camps) carry a connotation of temporality: people on the move are generally considered *state-less*. This, however, does not necessarily apply to migrants outside refugee camps, such as the youth in this study.

There is also evidence in the literature that education has the potential to expand people's existing capacities into developed capabilities as well as expand human freedoms (Nussbaum, 2011; Walker, 2005; Sen, 1999). The human development report notes two facets of human development: the formation of human capabilities, and the use of the capabilities acquired (Human Development Report, 1990), which can be enabled *through education*. Similarly, in their separate studies on the CA and education, Walker (2005) and Hart (2013) describe how the approach might benefit education in relation to an individual's wellbeing. As noted earlier, Walker (2005) identifies education as influential in the process of identity formation. Thus, while education could be viewed as a means to practise self-sufficiency in terms of its instrumentality, it could

also play an important role in human development and in the expansion of an individual's capabilities to lead a flourishing life (Sen, 2009).

Hart (2013) stresses the ability of the CA to inform policy and practices that can enhance the capacity of young people to pursue their aspirations. She also concedes that policies need to think again regarding advancing young people's aspirations (Hart, 2013). On its own and for every individual, education is seen as a fertile functioning: it contributes to the development of other human capabilities and sets a *foundation* for additional freedoms and choices (Nussbaum, 2011; Unterhalter, 2002).

The literature review has shown that migrants' vulnerability is not only limited to documentation and shelter, but also to constraints on aspiring to lead lives that are valuable to them. The relevance, therefore, of the CA to migrant youth is that it offers a framework in which to assess their potential for living lives they have reason to value, while also identifying future educational possibilities. The value of aspirations is that they can stimulate behaviour leading to advancement of capabilities; in the migrants' case, migration can then be seen as an investment opportunity, allowing the aspirational window to widen (Ray, 2006).

Hart (2013) presents a new paradigm for thinking about the role of education in the development of human flourishing by reinforcing the notion of freedom and choice in aspiration formation. Drawing on an empirical study involving over 1,000 young people aged 14-19, the study explores their aspirations. The study found that promoting the capability to aspire in a supportive environment is necessary to help young people achieve their educational goals. An important factor highlighted by the study is the ability of the CA to inform educational policies and practices that can enhance the capacity of young people to determine, pursue and achieve their aspirations. Such encouragement can potentially reduce their vulnerability (Dubois & Rousseau, 2008).

Fundamental in this study is the assumption (based on previous research) that HE not only helps marginalised youth realise their own aspirations, but builds other capabilities (Kelly, 2005). These capabilities may include (but are not limited to) improved chances for employment and confidence to participate in social and political

activities. This realisation of aspirations is supported by Appadurai's (2004) view that better-educated people have wider horizons and aspirational maps. Instrumentally, HE is crucial in that it potentially brings forth social change directed toward justice (Walker, 2010) in terms of equal opportunities to employment and being part of a skilled workforce. This is highlighted by Collins's (2007) view that education has a fundamental role in career development, prosperity and economic wellbeing. With limited career pathways for migrants without an education, the value of education (both intrinsic and instrumental) may remain constrained. Thus, while education could be viewed as a means to practice self-sufficiency in terms of its instrumentality, it could also play an important role in human development and in the expansion of an individual's capabilities to lead a flourishing life (Sen, 2009). Figure 3.1 is a summary of how the CA constructs discussed here are intertwined in relation to migrant youth educational aspirations. In the figure, instrumental freedoms represent Sen's (1999) five instrumental freedoms and in the figure these freedoms are on both vertical and horizontal axis and on the outer spheres because they impact on the rest of the conversions factors. As highlighted in section 3.6, these freedoms underpin a democratic society and define comprehensive, universal, moral and ethical principles that can be used in development initiatives. Thus, the realisation of these freedoms also provides a foundation for an environment desirable for aspirations formation.

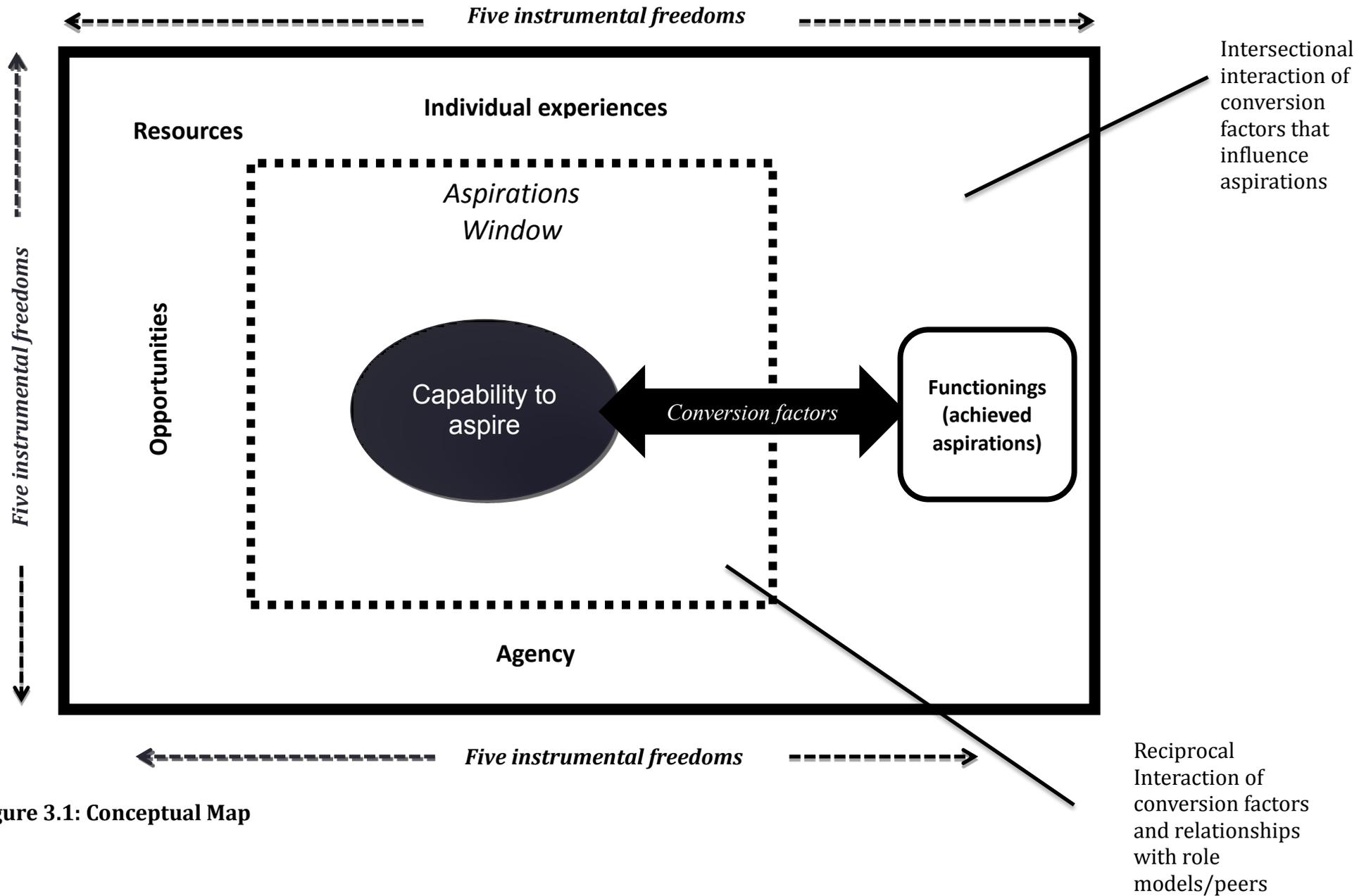


Figure 3.1: Conceptual Map

3.8 Conclusion

The normative proposition held by the CA that social arrangements should be primarily evaluated according to the extent of the freedom people have to live the lives they value allows for the understanding of the (un)freedoms migrant youth have and the extent to which they experience these (un)freedoms. By focusing on agency, conversion factors on micro and meso levels, and Sens' five instrumental freedoms on a macro level, the study will assess migrants' freedoms to live lives they value and the potential to achieve their desired functionings and wellbeing. Focusing on constructs such as agency allows for a focus on the interplay of structural (political and economic), personal (social, economic and cultural) influences on migration, while focusing on conversion factors (political, economic, social and cultural) allows for the evaluation of both constraints and opportunities available in migration contexts. In doing so, this study presents original research on the aspirations of migrant youth, demonstrating the importance of the freedoms to achieve their aspirations and wellbeing to both development and migration. In sum, the CA's openness and broadness for evaluation and analysis not only allows for it to be applied to different types of objectives, but also allows for the use of different methodological approaches, as will be seen in the next section. The next Chapter discusses the methodology and research design.

Chapter Four: Methodology and research design

4.1 Introduction

This Chapter describes the methodology and research design adopted for this study. Data collection methods, research sites where the study was conducted, the population sample and ethical considerations are also described. The design and data collection tools were selected in order to meet the objective of the study, which seeks to explore the life experiences and educational aspirations of marginalised migrant youth by answering the following research questions:

1. What are the everyday experiences of marginalised migrant youth in Johannesburg?
2. What educational aspirations do the migrant youth have?
3. Which capabilities and functionings do they value?
4. What advocacy strategies do the participants suggest be put in place to support their educational aspirations?

I start by discussing how the research questions were formulated. This is followed by a discussion of the decision to adopt an interpretivist paradigm and qualitative methods. Thereafter I provide an outline of the study setting and the data collection process; I also introduce the migrant youth who participated in the study. This is then followed by a presentation of the data collection instruments and process. The Chapter also presents how data was analysed, followed by consideration of the ethical implications of this research, observed throughout the whole research process. An introduction to the research context is also provided, which is then taken up in detail in Chapter Five.

4.1.1 Formulation of research questions

Against a background of a personal interest in areas of disadvantage and education, the formulation of the research questions was informed by two key factors: the problem statement which was identified as a gap in literature; and the theoretical framing of the study. The problem statement presented in Chapter One is based on the view that in the

growing and widening landscape of migration, there are many challenges faced by marginalised migrants including youth. In the midst of these challenges, often clouded by different ways of trying to navigate a foreign land, many unanswered questions remain on how these experiences influence individual educational ambitions and aspirations.

The CA's ability to comprehensively cut across the complex nature of migration, its emphasis on individual freedoms and opportunities and its call to assess social arrangements are but some of the reasons for its relevance to this research. Methodologically, the approach shaped the questions as the ultimate interest was in the capabilities and freedoms available for, and valued by, marginalised migrant youth in relation to their educational aspirations. Dialogically, the qualitative research design also allowed for the operationalisation of the CA in unpacking the complexities of marginalised migrants' lives consistent with this study's intentions of informing human development literature. Accordingly, the formulation of the research questions was in line with necessary considerations suggested by Agee (2009), such as:

- *Do the questions fit into the research field?*
- *Are the questions worthy of investigation?*
- *To what level will answering these questions contribute to any progress within the research area?*
- *Do these questions concern real problems?*

While the research questions could have changed throughout the different stages of research, the interest in and appreciation of the study by participants during the interview process was a sign that these were timely questions. However, as suggested by the data gathered, further questions also emerged and can be developed for additional studies; this will be shown in Chapter One. Based on the problem statement presented earlier, which sought to ask *what* the fundamental problem is, and the theoretical underpinning of *why* the problem is important, the following sections in this Chapter answer *how* the questions concerning the daily lives and educational aspirations of marginalised migrant youth were answered. In the next section, I start by sketching a summary of the methodology process, which will guide the following discussion.



Figure 4.1: Methodology process summary

Source: *Adapted from Mackenzie & Snipe, 2006*

4.2 Research paradigm and design

The study was located within an interpretivist paradigm, which emphasises the importance of contextual analysis and individual experiences (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Reeves & Hedberg, 2003; Fossey et al., 2002). This includes drawing on concepts that

are important in understanding people's actions and behaviour, such as agency, opportunities, and beings and doings that a positivist paradigm would not focus on. Thus, convinced that the interpretative paradigm is most useful for understanding social life, the study adopted a qualitative methodology. Denzin and Lincoln (2000:3) define qualitative research as involving 'an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world'. As such, data is mostly in the form of words, and analysis of data is often inductive (Bryman, 2008), with critical reflexivity and reflection forming an important part of the research process.

There are a number of well-known designs in qualitative research, such as ethnography, case study, phenomenology, narrative inquiry and critical studies (Creswell, 2009; McMillan & Schumacher, 2001). Narrative inquiry was used for this study, based on a desire to gain detailed insight into the lives and educational aspirations of migrant youth in the context of their experiences, focusing on how these experiences influence their valued beings and doings. Essentially, narrative inquiry seeks to represent otherwise underrepresented social groups, and thus it is more appropriate for describing their lives and experiences (Lincoln & Guba, [1985] cited in Chataika, 2005; Marshall & Rossman, 1995). The use of narratives will be seen in Chapter Eight, section 8.2, where I use four narratives to conceptualise aspiration formation among migrant youth. The study is also exploratory because little is known about the topic under research (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). The study is also descriptive in nature, which allows for the interpretation of experiences, opinions, beliefs, knowledge and aspirations held by migrant youth.

Narrative inquiry can be used methodologically, in that it allows the presentation of interview transcripts in the form of a story; and it can also be used analytically, in that it allows for a narrative construction of particular theoretical accounts (Goodley et al., 2004). Very important for this study is that the method emphasises viewing participants as experts and is an opportunity to focus on the lives, experiences, socio-cultural conditions and aspirations (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000) of the migrant youth. Additionally, this approach fitted into the theoretical framework of the study by valuing each migrant's life experiences and agency, as well as providing the youth with an opportunity to have their stories heard.

4.3 Study setting

The study was located in central Johannesburg, focusing on migrant youth who lived or accessed services at the Central Methodist Church's (CMC), which were offered through its refugee shelter before the shelter closed on 31 December, 2014. The CMC was chosen as the location for the research for its work with refugees and asylum seekers, based on the different activities they offered, its flexible accessibility and the refugee shelter's interest in the study's potential to raise awareness about migrant aspirations. Another rationale of choosing to conduct the study at CMC is because of the church's history of working with marginalised migrants. Additionally, before the church's' refugee shelter was closed, it was easy to access and talk to migrants as most of them were resident in the shelter. A meeting was held with the leader of the refugee shelter during which information about the study was provided, and permission was granted for the study.

4.3.1 Sampling

Wellington (2000:58-64) discusses different sampling methods in detail, of which typical purposive sampling was initially adopted for this study due to its emphasis on predetermined characteristics of participants, who are asked to answer research questions. To do this, with permission from the refugee shelter leader I made an announcement about the study during one of the refugee meetings and interested participants were requested to provide me with their contact details. In total, twelve participants forwarded their names and contact details. However, five contact numbers were not reachable during preparation and scheduling of interviews, which took place two months after initial contact. Two of the volunteers did not fit the study criteria, as they were South African citizens. One of the volunteers pulled out of the study without giving a reason; and so in total, four of the twelve participants were available during first contact for interviews.

Thus, as Yin (1994; 2009) suggests, there was a need to be adaptive and flexible during the research process, by showing willingness to change procedures and strategies if unanticipated circumstances arise. Thus, this method of sampling was later coupled with snowballing. Snowball sampling is also often useful for accessing vulnerable

groups (Babbie, 2010). During this process, each migrant youth I interviewed referred me to a potential participant who I later contacted. Moreover, as will be seen later, the need for a second phase of interviews with more women meant that referrals were essential.

Although the initial sampling plan was to include between 15 and 20 migrant youth who access services in Johannesburg, the change in sampling preferences led to a total of 26 migrant youth being interviewed. The total sample of migrant youth comprised 15 men and 11 women aged between 21 and 33 years of age. This was deemed a reasonable number for a qualitative study interested in in-depth individual narratives, and, according to Schurink (1998:262), one of the benefits of a small sample is increased trustworthiness of the study by 'avoiding theoretical saturation', which is reached when the same information from participants is obtained repeatedly and no new information is generated. The saturation effect was not reached, as each migrant's story was unique and enriched the data that was gathered. Taking Yin's (1994) suggestion further, there was also a need to alter some of the criteria for participant selection. For example, while one of the initial criteria for participation was that migrant youth should have a high school certificate as their highest qualification, this was later altered because it emerged that some, particularly women, had not successfully completed their high school education as a result of various factors (see section 6.3). This provided another interesting dimension to the study on the challenges that most school-going young people experienced before, during, and after migration in relation to their educational ambitions. In addition to the youth, two migrant representatives were interviewed: one affiliated to Albert Street School, and one was affiliated to both the school and the refugee shelter.

The representative of the refugee shelter (henceforth Dr. Gasi, a pseudonym) was interviewed so as to get an overall understanding of the services required by migrant youth and if there was a need to further advocate for the provision of such services across different contexts. Dr. Gasi had direct input into the services provided by the centre and was familiar with migrant youth experiences based on interactions with the youth. Additionally, he was also on the school council and hence was familiar with two contexts of migrants' lives: education, and daily survival. The interviewee from the

school was Dr. Mbatha¹⁴. The purpose of interviewing Dr. Gasi and Dr. Mbatha was to explore the purposes and functions of the school in relation to its migrant youth students.

4.4 Data collection instruments and process

Data collection followed the procedure below and used instruments as presented in Figure 4.2.

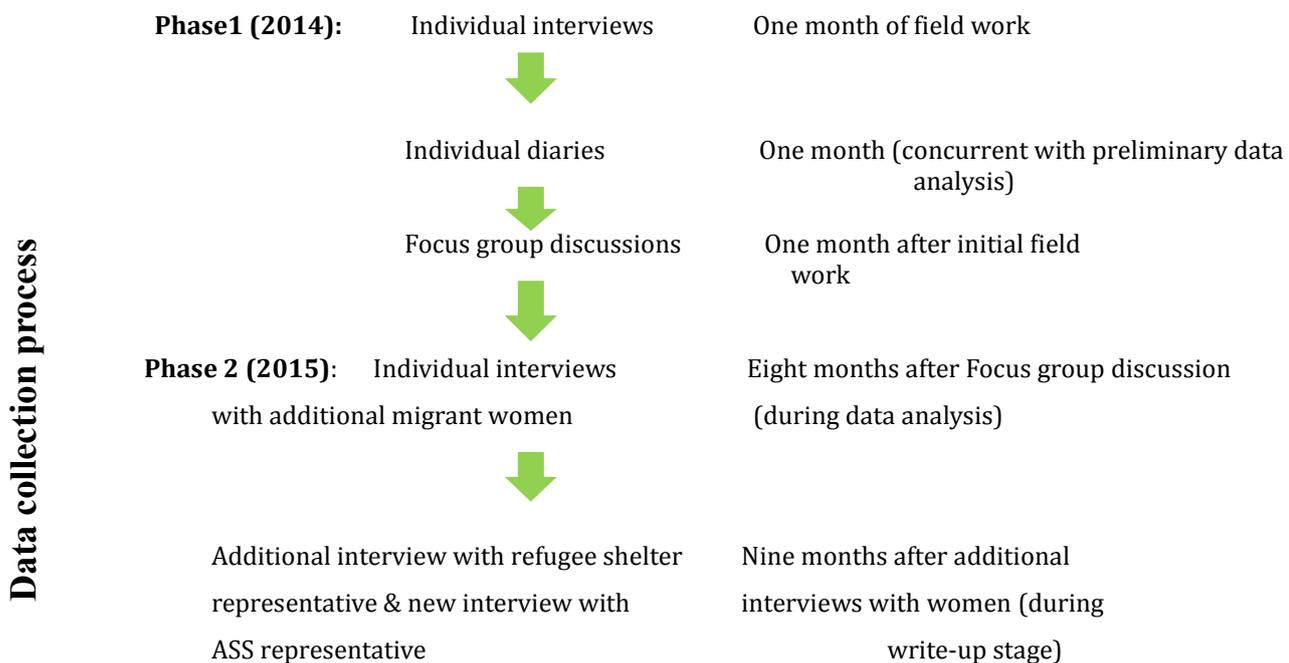


Figure 4.2: Data collection procedure

4.4.1 Data collection instruments

Drawing on the objective and research questions formulated for the study, I developed a semi-structured interview guide aimed at directing the interview process (see Appendices 2 & 3). The interview guide was constructed around the migrants' daily experiences, valued capabilities and functionings (wellbeing), and educational aspirations. To allow the migrant youth to reflect on their experiences, the first round of participants (those interviewed in 2014) were requested to keep diaries, which were to

¹⁴ Pseudonym

be collected during the focus group discussions scheduled for one month after individual interviews. In these diaries, they could document any thoughts and experiences in any form of expression (e.g. drawings, poems, etc.). For the focus group discussion, a list of questions was derived from preliminary coding of the interviews.

4.4.2 Data collection process

First contact was made with migrant youth on 8th August 2014 and individual interviews took place in November 2014. In total, 20 interviews were conducted with migrant youth during this period (phase 1), 18 men and 2 women. Four interviews were invalid: three because the male participants did not fit within the sampling criteria (they were over 35 years of age and so did not qualify as 'youth') and one because the female participant had migrated to South Africa on a study visa to join her parents, who were recognised permanent residents of the country, and therefore she did not qualify as 'marginalised migrant youth' as defined in Chapter One. Thus, the total number of recognised participants were 15 men and 1 woman. Dr Gasi was also interviewed for the first time at this stage.

As highlighted earlier, while it had been hoped that both men and women would volunteer to participate, the first round of data collection yielded only one migrant woman. As gender was not a deciding factor for participation, this did not initially raise an 'alarm' but resulted in curiosity about women's 'almost invisibility' in the study. As the initial coding was done it became clear that gender issues were indeed coming to the fore, together with other aspects (such as the influence of Albert Street School (ASS) in migrant's lives) not initially identified as central to the study. This called for the second phase of participant recruitment and further data collection between August and September 2015. As noted above, snowball sampling was used to identify female participants, with the initial contact person being one of the male participants interviewed during phase 1. In phase 2, 11 young migrant women were interviewed, of which one interview could not be included as a result of age that was outside the sampling criteria. No diary-keeping or focus group discussion was planned or conducted for these second-phase interviews as a result of the financial and time implications related to these processes. For many of the women, interviews were conducted at their

place of residence, while for others who came from outside the city a room offered by one of the participants was used.

In order to verify and better understand emerging trends from the migrant youth interviews, follow-up interviews were conducted in May 2016 with Dr. Gasi, in his capacity as a member of the ASS council. An interview was also conducted with another staff member of ASS, Dr. Mbatha, who is involved in the day to day running of the school. It was decided to interview him after it emerged that ASS played a pivotal role in shaping most of the migrant men's educational aspirations, which led to a notable difference in aspirations between men and women.

Interview length varied, but on average interviews ranged between 30-85 minutes. For the migrant youth and Dr Gasi, permission was obtained to use a digital voice recorder. For interviews in May 2016 with Dr Mbatha and the additional interview with Dr Gasi, field notes were taken. Field notes can be used as both a means of data capture as well as a way to ensure the trustworthiness of the research, as suggested by (Babbie & Mouton, 2001:275). During the migrant youth interviews, field notes were particularly important where a participant's voice was soft or there was excessive noise in the background, as was often the case at the refugee shelter. However, in some interviews where there was little background noise, field notes were minimized. One of my concerns was that seeming to focus on field notes would detach me from the whole interviewing process. In all interviews my effort was to uphold a sense of presence by maintaining eye contact and showing empathy and interest in the migrants' stories. As I am fluent in the migrants' home languages, most interviews were conducted in both Shona and Ndebele as per the interviewees' desire, and very few responded in English. Although all the migrant youth could speak English, the use of their home language was important as it helped them express their views clearly and eloquently and also helped to build rapport.

After the interviews participants were given diaries to reflect on their experiences and thoughts about their lives in relation to realising their educational ambitions, which were to be collected during the focus group discussion. The purpose of the focus group discussion was to reflect on some of the issues that emerged from the individual interviews. Although the plan was to conduct two focus group discussions of eight to ten

participants each after preliminary analysis of interview data, only one focus group was conducted with seven participants, in December 2014. This was because the refugee shelter at the church was scheduled to permanently shut down on the 31st of December 2014, and hence most of the migrant youth were preoccupied with making alternative accommodation arrangements. While I could have waited and conducted the focus groups at a later stage when the migrant youth were settled, it would have been difficult to organize a central meeting location for the group.

4.4.3 Data transcription and interpretation

As noted in the previous section, some of the migrant youth responded in Shona. Since Shona is my third language, I made use of transcription services of an individual who could also translate at the same time. The transcriber's first language was Shona, which allowed me to obtain the most accurate data. For ethical purposes, the transcriber signed a confidentiality agreement in which they agreed to non-disclosure of any information about the research.

4.4.4 Data analysis

In this section, I outline how data was managed, processed and analysed. Narrative inquiry is used both analytically and stories of migrant youth's lives. The purpose of using the method for analytical purposes is seen throughout the findings Chapters while the method as stories is seen in Chapter Eight where I formulate four types of aspirations using migrant stories. While migrant's personal narratives remain unique, similar challenges and opportunities for migrant youth were identified within these narratives and are used in Chapters Nine and Ten. In Chapter Nine the stories are used to formulate and discuss conceptual themes in relation the CA whereas in Chapter One0 these stories inform possible actions required at stakeholder and policy levels.

The purpose of using narrative methodology both as storytelling as well as analytical to explain themes is for two reasons. Firstly, is the need to present the stories of migrants in such a way that the context in which they come from and currently live in is understood. Secondly, it was to provide a theoretical perspective of these stories as well as identify possible areas of action. This was in line with the thesis' objectives of

exploring migrants' lives, and identifying their valued capabilities and functionings. The various stages in this process are discussed below.

Stage 1: Preliminary open coding

During the first round of interviews the first step of the analysis process was preliminary open coding of available field notes and listening to some of the audio recordings without detailed analysis. This was to identify emerging themes and subthemes as preparation for the focus group discussion. After themes and subthemes were identified, focus group tools and materials were prepared and participants contacted to arrange the meeting.

Stage 2: Thematic exploration of data

Soon after the first-phase interviews and the focus group discussion, the recorded data was transcribed verbatim from the voice recorder by listening to the recordings and typing notes in Microsoft Word format. All participants were assigned pseudonyms and as some of the interviews were conducted in the migrants' home language, data was translated into English. Following this, the process of open coding of the data was done on hard copies of the transcripts. Here I was looking out for recurring topics, unfamiliar expressions, similarities and differences of experiences, missing data in relation to the literature review and theory-related data, as recommended by Bryman (2008). This coding was transferred into the NVivo computer program and subsequent analysis and coding then took place directly within NVivo (software that facilitates the management and analysis of qualitative data). Focus group data was only coded manually, as it was easily manageable as a result of only one group discussion, and thus NVivo was not used as there was a small amount of data. NVivo was useful in that it helped keep track of frequencies of issues raised by the participants. The NVivo attributes feature helps identify how many people raised a specific issue of concern. Figure 4.3, for example, shows a node by attribute for the coding of first-phase interviews.

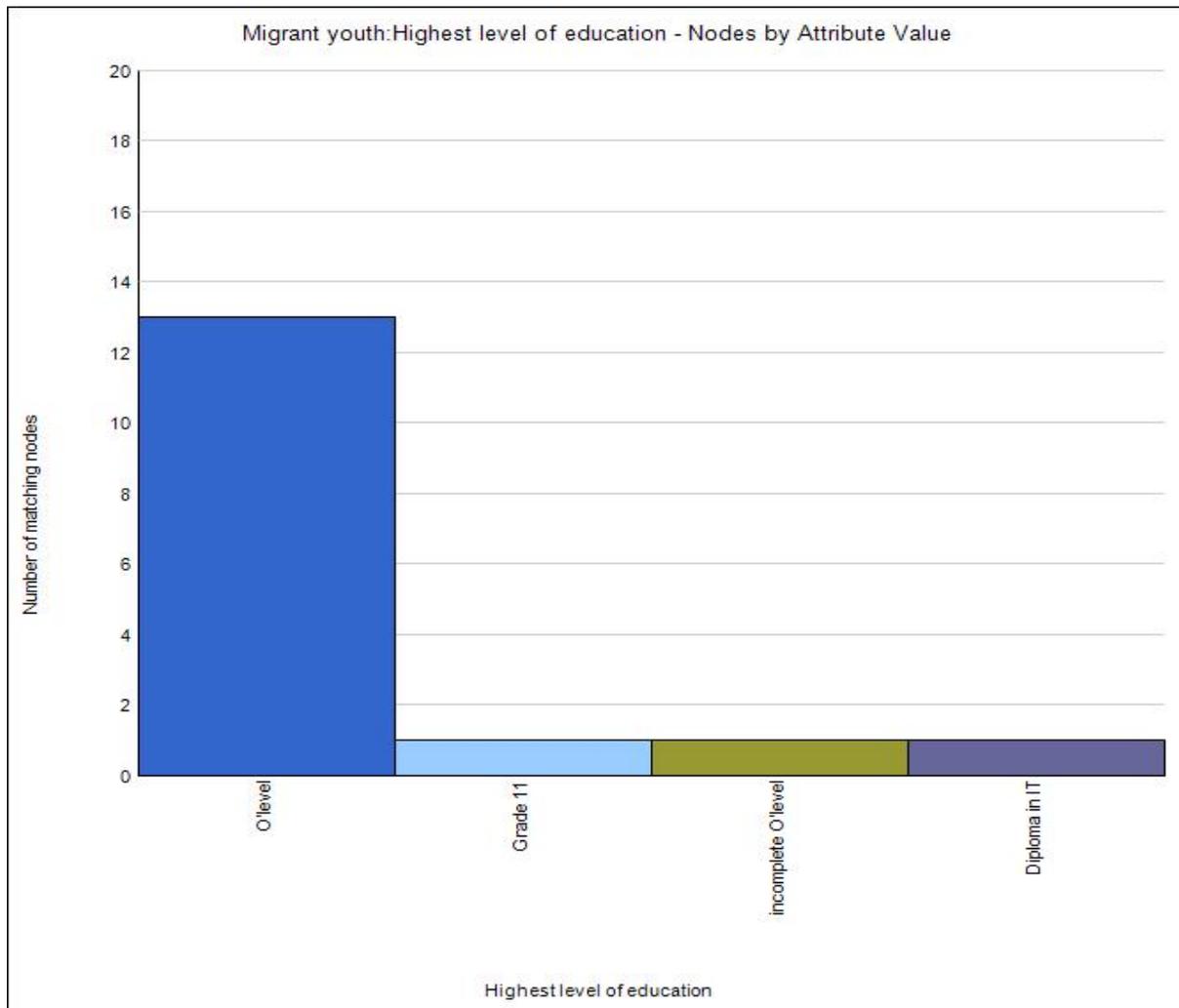


Figure 4.3: Highest level of education of participants in phase one interviews
(extracted from NVivo)

While the NVivo program does not conduct analysis, it provided a useful way to manage data. Theoretically, new capabilities valued by migrants were identified through the coding process. Thus, key themes were identified during the coding of the first round of interviews and, given the need to pay attention to detail to new data from the additional women participants, data was coded manually in the second round of interviews.

The structuring of questions in the interview schedule had its own advantage in the data management and analysis process. Data was already organised into themes that answered the research questions, thereby engaging a deductive approach to analysis which corresponded with thematic analysis of data in qualitative research, as described

by Green and Thorogood (2004). This deductive approach allowed for what Thomas (2006:238) refers to as 'testing whether the data is consistent with assumptions constructed' by the researcher, in this case whether or not data answers the research questions. Despite the research questions already being grouped into themes by virtue of the interview guide, there is much flexibility in narrative interviews for additional factors which influence educational aspirations outside the ones guided by the questions. Thus, informed by the CA, analysis of the interview data also relied on the inductive process of coding in which new themes and concepts were derived from the data (Thomas, 2006).

Stage 3: Descriptive interpretation and theoretical analysis

The final stages of data analysis involved a descriptive interpretation of the thematised data (see Chapters Five and Six), which was aimed at providing a nuanced presentation of diverse aspects that emerged from migrants' narratives. This was important for assisting in understanding the complexity of the migrants' lived experiences and how these influenced what they ultimately value.

This was followed by a theorisation of the data based on CA concepts that had emerged. The purpose was to generate new theoretical insights and make theoretical sense of migrants' lives and aspirations. To do this, attention was on linking the descriptive interpretation of migrant youths' lives (see Chapter Five) to broader theoretical concepts by looking beneath the surface of the narratives to understand more abstract ideas and connections concealed in them. In addition to this, attention was paid to how different types of disadvantages intersect with each other. This focus was based on the premise that the impact of a particular disadvantage may vary depending on its combination with other sources of marginalisation (Denis, 2008; Wolff & DeShalit, 2007).

4.5 Quality criteria of the study

4.5.1 Validity and researcher positionality

In narrative inquiry, validity refers to the 'believability of a statement or knowledge claim' (Polkinghorne, 2007:474), and specifically to personal meaning drawn from

stories, not to an observable or measurable truth (Bochner, 2000; Richardson, 2000). However, because access to the migrants through the refugee shelter was a best case scenario based on the specificity of the services provided to migrants, the findings may not be generalizable across migrant populations, because not all migrants access such services (see below where the specific context is set out). As Byrne-Armstrong (2001:112) asserts, the purpose of narrative inquiry is not to find a generalizable truth, but rather to 'tell different types of truths' and such was the intention of this study. Further, in relation to the exploratory nature of the study, Jackson (2002:504) asserts that the object of exploratory research is to 'reveal processes and connections by focusing on the particular and detailed, nested within a broader context'. Rather than looking at broader generalizability, I also focused on the 'circumstantial uniqueness' (Burns, 2000:474) of each story. Thus, this research was more suited to look at specific cases without making generalizability the key 'worthwhile goal' as is done in quantitative studies (Jackson, 2002:504). Additionally, the intention of this study is not to speak objectively from a neutral position, hence my acknowledgement that my position as the researcher is based on the belief that research cannot be 'neutral, objective or detached' from the knowledge and evidence generated, but is 'rather interactive, creative, selective and interpretative' (Mason, 2002:30).

As a researcher, self-examination, particularly of my own positioning (discussed in detail under ethical considerations in section 4.6) remained, and still remains imperative in order to avoid ascribing nationality, gender and other forms of assumptions and biases to the study. Das (2010) defines positionality as social, structural and organisational positions occupied by an individual that can determine the identity, social fields and power structures that shape how she interacts with others. The endeavour of self-reflexivity was therefore to continually be aware of this positioning and use my self-awareness at all stages of the research, thinking critically about why the research is being done (Wellington, 2000). Such reflexivity proved to be an essential aspect of this study as I began to question usual habits of thinking about marginalised migrants, aspirations and migration in general. This allowed for new ways of thinking and helped the credibility and trustworthiness of the study (Lit & Shek, 2007; Patton, 2002; Winter, 2000). Nonetheless, based on the migrant youth' views of migration and education

rather than their personal stories, knowledge gained may be transferable to other similar contexts (Babbie & Mouton, 2001:277).

4.5.2 Credibility, trustworthiness and rigour

Polkinghorne (2007:477) suggests that narrative researchers should be asked 'to make judgements on whether or not the evidence convinces them at the level of plausibility, credibleness, or trustworthiness of the claim'. This was addressed by the iterative process of going back to the field to seek additional information and clarity on any ambiguous data. This provided a clear understanding of migrant youths' stories and lives. Harrison et al. (2001:323) reinforce the importance of such action, noting that feedback on early analyses is 'a means of ensuring trustworthiness'. Furthermore, the study holds levels of transparency about the position from which the research was conducted and how the stories have been interpreted. This is in line with Polkinghorne's (2007) suggestion that researchers should be hermeneutic by using evidence from the participants' original text as proof to support the researcher's interpretive claims.

The integration of interviews, diaries and focus groups was anticipated as useful for methodological triangulation (Mason, 2002), described as a 'between method triangulation' (Denzin [1970], cited in Wellington, 2000). The limited number of diaries and participants during the focus group discussion was not a major setback for the research as the main data collection approach was through individual interviews, through which comprehensive data was gathered. As such, data gathered from the diaries was not included in the analysis, as data from the interviews was sufficient to fulfil the research objectives. However, the iterative processes of data collection and analysis discussed earlier are not only an indication of the flexible nature of qualitative research, but this reflexivity, which allows for decision-making at various stages of the research process, also strengthens the rigour of the research. Additionally, the follow-up interviews with Dr. Gasi and Dr. Mbatha validated earlier data collected from the migrant youth.

4.5.3 Cleaning the data

For those participants using English, data was cleaned when the language was not very clear. According to Van de Broeck et al. (2005), it is important to be cognizant that data-cleaning cannot compensate for poor study design or methods; however, well-designed studies also have to deal with errors within the research process, and thus data-cleaning becomes an important part of quality assurance. The purpose of data cleaning was such that the story is understandable to those outside the research context. It involved grammatical corrections and deleting repetition, as in the following examples.

Excerpt 1 before cleaning:

in 2005 I went to form one, that is grade eight here, I went for two terms only, then after that my mum said that I can't keep on providing for you because I don't have money as you can see, she wasn't working, she never worked her whole life. So I said I can do something, then I started working as a cow-herder, herding cattle, donkeys, working for other people getting money, you know if I can tell you by that time life was hard because my father never really provided for me and I never knew what is a shoe by that time, I wasn't having shoes, I was walking barefooted, just imagine from the age of one until the age of sixteen not wearing a shoe. I worked for people from 2005 to 2006, then 2007 September that is when I just said no its better I just....; because I heard people were coming to South Africa, they can work in construction, get some money and come back home, buy groceries and lots of stuff, so I envied that, I had a heart for it, so I thought I can go there and earn a living, I thought it was easy.

Excerpt after cleaning:

In 2005 I enrolled for Form one, that is grade eight here, I went for two terms only, after that my mum told me she could not provide for me because she was not working. I started working as a cow-herder, herding cattle, donkeys, for other people and getting money, by that time life was hard because my father never really provided for me. I never knew what a shoe is by that time; I walked barefoot from the age of one until the age of sixteen. I worked from 2005 to 2006, then 2007 September I heard that people were coming to South Africa, working in a construction industry, getting money and coming back home. I envied that lot and thought it was easy.

Data loss and misinterpretation during cleaning was minimised by reading the texts as part of the whole narrative and cleaning excerpts in the context of the larger narrative.

4.6 Ethical considerations

Part of the process of developing this study's research questions required being reflective about how these questions would affect the migrant youth, particularly considering their experiences of marginalisation. As such, ethical considerations started at the early stages of the research. As Agee (2009) suggests, this meant that both short- and long-term effects of the questions were carefully considered. These considerations included emotional discomfort during interview and long-term effects of the presentation of the migrant's lives in the thesis. As a result, the development of research questions entailed an understanding that researching people's lives is always an exercise in ethics (Agee, 2009). However, while the research process, data collection, analysis and representation of the migrant youth stories in an ethical manner remained a fundamental concern, Josselson (1996:70) provides encouragement in dealing with such considerations:

I would worry most if I stopped worrying, stopped suffering for the disjunction that occurs when we try to tell the other's story. To be uncomfortable with this work, I think, protects us from going too far. It is with anxiety, dread, guilt, and shame that we honour our participants. To do this work we must contain these feelings rather than deny, suppress, or rationalize them. We must at least try to be fully aware of what we are doing.

Thus, the design, methods adopted, analysis, conclusions and presentation of the research were approached with exemplary conduct and considerations of moral values. As the researcher, I upheld both reflective and reflexive values during the whole research process. From the beginning, I was open and honest with participants about the research purpose, so as to avoid any harm or unforeseen risk. Possible harm to participants included putting them at risk of deportation or vulnerability to xenophobic attitudes. This was mitigated by using pseudonyms to protect their identities. The research information was provided in the form of written communication to both the refugee shelter and the migrant youth. Considering Estroff's (1995) concern regarding the extent to which it is feasible for a person to consent to a process about which they cannot imagine the outcome, information about the research was provided continually throughout the data collection process. Participants were also encouraged to ask any questions pertaining to the research. Such open interaction through questions and

answers was intended to ratify the signed consent forms. Participants were also informed that they were free to withdraw from the study at any point. In addition to doing no harm to participants, it is important in narrative inquiry to adopt an attitude of empathetic listening and avoid being judgemental while listening to participants' stories (Clandinin & Murphy, 2007:647). I remain aware that the individual stories that have been told constitute who the individuals are; and this understanding guided me to treat the migrant youth with respect during the research process and during interpretation of the stories. Chataika (2005) also reminds us that privacy is a basic human right, essential for the protection and promotion of human dignity. Thus it was emphasised to participants that in addition to participation being voluntary, privacy, anonymity and confidentiality of information and their identities would be maintained by the use of pseudonyms (Babbie, 1998). During follow-up interviews with Dr. Gasi and Dr. Mbatha in May 2016, no personal information of the migrant youth participants was shared; discussions were about the school as an institution and not individual learners (current or former).

Before the research was carried out formal ethical approval was obtained through the University of the Free State.¹⁵ When the interviews commenced, it was also explained to the participants that the study was for academic purposes and there should be no expectations of material benefit. However, after consultation with the refugee shelter, the researcher provided the following incentives to encourage participation and as a thank you token for participants' time.

In the first phase, migrant youth who participated in the study were each given a R300 grocery voucher for Shoprite¹⁶ in recognition of their participation. This was a vital aspect of the research design, since the study was prolonged by the use of diaries and a focus group after the interviews. Wellington (2000) admits that one of the main difficulties of using diaries is to persuade the participants to conscientiously and consistently maintain them, thus it was hoped that this small incentive would encourage the youth to remain in the project. Finally, given the plight of marginalised migrants, a grocery store voucher is deemed more appropriate than any other form of incentive.

¹⁵ Approval No: UFS-EDU-2014-043.

¹⁶ Low budget supermarket

The R300 voucher was provided in two instalments; firstly a R200 voucher was provided after the individual interviews while the remaining R100 was provided after the focus group discussion or during diary collection. The division of the vouchers into two was an attempt to keep the same participants throughout the study. In total, eleven diaries were collected, including the seven participants of the focus group, plus an additional four who submitted their diaries but could not participate in the focus group. Thus, eleven participants received their total R300 vouchers, while the rest got R200.

Although it had been planned that a transport fare of R50 was to be provided per participant for a return trip, this proved unnecessary as most of the migrant youth were resident at the church. However, this transport fare was provided for those that stayed outside the church and had to commute to the interviews. Similarly, the second phase of interviews was also conducted at the place of residence, hence there were no transport-associated costs. In the second interview phase, a voucher of a token of appreciation was offered to an informant who had offered his room for interviews, since other participants were sharing their rooms and there was no privacy in such settings.

Refreshments incentives of R30 per participant were offered during individual interviews, although the initial plan was to provide food. This later proved challenging, as individuals would have had different food preferences. During the focus group, basic refreshments were provided. To cater for everyone, these varied from different types of soft drinks, muffins and snacks. For a group, it was easy to provide options, whereas it would have been difficult to do so during individual interviews. Since the refuge centre leader is engaged with refugee work, it was deemed fit to appreciate his time and work with marginalised groups by giving him an acclaimed and recently-published book about refugees in South Africa: *A man of good hope (2015)* by Jonny Steinberg.

4.6.1 Working with vulnerable groups

A number of researchers have acknowledged that research with vulnerable groups is challenging (Quinn, 2015; Block et al., 2012; Pittaway et al., 2010; Nind, 2008). As indicated earlier, in addition to close engagement throughout the whole research process, critical interpretation and reflexivity was important to ensure that data is

representative of the actual stories of the youth and that they were not subject to any harm (Das 2010) . It was also important to be aware of the potential role of power relations in the research process (Dowling, 2010), that is from question formulation, interactions and interpretation of the data. In qualitative migration research, power may be possessed by either the researcher or the participants based on contexts and it is important to neutralise the relations (Iosifides, 2013). Thus, as the data collection and analysis instrument, my own self-conscious scrutiny as well as that of the research process (Iosifides, 2013) remained essential throughout, to engage with power imbalances and to consider validity and reliability of interpretative research (Maxey, 1999). According to Das (2010), this is important as marginalised groups may not have the resources to challenge research interpretations that represent them incorrectly. Although Grenz (2005) proposes that power is fluid and is possessed by neither researcher nor the researched, it is my view that in many instances of the research power within the research process was possessed by both myself and the participants. Power was possessed by the participants when negotiating interview times and availability and postponement of interview dates. Such instances made the migrant youth 'own' the research, which was important for neutralising the power us. Such a shift in power during the research process was, to a certain degree, influenced by my positionality. I identified with the migrant youth as I also come from Zimbabwe, am aware of the push and pull factors that influenced their migration decisions, speak a similar language and am engaged in something that some of them aspire to, that is, learning at a university. These unifying factors helped to break down insider-outsider effects as the youth and I negotiated these power relations. I also did not act as someone who had solutions to the challenges and concerns they shared with me during the interviews, so as not to be regarded as an expert or to raise expectations that I could not meet.

4.7 Limitations

Thomson (2012) cautions researchers to be aware of the blind and blank spots. Blind spots refer to the things that the methodology or theoretical framing do not reveal. In this study, the major blind spot had to do with the limited number of participants in comparison to large surveys. However, surveys do not allow for probing in comparison

to small samples. As such, for qualitative research, the sample was deemed reasonable. Although not allowing for generalizability, the number of participants interviewed allowed for deeper probing, which enriched the research. Additionally, the intention of the study was not to generalise, but to capture in-depth individual narratives. Time and financial resources also did not permit for a wider study; as such, I worked with a sample that I deemed manageable and relevant for this research.

According to Thomson (2012), blank spots relate to things not covered by the research; here they relate to the nature of the study in which interviewing migrants with affiliation to CMC is a best case scenario. Thus the research does not represent migrants in different contexts and locations from those interviewed. Despite this, the experiences shared by the migrant youth are relatable and transferrable to most marginalised migrant youth settings, as challenges of documentation and access to employment have been widely written about in different contexts of South Africa (Khan, 2007; Landau et al., 2005). Furthermore, data from this research provides enlightening information about an often overlooked aspect of marginalised migrant studies, that of educational aspirations. As a result, this research is partial and did not cover all possibilities, but nonetheless addresses a critical gap in understanding marginalised migrants' educational aspirations (see Chapter One for recommendations for future research).

Another limitation experienced during the research was the difficulty of retaining the participants until the focus group stage. Although it was anticipated that the incentives provided would motivate them to commit to the study, the unexpected closing down of the refugee shelter meant that many participants were busy and preoccupied during the schedule period as they needed to find new accommodation, and hence relatively few participated in the group discussion. The eleven diaries collected were deemed a reasonable response, even though, as highlighted earlier, the data was not used in this study as most of the information written was covered in the interviews. While careful ethical consideration was upheld from the beginning of the research, particularly during question formulation and when probing in the interviews, sensitive topics emerged as the migrants recalled their stories. As a result, occasions of emotional sensitivity were experienced during the interviews, where some participants preferred not to talk about particular experiences. Such sensitive encounters highlighted topics of critical

importance in the field of migration and human development, which can be researched and addressed further, and would otherwise not have been highlighted at all.

Although some of the interviews were conducted after the CMC refugee shelter was shut down, many of the participants had either a direct or indirect experience of the services provided by the shelter. In addition to this, ASS emerged as playing a fundamental role in some of the migrants' lives.

4.8 Conclusion

Similar to the theoretical foundation of this study; the methodology draws largely on the CA. Thus the formulation of the interview questions and the themes in the interview schedule was informed by the CA concepts identified as core in answering the research questions. Data from the migrant youth, Dr. Gasi and Dr. Mbatha allowed for data triangulation as information was gathered from various sources. This, in addition to methodological triangulation, improved validity, thus making the findings of the research credible and plausible (Wellington, 2000). Speaking to the migrant youth was an enriching experience for both the youth and I. In sum, this Chapter has explained the research methodology, research techniques, and the type of study conducted. I have also provided the rationale for using the chosen methods. The research methodology was presented and linked to the design, data collection methods, data analysis and the ethical considerations. In preparation for the Chapters that follow, the context and migrant youth have also been introduced. The next two Chapters provide a descriptive interpretation of the migrant's narratives. In the next Chapter, I introduce the contextual settings available for aspirations formation among marginalised migrant youth.

Chapter Five: Orientation to study setting

5.1 Introduction

In this Chapter, I provide the context in which the study was conducted. In order to provide a detailed overview, I start by providing the demographics of the migrant youth who participated in the study and introduce all the participants. I then provide social and economic backgrounds of the participants. This is followed by a brief discussion on Johannesburg as the country's most populous city and how migrants ended up at Albert Street School. Finally, I discuss the country's legislation in relation to education to provide an understanding of the environment in which educational aspirations may be formed.

5.2 Demographics of migrant youth

All the interviewed youth were born in Zimbabwe. However, this was not intentional; it just so happened that all migrants who volunteered to participate were from Zimbabwe. Nine of the migrant men had migrated while still minors, and the rest when they were over eighteen (i.e. adults). None of the women migrated as minors. The youth came from different cities and towns in Zimbabwe and had similar socio-economic backgrounds, which were marred by financial challenges and for many had led them to migrate. Of the twenty-six youth, twelve were resident at the CMC's refugee shelter during the time of interviews. Except Nancy (who was resident at CMC during the interview period), the women were interviewed after the CMC's refugee shelter service had been shut down, hence were interviewed at a venue outside CMC. Although some of the men were also not resident at CMC, they had been residents previously and were still taking part in the shelter's activities.

Twelve of the fifteen men attended secondary school at ASS, which all of them successfully completed (see Chapter Six). None of the women had successfully completed their secondary schooling or attended ASS. All the women had attended schooling in Zimbabwe which for various reasons (again discussed in Chapter Six) they were not able to complete.

Only one of the participants had a valid study visa, which he had obtained during the Zimbabwe Dispensation Project in which visas were provided to Zimbabwean students with less stringent requirements (see section 2.5.2.1). The rest of the youth had overstayed their stay in South Africa, were using asylum seekers' permits, were in possession of expired Asylum Seekers' Permits, or had no documentation. While all participants were involved in various activities, with some registered at college or university, they had one thing in common: they all hoped to find income-generating opportunities. This was particularly strong for those that were not involved in any schooling activity. These demographics are summarised in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1: Summary of the migrant youths' demographic profiles

Name	Gender	Age	Type of documentation	Year of arrival in South Africa	Age at arrival	Place of residence at time of interview	Current context
Chido	M	22	Asylum Seekers' Permit	2009	17	CMC	Studying at college
Elias	M	22	Overstayed passport	2008	16	Outside CMC	Seeking work
Obert	M	20	Expired Asylum Seekers' Permit	2008	14	CMC	Seeking work
Terry	M	24	No documents (unstamped passport)	2008	17	CMC	Studying at university
Henry	M	22	Passport with study visa	2010	18	Outside CMC	Studying at university
Pete	M	23	No documents (unstamped passport)	2007	17	CMC	Studying at university
Sipho	M	21	Asylum Seekers' Permit	2009	16	CMC	Seeking work
Sandi	M	26	No documents (overstayed passport)	2014	26	CMC	Contract worker
Rusu	M	25	Asylum Seekers' Permit	2008	19	CMC	Seeking work
Elton	M	25	Asylum Seekers' Permit	2008	19	CMC	Seeking work
Musa	M	23	No documents	2007	16	Outside CMC	Studying at college
Dave	M	31	Asylum Seekers' Permit	2008	25	CMC	Contract worker
Paridzai	M	25	No documents (expired Asylum Seekers' Permit)	2009	17	CMC	Doing piece jobs
Lindani	M	20	No documents	2009	15	Outside CMC	Seeking work
Lesley	M	24	Asylum Seekers' Permit	2009	19	CMC	Seeking work
Tracy	F	30	Asylum Seekers' Permit	2010	25	Outside CMC	Part-time domestic worker
Sara	F	22	No documents	2013	20	Outside CMC	Helps blind mother to beg
Rita	F	21	No documents	2014	20	Outside CMC	Seeking work
Lorna	F	23	Asylum Seekers' Permit	2009	16	Outside CMC	Running fruit and vegetable stall

Name	Gender	Age	Type of documentation	Year of arrival in South Africa	Age at arrival	Place of residence at time of interview	Current context
Ruth	F	33	Asylum Seekers Permit	2013	30	Outside CMC	Childminder
Feli	F	27	No documents	2008	21	Outside CMC	Seeking work
Leya	F	25	Overstayed passport	2014	26	Outside CMC	Doing piece jobs
Angela	F	25	No documents	2007	17	Outside CMC	Fruit vendor
Neo	F	27	Expired Asylum Seekers' Permit	2008	21	Outside CMC	Seeking work/housewife
Susan	F	27	No documents	2011	23	Outside CMC	Vegetable vendor
Nancy	F	27	No documents	2008	21	CMC	Doing piece jobs

Table 5.2 summarises the distribution of the participants (N=26) according to gender.

Table 5.2: Gender distribution of participants in the study

Gender	Total	Percentage
Male	15	58
Female	11	42
Total	26	100

As shown in the table, the majority of the participants in this study were male. As discussed earlier, this is because there were more men available during the initial interview stage. Most women were not available during the initial interview stage as many of them had live-in domestic jobs.

5.2.1 Background of migrant youth

The migrant youth interviewed came from similar socio- economic backgrounds. That is, the youth experienced similar economic challenges faced in Zimbabwe as discussed in section 5.5.2.2. As such, on the whole the migrant youth share two experiences: the political and economic challenges experienced in Zimbabwe, and their consequent decisions to migrate. Some left due to family issues, as will be seen in the following Chapter. It is important to note that even before the political and economic instability in Zimbabwe, some were already living in poverty. Most of the migrant men in the study had lost one or both parents and were living in the rural areas with grandparents, who were unemployed and had little means of survival. Unlike most of the women, nine of the fifteen migrant men had migrated as unaccompanied minors. This not only shows the dire state of need in Zimbabwe at the time, but also the low level of education that the young men had. This migration of minors is in line with literature presented in Chapter Two indicating the concern of UNICEF about the influx of unaccompanied minors in 2009 (UNICEF, 2009:1).

5.3 Outline of study area

5.3.1 Migrants in Johannesburg

As mentioned in Chapter Two, Johannesburg has become South Africa's most populous city in recent years. Situated in Gauteng province, the city is South Africa's financial and manufacturing centre, with a large concentration of wealth and production (Peberdy et al., 2004). The 2011 census counted 51.7 million people in the country, with 12.2 million living in Gauteng, thus making it the largest province by population (StatsSA, 2012:2). Similarly, the 2016 community survey reported Johannesburg to be most populous city. Figures 5.1 and 5.2 show the provincial population between 2001 and 2011, and in 2016 respectively. This growth may be attributed to internal and international labour migration.

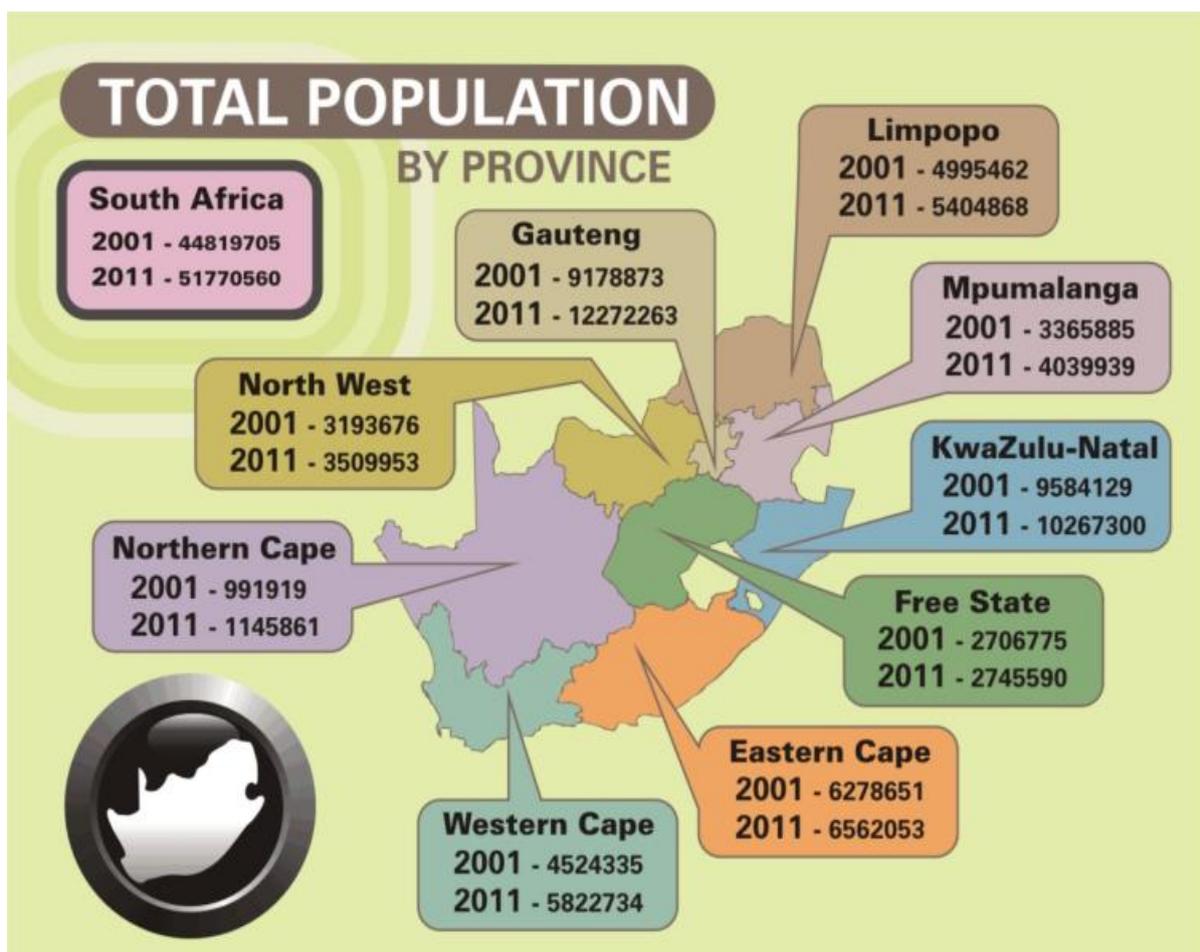


Figure 5.1: Total population by province 2001-2011

Source: Statistics SA (2016a)

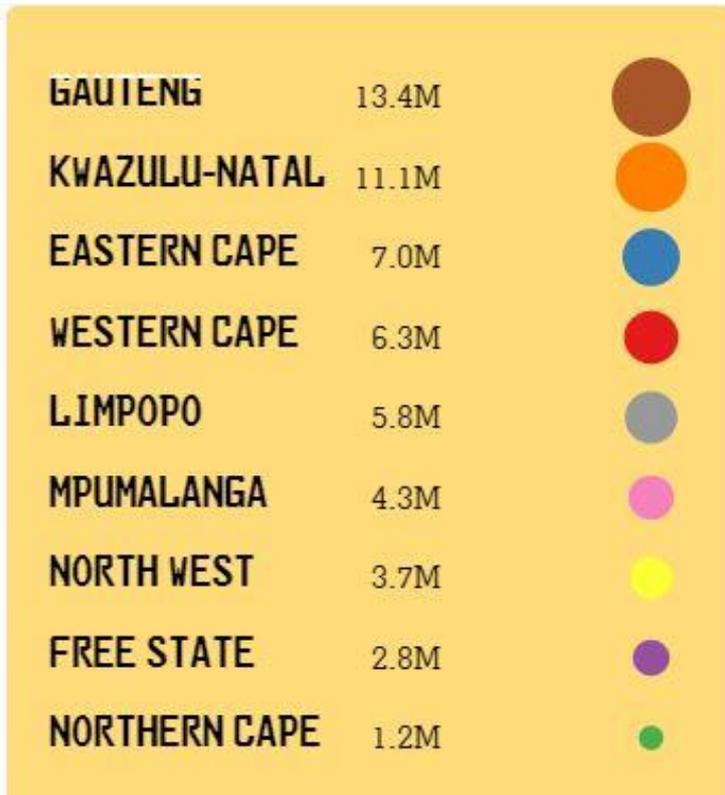


Figure 5.2: Total population by province in 2016

Source: Statistics SA (2016b)

A hub for both internal and international migrants, Johannesburg has seen a number of marginalised migrants arrive in recent years. As such, development programmes in the city need to account for current and future migration as well as migrants already living in the city. What is not clear is how the city accounts for marginalised migrants. Despite this, some individuals, churches, civil and non-governmental organisations have taken initiatives to address the developmental needs of marginalised migrants, particularly youth. As introduced in Chapter One, one such example is the Albert Street School. Gathered from the interviews with the two representatives, as discussed in the previous Chapter, the following section gives a brief overview of the context of many of the youth and serves as background to the empirical results presented in the coming Chapters.

5.3.1.2 *Albert Street School and the Central Methodist Church*

As a result of the 2008 xenophobic attacks on foreigners in South Africa, there was a significant influx of children of school-age into the Central Methodist Church. In *Sanctuary*, Christa Kuljian (2013) highlights that the church has for many years provided shelter to diverse disadvantaged individuals. The church overseer indicated that in 2008 and 2009 the church housed up to 5,000 migrants at a time, with some of the participants reporting sleeping outside the building as a result of lack of space inside the church. Many of these migrants had fled the May 2008 xenophobic attacks in townships surrounding Johannesburg (Seale, 2009; Waghid, 2009). Although the overcrowding at the church led to outcries from nearby businesses concerned about physical safety and hygiene, the argument raised was that the challenges being faced within the vicinity of the church as a result of migrants were a result of the failure of the State to observe both national and international obligations to shelter homeless refugees and asylum seekers (Kuljian, 2013:185); again, this raises concerns about the self-settling and self-integrating of refugees and asylum seekers evident in literature (see Khan, 2007; Landau et al., 2005).

This influx of children into the church, most of them unaccompanied minors, became a cause for concern in terms of their educational wellbeing. One of the many challenges rested on the fact that the shelter only provided overnight accommodation and residents had to move out during the day to make way for day-to-day church activities. Many individuals therefore had nothing to do during the day. As a result, some of the children were then at risk of being used for criminal activities by older people, for example being 'employed' to snatch 'phones for a small payment. With a high number of qualified teachers living in the church as refugees and with no jobs, some of these adults volunteered to teach the children resident in the church.

ASS opened its doors to refugee children on the 7th of July 2008 offering learning services from grade zero to form six.¹⁷ The school is located in the inner city of Johannesburg in what used to be the Methodist church for Africans prior to South Africa's independence in 1994. According to Kuljian (2013), the church had in earlier

¹⁷ Form six is the highest grade in high school using the Cambridge education system and is equivalent to Grade 12 in South Africa standards. Albert Street School follows the Cambridge 'form' education system.

years provided evening classes in reading and mathematics to domestic workers; later a school was developed for the children of domestic workers who could not attend segregated (white) schools. After fifty years in operation, the school was closed down in 1958, as a black school in a white area (Kuljian, 2013).¹⁸ The buildings were then put to use again in 2008 when ASS opened.

On inception ASS faced many challenges, including registration with relevant education bodies. Because of the limited human and financial resources, classes started off as multi-grade¹⁹ classes in order to maximize the use of available resources. Another challenge was the issue of language, as the teachers were volunteers; it was difficult to get volunteer teachers to teach South African local languages, which is one of the requirements for a full grade 12 (matric) certificate (the formal South African school leaving certificate). The high school used English as the official language of instruction and registered as an attached centre at the British Council, where students could sit for Cambridge examinations. In addition, the fact that children did not have official documentation meant that they could not enrol at mainstream schools. Furthermore, because most unaccompanied minors had no-one to fend for them, there was a need for basic necessities such as food and living conditions conducive for learning. All students were moved to a Methodist Centre in Soweto for the duration of their studies. Because of the challenging backgrounds of most the students, the teachers have had to take on multiple roles of teacher and parent so that students work to the best of their ability.

With the migrant children at school, the rest of the migrant community at the church was free to participate in vocational training activities, presented by volunteer migrants within the church, such as computing, sewing and baking.²⁰ ASS has consistently had more boys enrolling; while this can be attributed to diverse factors, the common factor is based on the belief that on arrival in South Africa, most young girls get married or find

¹⁸ The school was located in the city centre and during apartheid it was not easily accessible to the black population.

¹⁹For example, children from forms one and two in a single class.

²⁰One of the non-vocational activities included the Peace Action Initiative, which most of the migrant youth were part of. The initiative was formed in 2010 to monitor evictions in the inner city of Johannesburg that had started years earlier under the Group Areas Act, but were still a concern even after apartheid (Kuljian, 2013). The initiative monitored human rights abuses in the city including intervening in cases of xenophobia cases and police harassment. Since the shelter closed in December 2013, Peace Action has remained operational, but on a smaller scale.

domestic work, which often requires one to live-in and hence limits what one is able to do in spare time, such as taking extra courses.

As the school progressed there was need to incorporate French as a medium of instruction to accommodate children from French-speaking countries such as the Democratic Republic of Congo (these children were also offered extra English classes). Children from South African communities are also welcome at the school; however, as indicated earlier including all eleven official languages at the school is financially challenging. Thus, although the school has grown from inception, both in numbers and in infrastructure (e.g. it now has a library) there still remain challenges in both funding and other infrastructure, such as a science laboratory. Unaccompanied minors rely on donations to learn at the school, including registering for the Cambridge exams, while accompanied minors pay a minimum fee.

The school has managed to stay afloat as a result of donations from individuals and organisations such as the World Mission Possible, and Solidarity Peace Trust, among others. This raises interest in the role of non-governmental organisations, civil organisations and individuals in the provision of education and the running of institutions of education. The students at the school are encouraged to work hard and take motivation from successful former students. Table 5.3 shows student enrolment, categories and teaching staff at ASS in 2008 (the year the school started) and in 2016.

Table 5.3: ASS enrolment in 2008

Date	School Total Enrolment	Accompanied Learners²¹	Unaccompanied Learners²²	Teaching Staff
14 July 2008	35	8	27	4
12 September 2008	140	57	93	9
21 October 2008	180	84	96	11
7 December 2008	220	120	100	11

Source: (Pausigere, 2013)

²¹Learners who came from other countries with their parents or guardians and who do not stay at the church. The same is applied to learners of South African origin.

²²Learners who came from outside South Africa on their own, without an adult.

Table 5.4: ASS enrolment in 2016 (combined primary and secondary schools)

Date	School Total Enrolment	Accompanied Learners	Unaccompanied Learners	Teaching Staff
13 May 2016	323	239	84	18

Source: (ASS records)

Table 5.5 below presents the gender representation of Form ones and Form fours at ASS, Form one being the first level of high school and Form four being the level required for entry level to some tertiary programmes.

Table 5.5: Gender landscape of Form ones and fours at ASS

Date	Level	Girls	Boys	Total in class
13 May 2016	Form One	3	16	19
13 May 2016	Form Four	22	32	54

Source: (ASS records)

Table 5.6 presents the gender landscape between the primary and secondary schools.

Table 5.6: ASS Primary and secondary school gender landscape

Date	School	Girls	Boys	Total in school level
13 May 2016	Primary	82	77	159
13 May 2016	Secondary	60	104	164

Source: (ASS records)

In 2016, the school had more girls enrolled at the primary school in comparison to the high school, where boys outnumbered girls. From the interview with Dr. Mbatha it seems that as female students progress from primary to secondary school, some of them are faced with different experiences such as falling pregnant, and therefore drop out of school. Very few of these girls return to school as they had to take on responsibilities of caring for their children, which requires them to seek work. Secondly, most often boys migrated into South Africa at ages that allowed them to register at high school; girls the same age, however, would normally immediately seek employment, as they already had

responsibilities such as children and extended family back home. This, as indicated earlier, is in addition to likelihood of getting married shortly after arrival in South Africa.



Picture 5.1: Inside the Central Methodist Church
Source: (Chiumia, 2013)



Picture 5.2: Albert Street School in 2015
Source: *(Picture taken at ASS)*



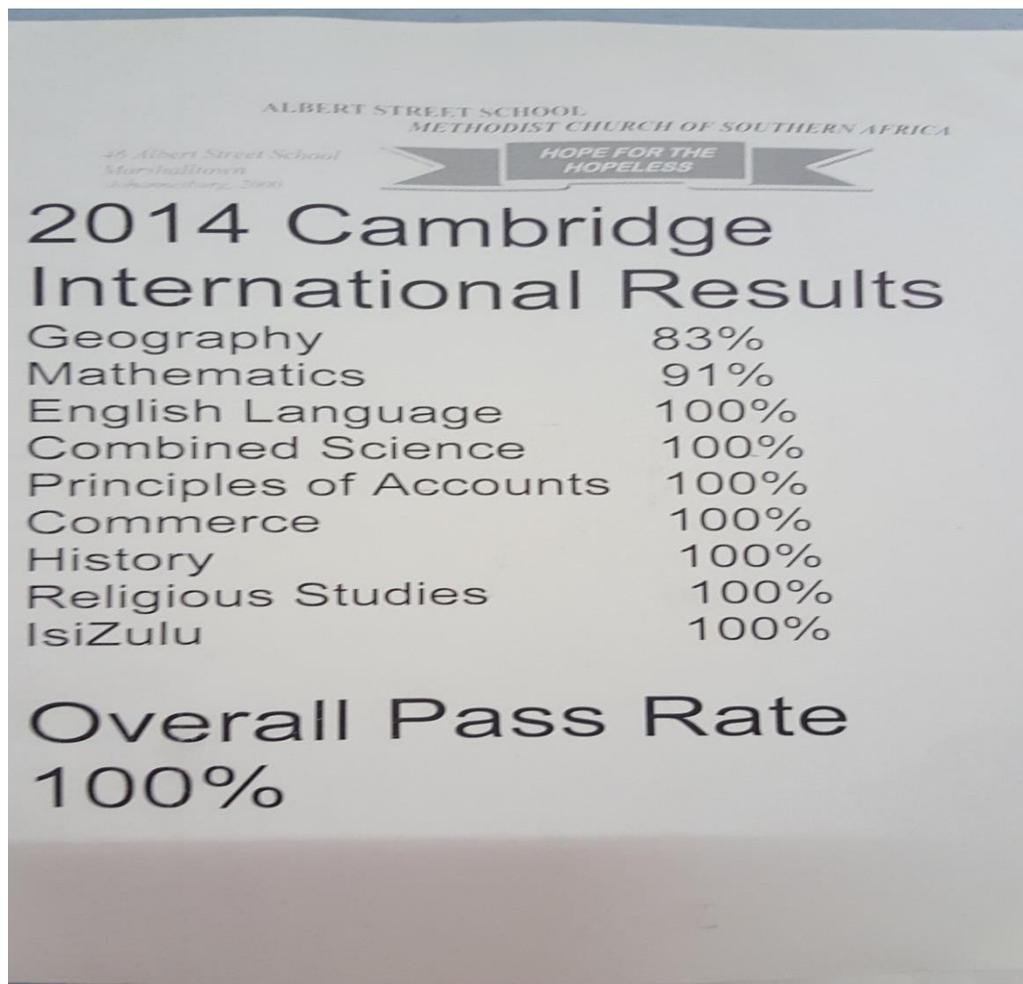
Picture 5.3: Learners receiving food at Albert Street School in 2015
Source: *(Picture taken at ASS)*



Picture 5.4: Learners having lunch at Albert Street School in 2015

Source: *(Picture taken at ASS)*

Although the church permanently shut down its refugee shelter services on 31 December 2014, ASS remains operational. The closure of the refugee shelter had no direct impact on the operations and functioning of the school. As shared by Dr. Gasi, migrant children attending at the school have always had separate accommodation designed for school children located outside the city centre, and that also remains functional. However, Dr Mbatha spoke of the xenophobic attitudes that recurred in 2015, including the looting of foreign-owned shops in different parts of South Africa (see City Press, 2015; Harrison, 2015; Kubheka, 2015; Nicolaides & Kubheka, 2015), and these had a negative influence on the operations of the school as seen in the schools O-Level results for 2014 and 2015 (below). This drop in marks, he said, was a result of students missing school as a result of fear of being victimised or attacked, among other reasons.



Picture 5.5: ASS 2014 O-Level results
Source: (picture taken at ASS school office)

ALBERT STREET SCHOOL
METHODIST CHURCH OF SOUTHERN AFRICA

46 Albert Street School
Marshalltown
Town



2015 OCT/NOV 'O' LEVEL RESULTS CAMBRIDGE INTERNATIONAL EXAMINATIONS

English Language 1123	84%
Mathematics	100%
Chemistry	100%
Combined Science	87%
Biology	86%
English as a Second Language 0510	89%
Principles of Accounts	100%
Business Studies	100%
Commerce	92%
History	100%
Geography	62.5%
Religious Studies	54.5%
IsiZulu	100%
French	100%

Overall Pass Rate 90.9%

Picture 5.6: ASS 2015 O-Level results

Source: (picture taken at ASS school office)

5.4 Contextualising migrant education within legislation

Chapter Two provided a detailed overview of legislative instruments related to migration in South Africa, including asylum seekers and refugees. Here, I contextualise legislation relevant to the development of educational aspirations. The Constitution includes a Bill of Rights that addresses the rights to equality, freedom and education (Motala & Pampillas, 2001:16):

Everyone has a right:

- a. To basic education, including adult basic education, and*
- b. To further education which the state, through reasonable measures, must make progressively available and accessible.*

In addition to the right to education found in the Bill of Rights, the Higher Education Act (Act 101 of 1997) and the Schools Act (Act 84 of 1996) place special emphasis on addressing past discriminatory practices in educational provision. The objective was to establish transformation programmes that improve human resources, economic development and other developmental needs of the citizens. According to Motala and Pampillas (2001), the Education White Paper 3, which preceded the Act, lists the following principles as guidelines for the transformation of HE institutions: equity, democratisation, development, quality, effectiveness-efficiency, and academic freedom. Likewise, the 2001 National Plan for Higher Education also facilitates the democratic transformation of the national system of education to one which addresses the needs and interest of the citizens and upholds their fundamental rights.

A further instrument is the 2012 National Development Plan 2030, which aims to eliminate poverty and reduce inequality by 2030. To achieve this, South Africa, through collaboration between the public and private sectors and the participation of all South Africans, intends to translate political emancipation into economic wellbeing for all. Specific focus will be on human capabilities including education, health, social protection and community safety (National Development Plan, 2012). Following the NDP, the White Paper for Post-School Education and Training approved by Cabinet in 2013 seeks to improve the capacity of the post-school education and training system to meet South Africa's needs (White Paper, 2013:xi). The paper acknowledges that despite

years of democracy, the South African post-school education and training system does not offer sufficient places to the many youth and adults seeking education and training and must be expanded (p.2). However, in all these pieces of education-related legislation, reference is made specifically to citizens of the country and official refugees; no specific mention is made of the marginalised migrants represented in this study, as is shown in Table 2.1. This is also seen in the latest 2016 Green Paper on International Migration (introduced in section 2.5.2.1), which does not highlight anything in relation to marginalised migrant youth or anything in relation post-secondary schooling for this group of people.

The Paper acknowledges (p.27) that hundreds of thousands of asylum seekers and undocumented migrants from within the Southern African Development Community (SADC) are already in the country. Yet, the Paper proposes that asylum seekers in the country would no longer have an automatic right to work or study (except in unidentified exceptional circumstances), since their basic needs would be catered for by (proposed) processing centres. Such exclusion from work and study may be of concern, considering the development that South Africa seeks to achieve by 2030, whereas such marginalised migrants could be identified and trained, including in entrepreneurial skills. Such inclusivity in training and development could enhance the economic and social development of the country, and as such South Africa would capitalise on such unseen potential.

The emphasis on integrating only those individuals who hold long-term visas, permanent residents, naturalised citizens and officially recognised refugees as proposed by the Green Paper can potentially exclude the developmental capacity (in form of critical skills) that the country needs. Yet, a proactive and innovative approach of providing marginalised migrant youth already in country with education and training opportunities through tailor-made training development programmes and partnerships could be an innovative approach to unlock the scarce skills desirable for both economic and social development of South Africa. Such an approach would not only promote the development and maintenance of a reliable population register of various groups of migrants, but also advance the skills base required, as identified in the 2030 National Development Plan. Thus, rather than the focus being on attracting scarce skills into the

country, the skills of those individuals already in the country can be identified and nurtured, regardless of immigration status. Further to this, such an approach would promote humanitarianism which should be a focus among African states.

While policy analysis is not the core of the study (but rather the lives and educational aspirations of marginalised migrant youth), based on this legislation, the critical element that this section highlights is the policy context in which marginalised migrant youth can form and pursue educational aspirations. While a school such as ASS may pursue a developmental education agenda for marginalised migrant children and youth, there is limited visible action at macro level in regard to this group of migrants. Considering the need to address the challenge of economic migrants as highlighted by Minister Malusi Gigaba in Chapter Two, it remains possible to develop human development initiatives to help marginalised migrant youth pursue their educational aspirations. Therefore, while the need to address regional and international migration remains complex, there is need to locate all national and regional interventions dealing with migration within the broader context of the global pursuit of the 2030 Agenda of sustainable development.

5.5 Conclusion

This Chapter provided a contextual background of the migrant youth, as well as the environment in which they may form, pursue and realise their educational aspirations. In addition to introducing the reader to the participants in the study, another key aim of this Chapter was to highlight the need to understand educational aspirations and how they are formed by marginalised migrant youth within the broader physical and legislative environment. The Chapters that follow present and discuss the findings, bearing in mind the individual backgrounds and experiences and the environment introduced in this Chapter.

Chapter Six: Behind the borders: Pre-migration experiences and educational aspirations of migrant youth

6.1 Introduction

Following the research design and methodology already presented, Chapters Six and Seven present the findings of the study. The findings are structured chronologically, showing the migrant youths' experiences and educational aspirations in Zimbabwe leading to their experiences and educational aspirations in South Africa. In this Chapter, I report the findings that answer research questions one and two: *What are the experiences of marginalised migrant youth? What educational aspirations do the migrant youth have?* Thus, provided here are insights into the life experiences of these youth while in Zimbabwe. These will contribute to our understanding of the contexts that influence aspiration formation among marginalised migrant youth. Although not focusing much on theory (see Chapters Eight and Nine), I will also show how the CA can be valuable in understanding marginalised peoples' lives and experiences.

The Chapter is divided into three broad themes. I start by foregrounding the push and pull factors for migration into South Africa, laying a foundation for the broad experiences of migrant youth. This is then followed by a discussion of migrants' schooling experiences where I provide the Zimbabwean educational landscape and their pre-migration educational functionings. This discussion leads on to a consideration of how gender influences these functionings. Thirdly and finally, I build on the discussion of the push and pull factors and the youths' schooling experiences and educational functionings to discuss the impacts of the identified factors on their high school educational aspirations.

6.2 Foregrounding the push and pull factors of migration into South Africa

As discussed in Chapter Two, in 2008 Zimbabwe's economy collapsed: the country had its highest inflation and social and other services came to a standstill (Makumbe, 2009; Luebker, 2008). In 2008 and the years that followed, many people, including children and youth, escaped by migrating to different countries, including South Africa (see De-Jager & Musuva, 2016; Bloch, 2010; Hanke & Kwok, 2009; Hammar, 2008). Although all the migrant youth in the study had more than one push-pull factor, Table 6.1 presents the dominant factors that influenced decisions to migrate as identified in each narrative.

Table 6.1: Push-pull factors of migration into South Africa

Name of migrant	Migration Push-pull factor(s)
Angela	Better life in South Africa
Chido	Better job opportunities in South Africa
Dave	Economic hardships and better job opportunities in South Africa
Elias	Ran away from family challenges
Elton	Political instability and search for better job opportunities
Feli	Better job opportunities in South Africa
Henry	Better employment opportunities in South Africa
Lesley	Economic challenges and peer pressure from friends
Leya	Better job opportunities in South Africa
Lindani	In search of better living conditions employment opportunities
Lorna	Unemployment
Musa	Poverty in Zimbabwe and better job opportunities in South Africa
Nancy	Better job opportunities in South Africa
Neo	Better job opportunities in South Africa
Obert	Ran away from abuse by family members
Paridzai	Political instability and unemployment in Zimbabwe
Pete	Better life in South Africa
Rita	Unemployment
Rusu	Lack of job opportunities in Zimbabwe
Ruth	Unemployment
Sandi	Better employment opportunities
Sara	Lack of income opportunities
Sipho	Economic hardship and peer pressure from friends
Susan	Unemployment in Zimbabwe
Terry	Political instability and unemployment
Tracy	Political unrest and unemployment

Similar to some of the migrants in Bloch's (2010) study who identified more than one reason for migrating from Zimbabwe to South Africa, my data also highlights that the decisions to migrate were multifaceted, as more than one reason was given by each migrant youth interviewed. These reasons are interlinked, overlapping, and cut across each other. For example, all migrant youth interviewed indicated that they experienced economic challenges, which were a result of political instability in the country at the time. This includes even those that reported to have been influenced by friends, such as Lesley, Rusu and Nancy. Although the reasons identified resembled both push and pull factors of migration, the push factors were identified by most of the youth. Table 6.2 summarises and groups these reasons for migrating into four broad categories (economic, political, family challenges and peer pressure), discussed in the section that follows.

Table 6.2: Push-pull factors distribution table

Push-pull factor	Men	Women	Total
Push: Economic (<i>related to instability, poverty, unemployment</i>)	15	11	26
Push: Political (<i>related to instability, threat</i>)	3	1	4
Push: Family challenges (<i>related to family problems and abuse</i>)	2	-	2
Pull: Peer pressure (<i>related to influence by friends</i>)	2	-	2

6.2.1 Push factors

6.2.1.1 “There was no food in the shops, people were starving”: Economic influences on migration

As other studies have shown (De-Jager & Musuva, 2016; Crush et al., 2015; Idemudia et al., 2013; Mawadza, 2008), it emerged from the migrant stories that poor economic activities, lack of job opportunities and high unemployment rates are common push factors that influenced most of the youth’s decision to migrate. As such, the exodus of many people after 2000 may have made it easier to leave for those already living in poverty who had not thought of leaving the country earlier. A total of 22 migrant youth shared how economic instability influenced their individual decision to migrate:

After writing my Form four examinations, I thought I was going to get a job in Zimbabwe and work, but it was difficult to get a job. Since I am an orphan it was difficult to look after myself without an income. (Neo, female, 27)

I had just finished high school in 2008 when things started to just go upside down in Zimbabwe, things were not moving well, no jobs, no money and there was drought in Zimbabwe and we just had nowhere to go and I just woke up one day in the morning and I just – because I was living alone at that time – my mum was here, and I just said to myself ‘no, I can’t take this anymore’ because you would go days without food. (Rusu, male, 25)

These narratives above are also consistent with the literature provided in Chapter Two, which showed the high levels of unemployment among youth across Zimbabwe (Besada, 2011; UNICEF, 2009). Makumbe (2009) notes that while in the 1980s poverty levels were around 27 percent, they had risen to over 90 percent in the late 2000s and poverty was more pronounced in rural than in urban areas with most high school leavers migrating to South Africa. A UNICEF (2009) report indicates that 94% of rural schools (where some of the migrant youth in this study come from), which served the majority of the population, were closed in 2009 before the Government of National Unity was

established (Besada, 2011). The United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA) reported that out of Zimbabwe's 12 million people, only 480,000 were formally employed in 2008, compared to the 3.6million employed in 2003 (Chimucheka, 2012). As shown in Chapter Two (section 2.5.2.2), this unemployment peak can be attributed to the long political unrest and economic decline that plagued Zimbabwe after 2000. Zimbabwe's national report for the 2014 Ministerial Conference on Youth Employment further reported, according to the 2012 census, that of the total population of 13,061, 239, 77% consisted of children and youth between the ages of 14-35. Youth aged 15-34 constituted 36% of the national population and 56% of the economically active population; however, they formed 84% of the unemployed population. Although this crisis affected various social and age groups in the country, Chirisa and Muchini (2011) point out that youth were the most affected, and this led to the young and economically active people fleeing to different parts of the world, with thousands migrating to neighbouring South Africa.

The unemployment and poverty experiences related to lack of basic necessities such as food, access to proper schooling facilities and other goods and services necessary to lead a decent life. This, as the extracts indicate, leads to needs such as obtaining an education becoming central only when more basic needs such as hunger and need for clothing have been met. Thus poverty affects schooling and educational functioning in a number of ways. Parents fail to provide adequate financial and material resources. These challenges also influence some teachers to refuse to report for duty as their salaries are eroded by inflation (Dekker, 2009). In addition to negatively impacting on educational achievement, poverty influences other aspects of human development such as physical, psychological, health and social aspects of both learners and their teachers. From the narratives collected in this study, it is clear that poverty cuts across economic, physical and social needs. Such influence of poverty on young people's wellbeing and development merits a focus on education and poverty at the core of global development agendas. These constrained capabilities as a result of poverty limited the freedom essential for young people to live lives they value in their country. In the next section I discuss the political environment as a push factor, as shared by the migrant youth. Although many noted economic reasons for their decision to migrate, the economic challenges experienced were usually as a result of the unstable political context in

Zimbabwe. The intersection of political and economic environments suggests that the two cannot be separated, and in this case economic migrants may also be viewed as political refugees.

6.2.1.2 “If the situation is tough, you will be brave”: Political instability as a push factor

Political instability, sometimes in the form of civil violence, limited freedom of speech and the requirement of youth to participate in political activities were some of the reasons mentioned by those who indicated that politics was the reason they migrated to South Africa. Tracy, Terry and Elton²³ report that political instability led them to migrate:

In Zimbabwe, politics was not good; it's not like here in South Africa where you can go to your party freely, in Zimbabwe it's not like that, so we just ran away. Politics and hunger, there was no food, it was bad. (Tracy, female, 30)

The two factions MDC and ZANU PF were fighting and the unfortunate people like us were victims of the violence and everyone who was eighteen or turning eighteen was forced to join. It was bad, it was really bad. (Terry, male, 24)

Such recruitment of young people for political activities may have meant that students lost a considerable amount of learning time while they participated in activities outside the curriculum (Makumbe, 2009). As a result, many of the young learners sought opportunities to get away from such environments, as in Terry's case, and one way was to migrate to South Africa.

The narratives show the complexity of both political and economic effects on individual wellbeing and society at large (Bonga et al., 2015; Makumbe, 2009). In other words, how macro and structural contexts filter down to the individual and how these potentially have a long term implication on the people affected (ibid.). It also demonstrates how different factors such as economic development, the social and

²³ See Elton's full narrative in section 8.2.3.

political are interrelated with educational development (Shizha & Kariwo, 2011). For example, education budget cuts would lead to poorer educational services (Pswarayi & Reeler, 2012). Thus, the impact of the Zimbabwean economic crisis on the educational sector not only resulted from clear financial implication such as budget cuts, but the country's unpredictable and unstable political context (Hanke & Kwok, 2009; Makochekanwa, 2007). In addition to the economic and political push factors, two of the migrant youth shared how their personal familial experiences influenced the decisions to migrate to South Africa.

6.2.1.3 "They chased my mother away to go back where she came from": Family challenges experienced by migrant youth

Obert²⁴ and Elias reported that family challenges also played a part in their decision to migrate.

I faced a lot of challenges with my relatives in Zimbabwe. When my father died they wanted to take everything, but I was the one to inherit. No relative who was on my side, supporting me, I was just alone so I decided to run away. (Elias, male, 22)

Family and personal experiences reported by some of the youth illustrate lives embodied by various personal traumas and challenges, such as the death of a parent, division among family members and what the two migrant youth perceived to be ill-treatment. Such ill-treatment related to being forced to leave school and do manual labour every day, which Elias felt was abuse. According to Misztal (2011) such vulnerability stemming from painful and traumatic experiences diminishes the emotional capacities of individuals. It also lowers the possibilities of realising individuality and reduces the chances of collaborative relationships with others who are seen as responsible for the experienced trauma and emotional vulnerability. For instance, Elias felt that no-one supported him and decided to run away from home. The risk associated with the past, Misztal (2011) notes, is that we cannot free ourselves from the consequences of past deeds, wounds, pains and traumas. For example, although

²⁴ See Obert's full narrative in section 8.2.4.

Obert and Elias attempted to escape the pain and trauma by moving to South Africa, they still find it difficult to free themselves emotionally from the unpleasant experiences they have had.

As indicated at the beginning of the section, while the push factors played a major role in the decision to migrate, some of the youth reported pull factors. Thus, the following section presents a discussion on these pull factors that played a role in the migration of the migrant youth.

6.2.2 Pull factors

South Africa's stable economy and job opportunities presented a promise of a better life for the migrant youth and this was identified as motivating for most of the youth in their decision to migrate to South Africa.

6.2.2.1 "If they left me, I would have been alone": Impact of peer pressure on migration

I saw my friends come here, I also saw things on TV; you know when you see things on TV everything is nice in South Africa, so it was peer pressure from friends who said 'it is better to go to SA, it will be different from the way we live here. I only wrote two subjects, and we left during the exams by the time. All my friends had already written their exams and they had passed. So to me it was like if they left me, I would have been alone, that is why I joined the crew. (Lesley, male, 24)

In the example above, Lesley reports that his friends influenced his decision to migrate to South Africa. While peer pressure can be viewed as an influence on migration, it is also an influence on one's aspirations, as we see that it influenced the life Lesley aspired to. This can be attributed to the general view of many young people that there was another, better life outside Zimbabwe. These young people therefore convinced each other that the perceived better life was possible for all. As Lesley narrates, media plays an important role in influencing what young people aspire to achieve. Movies, dramas and commercial advertisements may have an unintended consequence of fuelling

perceptions that one place may be better than another, or build perceptions that it is possible to achieve certain things in life, such as diverse choice of food, cars and houses shown in TV commercials.

Beside the school closing and his grandmother struggling to look after the family, Siphos also believes peer pressure influenced his decision to migrate to South Africa:

It was peer pressure from other guys who had been here before us. They would come here and maybe they were lucky enough to find jobs and buy fancy clothes and cell 'phones, so when they came back home they would discuss South African stories about how good things were, and we would see their cell 'phones and I would just wish if I could get my own cell 'phone. So it was peer pressure from other guys. (Siphos, male, 21)

I was seventeen, very young and people were coming to South Africa so I just came too. Money influenced my decision to come to South Africa, I saw people coming back home with money and buying clothes, looking very nice and I said to myself I could do it also. (Angela, female, 25)

Similar to Lesley peer pressure influenced the life that Siphos and Angela ultimately aspired to. The knowledge that the young people had about South Africa is an example of strong social influence from peers and friends. This gathering and exchanging of informal information is highlighted by Ball and Vincent (1998) as either hot²⁵ or cold²⁶ knowledge. The trend is that those that travel to South Africa first return to Zimbabwe and give the impression that life is good in South Africa (regardless of the truth). Because young people have nothing to lose by moving to South Africa, they migrate in anticipation of a better future. This choice is often embedded in the local and the circulation of social myths that influence individuals' aspirations and how to achieve them (Ball & Vincent, 1998).

Although lack of finance may have been a push factor for Chido, he also reports peer influence. Although he did not know South Africa, he had a vision of it because he had heard people telling him it was better than Zimbabwe. This example demonstrates the

²⁵Official knowledge, normally constructed for public dissemination (Ball & Vincent, 1998:240).

²⁶Grapevine knowledge, based on affective responses or direct experience (Ball & Vincent, 1998:240).

interplay between push and pull factors particularly in migration contexts. In many such instances, as also identified by the migrant youth in the study, the push-pull factors often relate to wellbeing and aspirations for wellbeing, as illustrated below:

My parents died when I was very young and there was no-one to take care of me. The situation in Zimbabwe became tough around 2006 so it was difficult for me to live on my own, so I decided 'let me just go next door'. I had also seen a lot of young guys coming to South Africa for three to four months, coming back looking better, so I was convinced that South Africa was better. (Pete, male, 23)

My decision to come to South Africa was for better living conditions. In Zim it was terrible, it was difficult even to get a meal once a day, and also at school, it was difficult to pay fees so I thought maybe if I came here I could manage to find something, some way of getting to where I wanted to be. (Lindani, male, 20)

The view is that migrating to South Africa is the best solution, as the country has better employment and livelihood opportunities in comparison to Zimbabwe. This view was reiterated by all the migrant youth, who indicated that although life in South Africa is difficult for them, it is better than living in Zimbabwe as they have opportunities of getting part-time and piece jobs that can help them care for their families. However, for most of the women who end up resorting to marriage in order to live what they view as better lives, this may not only be a constraint to their freedom of choice, but may open them up to other potential harms, such as abuse and persistent and repressive gender roles. Although not identified as a factor by migrant youth spoken to, South Africa's geographical accessibility is also likely to be one of the pull factors as it is one of the immediate destinations of choice of those living in the region, particularly Zimbabwe.

The push and pull factors indicated here are in line with Jolly and Reeves' (2005) assertion that while decisions to migrate may be forced, they can also involve different levels of choice and agency and are made in response to a complex mixture of social, economic and political pressure, incentives and norms. While the migration picture has diversified over time for men and women (Ghosh, 2009), we see from these narratives that both these groups migrated for in the hope of improved wellbeing, politically,

socially and economically. These factors discussed also provide an understanding of the situation that most young people lived in during the challenging period in Zimbabwe. This orientation also provides an understanding of why migrating to South Africa was important to most of the young people and how this has influenced their educational functionings and aspirations, discussed later in the Chapter. First, I will present their experiences of schooling in Zimbabwe, as prior educational experiences are important in the formation of educational aspirations.

6.3 Schooling experiences in the face of structural challenges in Zimbabwe

The purpose of this section is to discuss the political and economic implications of the Zimbabwean education sector and youth's schooling experiences. I start this section by providing an orientation of the structure of the education system in that country.

6.3.1 Educational landscape in Zimbabwe

The common schooling ages in Zimbabwe are from seven to eighteen years old, where a sixteen-year-old would be in form four (O-Level) and an eighteen-year-old in form six (A-Level). The schooling system encompasses thirteen years of primary and secondary school. Although all the learning stages are critical, O-Level may be viewed as one of the most critical schooling stages in Zimbabwe. Passing this level of education gives students two options through which to pursue their career or post-secondary aspirations. The first is that one proceeds to advanced levels (A-Level), after which he/she can register at a university or for a degree programme at a recognised college. The second option is to go straight into a profession that does not require A-Levels. Such professions include some civil service occupations (such as primary school teaching, policing, prisons, and army), skilled trades (such as plumbing, mechanics, and boiler-making) and secretarial and administrative occupations. Vocations such as hairdressing and dressmaking do not require the mandatory five subjects passed at O-Level. It is rare that one would be in secondary school after the age of eighteen. This is more common in rural or underprivileged areas where children might start school later or drop out.

Prior to 2000, Zimbabwe's social sector boasted an impressive education system (Makumbe, 2009) with literacy rates just above 85 percent. However, the sharp decline of the economy led to a number of undesirable consequences, such as the collapse of the social sector. This had an impact on the education sector as well. The economic crisis resulted in many parents failing to raise school and university fees for their children, and as a result the estimated school dropout rate in 2007 was around 46 percent (Makumbe, 2009). These school dropout rates were accompanied by scores of teachers, nurses, and doctors migrating to countries such as South Africa, Botswana and overseas (Chikanda, 2010; Makumbe, 2009). This shows that the genesis of the Zimbabwean crisis pre-dates 2008; however, 2008 is a very notable year in the history and landscape of Zimbabwe. We see that all migrant youth in the study migrated after 2008, and most were at a secondary school age at the time of migration. Their schooling experiences in Zimbabwe are shared in the next section.

6.3.2 Schooling experiences

The impact of economic and political challenges on schooling were evident from most of the narratives. Snippets below provide examples of how economics impacted the school experiences of the youth:

Sometimes you cannot read when you are hungry; you cannot read when you are worried. I would see my mother was struggling because my father died when I was still very young. (Henry, male, 22)

In 2007 there was a teachers strike. I had no money for fees, going to school just to be chased away was embarrassing to me so I decided to quit. I quit in form 3 and I didn't think of continuing actually. (Paridzai, male, 25)

There was deterioration of education in Zimbabwe and there were no jobs, the unemployment rate was high and those were some of the factors that affected me. There was no food in the shops, people were starving. I think there was famine in Zimbabwe. There were no crops, people were going to Chiyadzwa for diamonds and what I saw was horrific, people were bitten to death by dogs, people were being

shot, it was like a war and we had to strive for the blood diamonds and I was one of the people. I decided to come to South Africa and find some work. (Terry, male, 24)

In Zimbabwe I had many challenges. My parents were not able to pay for my fees when I was still attending school and the other issue is that teachers were not coming for the lesson; others had gone to strike and others were not paid. It was like we were learning in a back door²⁷ because we had to pay that teacher or pay for another teacher to have some extra lessons of which it was very problematic for me to get that money for extra lessons. Then I decided that if I find another way round maybe things will be better, that is when I decided to come to South Africa. (Chido, male, 22)

I didn't complete my education because of lack of funds. My parents passed away long ago and I was left in the care of my uncle who at some point failed to pay for my school fees [so] that's why I had to drop out. It is difficult when you are an orphan and not educated and in Zimbabwe if you don't have enough O-Level subjects it's difficult to get a job. So for me it was difficult, although at times it was better because I would be employed as a maid or have a boyfriend who would help here and there. (Leya, female, 25)

The above narratives illustrate the direct economic impact on schooling related to poverty as discussed earlier, and provide us with a picture of the challenges experienced by learners. These challenges are not only of inability to afford schooling costs, but the difficulty of participating in the learning process when one is hungry, as shared by Henry. Chinyoka (2013) did a study on the impact of poor nutrition on the academic performance of grade seven learners at two primary schools in Zimbabwe, and found that hungry learners were less able to concentrate and learn. He recommended the introduction of food support programmes and encouraged teachers to be warm, supportive and nurturing towards learners who experience this difficulty so as to raise their self-confidence, self-direction, self-esteem and self-image (ibid).

²⁷ Unofficial system

Moyo (2013) expressed the need for secondary school students to have more food as they experienced physical changes and growth, and thus the body requires a proper diet in order to facilitate maximum human, social, physical and mental development, which all have an impact on educational participation and achievement. These needs identified at primary and secondary levels are also important even in higher levels of learning. A study by Van De Berg and Raubenheimer (2015) among University of the Free State students found that severe food insecurity in students likely contributed to the high attrition rates and the authors called for urgent intervention. In the USA, Patton-Lopez et al. (2014) studied students at a rural Oregon university and also found that food insecurity during these years can potentially impact college students' cognitive, academic, and psychosocial development. Henry's experience therefore brings to light challenges that poor students generally face as they pursue their education, and is a cause for concern in dealing with issues of human development.

Timely payment of school fees and availability of stationery, among other things, may be viewed as school requirements that can motivate a student to work hard and positively influence their schooling experiences. Failure to provide these necessities may lead to a negative experience, as shown in Paridzai's case, and may lead young people to drop out of school without seriously considering the long-term effects of such a decision. In many cases relating to migrant stories, it can be contended that reflexive and careful consideration took place and there seemed to be no other way forward, and so dropping out of school might have been the best option available, as in Nancy's case:

I knew that my mother did not have the money to pay because she could not even pay for one subject. That time it was US\$10 per subject for me to write, so I was frustrated that I would have to repeat form 4 again. That is when I decided to leave. (Nancy, female, 27)

Because of political and economic instability in 2008, we went to school but teachers did not come to school. Our vice principal would tell us to go back home. So I stayed at home, helped my grandmother look for firewood, fetch water, and look after the cattle and bring them back to the kraal. Later on at night I would go look for the goats too. (Sipho, male, 21)

These economic and political challenges also affected teachers. Dave, once a high school teacher in Zimbabwe, is an example of the exodus of teachers in Zimbabwe:

You would find for example during the term you might teach only for a month without getting disruptions and at that time strikes were high, teachers were now and then going on strike and also at that time the money, it was losing value rapidly, so I decided it's better I try in South Africa. (Dave, male, 31)

The closure of schools referred to by Siphos not only results in loss of learning opportunities, but also robs young people of developmental opportunities. Some of these opportunities would have (in some cases) allowed young people access to post-secondary schooling which may have the potential to increase their chances for their desired lifestyle as they become adults. Chido's extract presented earlier also highlights the negative effects of hyperinflation on the teachers' salaries. As a result of this, extra lessons were a mechanism to motivate teachers to teach and earn an extra income. Not all of the parents, particularly those from rural areas, could afford to pay for these extra lessons; hence education became an expensive commodity for many. In this study none of the participants attended these extra lessons as the focus at that time, even for the guardians, was to address the immediate basic need, which was to put food on the table. The above narratives are therefore an example of how poverty can play a negative role not only in experiences of schooling, but also the impact it had on the pre-migration educational functionings of the youth in this study, which are discussed in the next section.

6.3.2.1 Compromised educational functionings

As a result of economic and social challenges discussed above, schooling functionings and aspirations varied among the migrant youth, as shown in Figure 6.1 below.

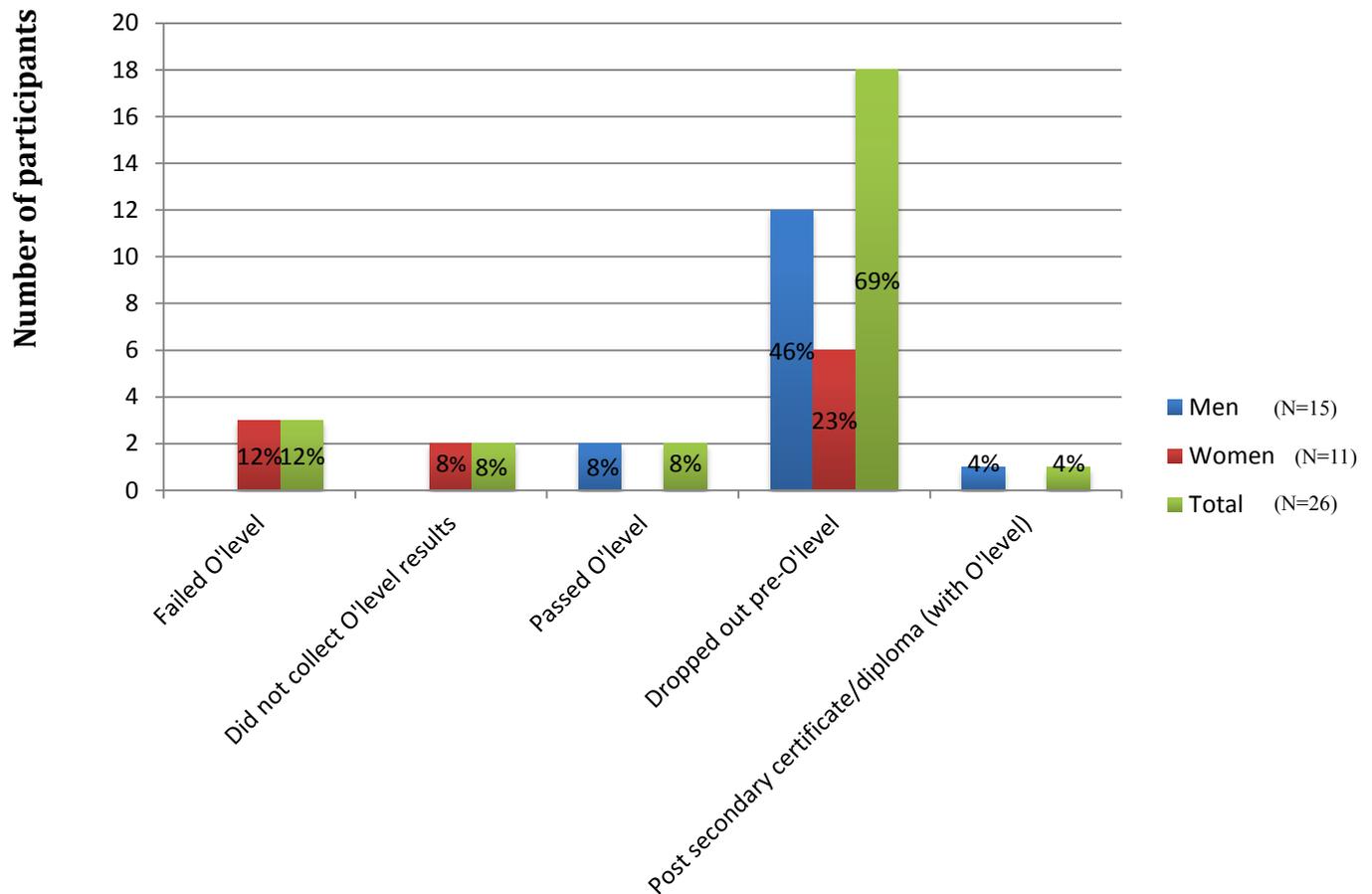


Figure 6.1: Pre-migration functionings by gender

Figure 6.1 shows the educational functionings, by gender, of migrant youth before they migrated to South Africa. The functionings (achievements) have to do with the highest level of education completed by each migrant youth and also has an influence on the educational progression of the youth. Twelve of the men (twice the number of women) dropped out before O-Level examinations. Three of the eighteen men (Terry, Sandi and Dave) wrote and passed their O-Levels in Zimbabwe, which is often the basic requirement for one to continue to formal post-secondary programmes at college, aspired to by many of the migrant youth. Dave had an opportunity to study for an

Information Technology diploma before he became a teacher at one of the high schools in Zimbabwe. Terry, however, notes that although he had also successfully completed his O-Level in Zimbabwe, there was nothing for him to do academically. Therefore, after arriving in South Africa, he says although he passed his O-Levels in Zimbabwe, he repeated O-Levels at ASS because he wanted to get free food and clothing as a student. Similarly, after completing his O-Levels in Zimbabwe, Sandi reports that he did not have opportunities to pursue his aspirations. Three women failed their O-Level examinations and two did not collect results, whereas none of the men fell in these categories. Ruth and Susan have dressmaking certificates, while Dave holds a diploma in Information Technology. Of the fifteen men, Dave and Sandi successfully completed their O-Levels in Zimbabwe. Except for Obert, all the men completed their O-Level secondary schooling at ASS.

Although Neo and Angela also had the opportunity to complete their secondary schooling, they do not seem to have intended to further their education, as they did not collect their results. This is regardless of the aspirations they had while still in school. Neo says she did not collect her results because she was afraid that she had failed, whereas Angela says:

I did not collect my results. I never wanted to go forward with education so I just left. I had finished my form four and I had to look for a job so I migrated to South Africa. (Angela, female, 25)

Later in the interview Angela shared that her childhood aspiration was to become a soldier. However, her inability to collect her results suggests that although she may have wanted to become a soldier, she may not have placed much value on this aspiration as a result of the economic challenges she may have been experiencing at the time. Angela's story also demonstrates the limited information available to young people regarding what they could actually become. Such limited information, as a result of many factors, poverty being one of them, is an example of the limitations of aspirational maps some young people still experience, which in turn limits their capacity to aspire. Additionally, it is an example of how individuals are influenced by their immediate surroundings. Sen (2009) acknowledges the influential role of social arrangements on people's

capabilities. In this case, social ecology not only shapes their aspirations, but also shapes the migrant youths' agency freedoms; that is, what action they could take towards what they think is achievable.

Although Neo aspired to become a chef during high school, her decision not to collect her results suggests interplay of economic, social and personal factors as she highlights below:

I wanted to be a cook or chef because I like cooking. Even if I want to work as a chef now, I cannot because I do not have the qualifications for being a chef. If I want to study towards this, it will take me time. I wrote (O'level) but did not collect my results. I was afraid to collect because I thought may have failed, so I decided to come to South Africa because I am an orphan and it was difficult to look after myself without an income. (Neo, Female, 27)

Neo may not have had confidence in her academic ability as a result of different challenges she may have faced during school. Additionally, her decision may have been influenced by unemployment in Zimbabwe, migrating to South Africa to seek better living conditions. Thus, not overlooking the challenges that were present in Zimbabwe at the time, both Neo and Angela may not have seen the possibility of furthering their education amidst the economic and political constraints at the time. Thus, although most polytechnic colleges often enrol students for technical programmes including in the hospitality industry even without the minimum ordinary passes, lack of tuition fees and hunger would have made it hard for them to concentrate on learning, a similar reason for some of the other young people to quit secondary schooling. Another factor that could be considered in this regard is the possible absence of motivation and support from immediate family, lack of knowledge about the potential of education by guardians, or an acceptance of a lack of diverse opportunities. For some of the young people however, such a choice would be a result of the absence of parents or guardians in the home and the power of societal influence on what role one should play, and ultimately what one aspires to be.

Tracy, Susan and Ruth report that although they completed their secondary schooling, they did not pass and therefore could not continue their studies. Tracy says she did not get the financial support to re-write or enrol for any skills or vocational programme after failing O-Level. Although this failure meant that they could not immediately realise their aspirations of being a nurse and a teacher respectively, Susan and Ruth each enrolled for a short course in Cutting and Design and Dressmaking. From their narratives, they hoped that these certificates would make a difference in their lives. After migrating to South Africa for better opportunities, however, they indicate that they have not been able to use their knowledge and thus these certificates have been of little value. Susan attributes this to lack of practical experience. However, both women believe that if they had sewing machines they would be able to apply their knowledge. According to Robeyns (2011), it is important to take into consideration the personal and socio-environmental profiles of individuals in understanding their ability to convert resources into achieved functionings. Thus, these extracts also show the importance of considering conversion factors, allowing present resources and capabilities to be converted into valued ends (Sen, 1999). In the absence of a sewing machine, a qualification in dressmaking has limited value.

It is also important to note, that similar to many other countries, it is common practice in Zimbabwe for secondary school graduates to look for jobs without college or university qualifications. Many of these jobs are apprenticeships, civil service, and clerk jobs and cannot be applied for without the mandatory minimum pass of five O-Levels (including English and Mathematics). Notwithstanding economic challenges and the already high unemployment rate in Zimbabwe, Angela's search for work without O-Levels meant her search base was very limited and even if she were fortunate, she could only get into menial employment such as domestic work, which is the reason she moved to South Africa. However, unlike young men who could more easily go out and do menial jobs (such as being a spanner boy like Paridzai, or gold panning like Terry), it is not as easy for young women. Jobs such as domestic work that women are traditionally expected to prefer were not widely available in Zimbabwe at that time, and those that were, were not well paid. Another aspect is that in many traditional settings, from where most of the men come from, men are expected to be the financial providers (Manyiwa, 2013; Kambarami, 2006). As such, during challenging situations such as the economic

crisis in Zimbabwe, men are expected to make decisions that prove that they are capable of providing, hence many (including young boys) had to resort to challenging jobs even while still minors.

6.3.2.2 Gender and educational functionings

It emerged from the data that while most women who dropped out did so as a result of poverty and other economic challenges, this was to a large extent influenced by gendered roles and responsibilities. Sara noted:

I failed to go through to form 4. Since we were many who were at school the money was difficult to get. [I dropped out because] the ones who come after me are boys, I thought it was better because I can do this and that but for boys if he decides to marry it becomes difficult. For me it would be easy, but if you look at boys it would be much [more] difficult. I thought as a girl I could look for a job as a domestic worker, that's when I started selling airtime, helping in the household with food, but the profit wasn't much for me to do big things. I then thought since others are going [to South Africa], I could also go and as my mother is blind I thought we could come here together and look for money to help those left behind in Zimbabwe. (Sara, female, 22)

In Sara's narrative, although one may, in theory, have a choice²⁸, the societal influence may be so strong that it heavily influences or changes how one views one's real purpose. She says she dropped out of school at the end of form three as a result of limited financial resources, and she intended to give her younger brothers an opportunity to attend school, showing the influence of gender norms on young women's decisions. Sara also felt she had a responsibility to help her blind parents care for her siblings. Giving her brother an opportunity to complete his schooling at the expense of her own is an example of gender socialisation regarding the degree of importance of jobs for boys and

²⁸ According to the capabilities approach, the exercise of choice is affected by a number of conversion factors, such that although one may literally have a choice to refuse to do a particular thing, the circumstances may be powerful such that one cannot exercise their freedom of choice. In some instances individuals may not be aware that they have that choice.

girls. In other words, women can work in jobs that do not require basic educational training, whereas men are expected to enter professions that require basic education. Her sense of responsibility for her blind parents is an example of the defined roles that women are expected to assume. In such instances, questions of human development values such as equality or freedom are often of little consideration in some of these contexts. Feli and Tracy shared:

I didn't decide not to write, my mother fell sick that same year, she had TB, and things were just not fine at home. I made matters worse because I fell pregnant that same year. So I couldn't leave my mother alone to go to school. I had decided that I would write the following year and but I couldn't write because I had a baby. (Feli, female, 27)

Seventeen is a young age to get married but what [else] was I going to do because I did not complete my O-Levels? There was no money for college or to do anything. (Tracy)

The extracts above resonate with literature on school drop-out rates among women as a result of early marriages and early pregnancies (Shahidul, 2015; Rwechingura, 2014; Snyders, 2013; Munsaka, 2009; Kane, 2004) which were, until 20th of January 2016, legal in Zimbabwe. To ban these child marriages, the Constitutional Court of Zimbabwe declared the Marriage Act and the Customary Marriage Act unconstitutional (Mavhinga, 2016; Nemukuyu, 2016). Before then, the legal age of marriage was sixteen for girls and eighteen for boys (Sibanda, 2011). The tradition of early marriage has also been found to constrain girls being schooled in other African contexts such as Ethiopia, Niger, and Tanzania (Rose & Tembon, 1999; Wynd, 1999; Bendera, 1999). As in Zimbabwe, in Niger these constraints were strongly interlinked to economic factors (Rose & Tembon, 1999).

Some scholars have indicated that child marriages (early marriages in this case) do not necessarily explain young girls dropping out of school (Nguyen & Wodon, 2014; Lloyd & Mensch, 2006). The authors caution that this analysis may be limited in providing precise estimates of the potential impact of child marriages on educational attainment (Nguyen & Wodon, 2014), because often the decision by a girl to marry early may

actually be a function of the girl's educational potential. In other words, an academically weak girl may have little incentive to continue studying in comparison to a girl who is academically stronger (ibid.). Although academic weakness could be relevant for some of the girls in the study, the overarching contexts that influenced their decisions to marry young were the broader economic and political challenges. There is little evidence to relate their choices and actions to their academic potential, which was not a focus of this study.

On the same subject, Lloyd and Mensch (2006) and other scholars (see Grant & Hallman, 2006; Mokgalabone, 1999) suggests that premature school-leaving among girls may be influenced by other societal factors such as poverty, school performance and the perceived value of education. These broader contextual factors should be viewed as the underlying causes of early school exit (Lloyd & Mensch, 2006), rather than early pregnancies and marriages. Based on my research, I concur with these authors. The broader factors were observable in all the women's narratives as a way of escaping poverty associated with the economic crisis in Zimbabwe. This is one of the reasons the CA provides a generative conceptual framework, as it allows for multi-level analysis of these diverse contexts (political, economic, social, cultural and personal), in so doing illuminating a detailed understanding of these underlying impacts of these factors on what the girls value being and doing (Sen, 1999).

6.4 Impacts on migrant youths' high school aspirations

This section shows that many of the migrant youths' pre-migration educational aspirations were influenced by factors such as their surroundings, limited exposure, lack of knowledge, and the broader structural context such as finance and politics. However, some of the men provided less detail of their pre-migration educational aspirations, as they indicate that they were still young and had not thought much about what they would become beyond common childhood aspirations such as being a doctor, police officer or pilot. They speak more about the challenges they experienced that impacted on their schooling, presented in the next section. Thus, although pre-migration aspirations relate to the period when most of the migrant youth were still attending

school, they were already aware of the factors that influenced what they could achieve in future. For the women, as shown in Table 6.1, six of the eleven women in the study did not complete their basic education, and some of the factors they note are the same challenges experienced by the men. As such, in addition to other challenges, gender norms may be seen to have led to the women dropping out of school, while men completed. Additionally, six of these women aspired to civil service professions such as nursing and teaching. This is not surprising, as the literature shows that women are commonly encouraged to take up caring and nurturing professions (Ferrant, 2014; Brodolini, 2011). Although this is gradually changing, women still face challenges in breaking through the gender divide in terms of career building (Shiva, 2013), and even more so in poor countries such as Zimbabwe in the period 2000-2008 when most of these women were in school.

The economic and political structural influences prevalent in Zimbabwe during the period in question not only impacted on the young people's schooling experiences as discussed earlier; they also had an impact on their educational aspirations and agency. Furthermore, they also negatively influenced job employment opportunities and political freedom. Thus, these structures had far-reaching consequences in relation to what young people could aspire to be and achieve. Poverty and high unemployment rates resulted in lack of income, which led to parents and guardians being unable to provide for the young people, including school-related expenses. As shared by the participants, these structural factors were accompanied by personal factors, which included family background, gender and age. The influence of these factors on their educational aspirations is discussed below.

6.4.1 Effects of poverty on educational aspirations

Some of the high school aspirations of the migrants were negatively influenced by poverty. Although Tracy says she wanted to re-write her O-Level examinations, her mother told her she did not have the money since her father, the breadwinner, had died. Pete also notes that his childhood dream was to be a pilot, but because he had to quit school as a result of financial challenges, his aspirations changed to wanting to join the

army. He notes that it is easier to join the army if one is well-connected, but he was not and so could not join.

While in Zimbabwe, Lindani reports that he did not see the possibility of further study:

In Zimbabwe I had lost hope, I just hoped to survive; I was not seeing the bigger picture that there is more to life than just surviving. (Lindani)

By the same token, Chido shares that while at school in Zimbabwe his dream to be an accountant was 'dragged down' by poverty and he could not think of what else to become:

When I was in school in Zimbabwe I was thinking for many things such as being an accountant or being a pilot, but you see my dreams were dragged down by poverty and I could not even think of being what I wanted to be. (Chido)

These two narratives can be understood to be the formulation of adapted aspirations, which will be conceptualised in detail in the next Chapter. As all participants shared, experiences of poverty in Zimbabwe had an influence on their aspirations; this is in line with Dercon and Krishnan's (2009) findings on the relationship between material circumstance and educational aspirations of young people. Where resources are low, the capacity to aspire is reduced (Appadurai, 2004). Walker and Mkwanzani (2015a:45) summarise this relationship between aspirations and resources, highlighting that 'if the map of aspirations is seen to consist of a dense combination of nodes and pathways, relative poverty means a thinner, weaker sense of the pathways'. Where these pathways exist for the poor, they are likely to be more rigid and less strategically valuable, not because of any cognitive deficit on the part of the poor, but because the capacity to aspire, like any complex cultural capacity, "thrives and survives on practice, repetition, exploration, conjecture and refutation" (Appadurai, 2004:69).

6.4.2 Parental influence on aspirations

Lesley suggests below that some young people were influenced by their parents in deciding what to become in future:

I thought that after school I would join the police. It's something that I was told often, that 'after you finish school you will join the police', there also was a learnership²⁹ in Harare that I could be offered, but I was not informed about it. In Zimbabwe I attended Church of Christ, they also wanted me to go the Bible college. I was still deciding, because my mum always told me not to go to Bible school, she wanted me to do information technology or something which is business-related, but my father wanted me to do Bible. I don't know the reason and he didn't even go to church. (Lesley, male, 24)

Similar to Lesley, Elias's aspirations were influenced by his parents:

My father was a teacher, and he always wanted me to be a teacher, but when I got to secondary level, I started to fall in love with computers, so I wanted to be in the IT field. I still want to be in the IT field, and I want to start my new stuff, not to be employed by someone, but to start my own IT company. (Elias, male, 22)

The above narratives demonstrate the influence of parents on children's educational aspirations. It emerges from these two stories how parents may enforce what they believe is the right profession for their children. These findings are in line those of other studies on parental influence over their children's career aspirations. Although there are a variety of influences such as school, community and socio-economic factors that can influence one's career path (Ferry, 2006), research has also found parents have a great impact on the career aspirations of their children (Kniveton, 2004; Whiston & Keller, 2004; O'Brien et al., 2000). Sometimes children may not be aware of this impact, which can be through work ethic, family values, and gender stereotyping (Jungen, 2008; Fitzgerald & Harmon 2001).

²⁹ Similar to apprenticeship where an individual does on the job learning.

What remains unclear in this study is to what extent parents' aspirations for their children were a function of the socio-economic background of the families that Lesley and Elias come from, especially considering the economic context of Zimbabwe at the time. There are a number of points that can be made in this regard. Firstly, jobs such as becoming a police officer or a teacher are professions that come with job security in terms of both income and longevity. Because this perceived security, parents are afraid of their children taking risks in other professions. Secondly, such professions are less expensive to study for, which may be a great concern for parents in places with limited resources. These are examples of how socialisation can be transmitted from one generation to another, especially in Elias case where his father was also a teacher. Despite this, young people are able to realise their own aspirations as a result of being exposed to what is available out in the world (widening their aspirations window), as will be shown in section 7.4.1.1.

6.4.3 Influence of educational functionings on educational aspirations

Moving away from the structural factors discussed so far, for the migrant youth who had completed O-Level in Zimbabwe; their educational aspirations were influenced by educational functionings:

I wanted to be a boiler-maker, but then I changed my mind because I failed mathematics, and boiler-making requires someone with mathematics. (Sandi, male, 26)

I wanted to be a soldier. If I saw those women wearing camouflage, I would say to myself one day I would be wearing a similar uniform but I failed because at Army they want five subjects including English and Science. (Tracy, female, 30)

I wanted to be a nurse or a teacher but I could not because I failed O-Level. After I had failed the first time, my father registered five subjects for me and I came out with zero, I failed all of them. I don't know what happened because I would study. (Ruth, female, 33)

Unlike some of the youth who did not have the opportunity to re-write their secondary school exams, Ruth had the opportunity to repeat a number of times, yet she is still not sure why she failed. She mentions that she had a fair upbringing by both parents, where she and her siblings never lacked anything. Taking cognisance of this, there may have been internal influences on her schooling that may have been overlooked, as she did not indicate any such factors to be impacting on her achievements. However, consistent failure might have had to do with learning ability and often such an individual holds less hope of doing well in future, as Chinyoka (2013) puts it. This may be used to explain her current view of educational aspirations, in which she indicates that for now, education is not a priority to her, as she is focusing on the child-minding job that she is currently doing.

As discussed, finance is one of the factors that emerged as both a push factor and one of the conversion factors that influenced many of the young people's pre-migration educational functionings. Although in some cases these factors are intersectional, such as gender and poverty as in Rita's³⁰ example (Rita dropped out of school while in form two when she met a man who promised to care for her after her mother died), the underlying influence is often financial availability. From the narratives, unavailability of money has emerged as a limitation to the realisation of other capabilities and in some cases has put individuals at risk of activities that work against human development values, such as child labour (HDR, 2015), as was experienced by many of the migrant youth in the study. In this case, finance can be viewed as a minimum threshold required for the advancement of other capabilities. In Zimbabwe, it would have allowed for material equality, which most young people were deprived of as a result of poverty. Such a basic capability would, according to Sen (1992), be considered necessary for survival and escaping serious deprivations such as poverty, and also allow the individual to live a life in a state of human dignity (Nussbaum, 2000). In addition to this, the economic and political difficulties experienced in Zimbabwe may have led to a need for additional income in the families of almost all of the youth who participated in this study. This potentially led to a lack of involvement of parents or guardians in their education. Such lack of support and involvement therefore may have also contributed to the limited

³⁰ See Chapter Eight, section 8.2.1.

knowledge of the intrinsic and instrumental potential of higher education (LaBahn, 1995). Although higher education may not have necessarily made the migrants' lives better, its attainment expands opportunities of what one can actually be.

Thus, as a result of these economic and social challenges, as well as their socialisation, the need for employment among the women is understandable as it would allow them and their families to maintain a basic lifestyle. Although employment is viewed as important, there is little information on how education can enhance the young women's opportunities of becoming gainfully employed in the long term. For example, unlike some of the men, all the women in this study indicated the need to make money; some of them were not aware that getting an education in South Africa is even possible, and that with education they could potentially pursue their aspirations. This was as a result of a limited aspirations window in both Zimbabwe and South Africa. According to Ray (2006), the importance of this window is that it influences the limits of one's own aspirations. For the migrant youth, this may have been made up of connections to individuals who can influence their aspirations in an educational sense. As this social and cultural influence of aspirations formation (Appadurai, 2004) takes effect, most of the marginalised migrant women seem to show more concern for sources of livelihood, rather than enhancing their educational functionings. Yet, low levels of education result in manual labour jobs such as domestic work and not in the professions they aspire to, such as teaching and nursing, as will be seen in detail in the next Chapter.

6.5 Conclusion

The political and economic crisis in Zimbabwe not only had an impact on the quality of life, but the quality of education and educational attainment, all of which are important considerations in the global human development agenda (UNDP, 2013). After careful consideration of the then political and economic landscape in Zimbabwe, stories such as Terry's indicate that regardless of whether one had successfully completed a basic education, there were very few opportunities for an ordinary young person to realise his/her educational aspirations. If any such opportunities (accompanied by financial resources) existed, they were either very competitive and/or paid below subsistence level. However as shown in the section on push-pull factors, it was a challenge for most

of the youth to make it through a year of schooling regardless of the level, let alone realise their aspirations. As such, there were constraints on what they could become and do while still in Zimbabwe. The stories shared by the youth have been used to provide a context of their environment and background, which provides us with a foundation for the next Chapter in understanding how educational aspirations may or may not be formed as a result of these experiences. Hence, the next Chapter looks at the migrants' post- migration educational functionings and aspirations.

Chapter Seven: The imaginary narrative: Post-migration experiences and educational aspirations of migrant youth

7.1 Introduction

Chapter Six presented migrants' daily experiences and educational aspirations pre-migration. The Chapter is important because it provides background and context for the experiences that inform their current functionings and aspirations. Presenting the findings in chronological order, this Chapter builds on Chapter Six, and presents and discusses the migrant youths' opportunities, experiences and educational aspirations post-migration. In addition to answering research questions one and two (as partially done in Chapter Six), this Chapter also answers research question three: *Which capabilities and functionings do migrant youth value?* This is seen in the discussion of short- and long-term aspirations. Thus the aim of this Chapter is to build up on the pre-migration context and provide an understanding of how that past influences their current lives, specifically the formation of educational aspirations, while simultaneously identifying what the youth value being and doing. Further to this, it seeks to show that although many of the migrant youth migrated to South Africa with perceived imaginary lives (lives better than in Zimbabwe), they continue to face challenges and limited freedoms. Although their pre-migration imagined lives in South Africa, perceived to be accompanied by easy employment opportunities, are not what most are experiencing, most of the youth still believe their narratives have changed for the better.

DeJaeghere's (2016:3) concept of 'imagining alternative futures' is useful in understanding the choices of the migrant youth as they re-direct their aspirations within these narratives. Similarly, Ray (2016) acknowledges that while a change of aspiration can also be a source of frustration, it can also be inspirational. As such, aspiration formation should be given breathing space. Therefore, the process of migrant youth changing their minds about their future plans as a result of diverse factors allows them to navigate through prevalent social, economic and political contexts as well as individual backgrounds, and map alternative pathways to realising their aspirations.

Such reconsideration of aspirations has been seen among all the 26 migrant youth studied. Although applicable to diverse individuals and groups, for marginalised groups (such as migrant youth) with limited access to certain capabilities and opportunities, it is easier to pursue aspirations supported by available structures and perceived as achievable.

The Chapter is structured as follows: I start by looking at the broader opportunities and experiences in South Africa as narrated by the migrant youth. This leads to a discussion of the value placed on education where I consider the intrinsic and instrumental values of education as shared by the youth. I then turn to the migrant youths' educational aspirations where I present the enablers and limitations of educational aspirations, which in turn leads to short- and long-term aspirations. Finally, the significance of education is discussed by contextualising the aspirations window and aspirations gap.

7.2 Opportunities in South Africa

Various opportunities in South Africa were identified by migrant youth. These included exposure to new careers, new programmes of study and diverse cultures. Of all the 26 migrant youth, Obert is the only one who indicated that he had not found any opportunities in South Africa. He indicates that he had experienced much difficulty in finding a job. Figure 7.1 below presents the results of the opportunities that migrant youth believed were available to them, showing the number of participants who made reference to each opportunity. The key opportunities identified by the rest of the youth were those of economic and educational opportunities, discussed in the following section.

Opportunities available

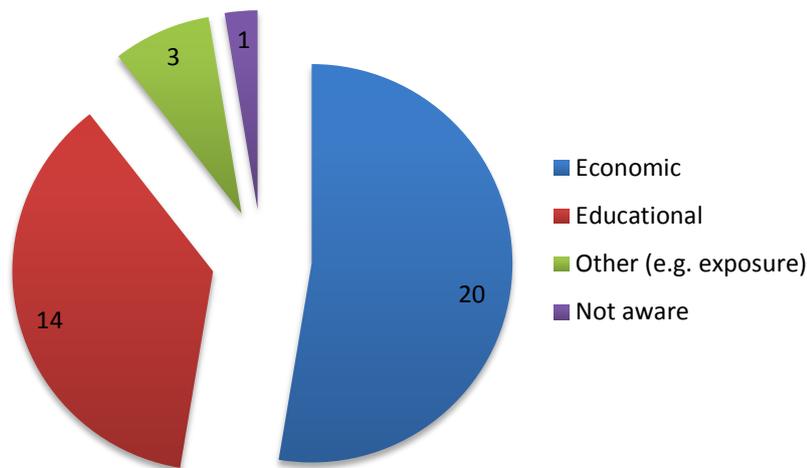


Figure 7.1: Opportunities in South Africa

7.2.1 Economic opportunities

The majority of the migrant youth (ten of the fifteen men and ten of the eleven women) indicated that there were better economic opportunities in South Africa than Zimbabwe. 'Economic opportunities' referred to broader chances for employment, which led to better living standards, ability to buy food and clothing, and money to send home.

It is easy to survive here than in Zimbabwe. There are many ways of getting money here. (Susan)

Here you can live through doing piece jobs if you are not yet permanently employed, but in Zimbabwe you cannot. (Leya)

Here in SA, at least if I can work here its better because in Zimbabwe is hard to find a job, even that domestic one is hard to find it. Sometimes you can find it and the money will be very little but here the opportunity is better. (Feli)

The living is good here. You can afford to buy food because you can get a loaf of bread for R5. There is electricity and fuel but sometimes in Zimbabwe there is no fuel, there is no electricity as well. Food is very expensive because the dollar is not buying that side (in Zimbabwe). (Ruth)

In Zimbabwe it was hard to get a job, it was really hard and the living conditions were very poor. It's different from here. I am able to get a job, I can earn some money although it's very small, and I am able to eat good food. It's different from Zim where you could go for a week with the same kind of meal. (Rusu)

In the midst of these opportunities some of the migrant youth highlighted the difficulties they experience in South Africa:

I came to South Africa [but] I never got a real job. I only got [work] in Indian shops where I was paid R200–R250 per week, so it wasn't much. I could not afford to pay rent; I used to stay at Methodist before it was shut down. But as long as I could survive, I was fine. Now if I get R20 I can get a meal and beef stew. (Angela)

Jobs are difficult to get here in South Africa and life is hard if you are not employed. I think jobs are scarce or maybe it's because I am not connected to people who know this place very well. But I still think South Africa is better because if I do piece jobs and get R20 I am able to live, the currency has value. If I have R50 here I am able to buy something for my child, with R5 I can get relish and cook pap, but in Zimbabwe it is impossible. If I get R100 in Zimbabwe its little because of the exchange rate. So it's better here even if I am not working. (Leya)

While the migrant youth may be happy with R20 for a meal, the average monthly cost of a modest two-bedroom flat in central Johannesburg is more than R4,500, excluding water and lighting. Thus, while they may see opportunities to feed themselves, they still have to share accommodation. This shows us that, based on circumstance and context, individuals value different opportunities; in this case, to feed themselves over having their own comfortable accommodation.

Consistent with most of their reasons for migrating, the migrant youth believe there are more opportunities related to jobs in comparison to any other opportunities. For the men, those enrolled at colleges or university indicated that these economic opportunities were important for them so that they can raise money for school fees. Although some of these narratives may be seen to raise concerns about the wellbeing of marginalised migrants since they still experience much deprivation in South Africa, based on their wellbeing in Zimbabwe, this may still be a step closer to their desired functionings. They all believe that their wellbeing is better in South Africa and they are happy that this is a life of less poverty than in Zimbabwe. Hence, despite the seemingly unfavourable circumstances in South Africa, the study shows that these are opportunities that are encouraging to some of the migrant youth, as seen above. Additionally, the necessity for employment opportunities is increased by the need to meet the basic needs important for survival. This is related to the earlier discussion of the need for a minimum threshold level required for the expansion of other capabilities (including aspirations). According to Sen (1999), such a basic capability is fundamental for an individual's survival. Without such economic opportunities, it is difficult for individuals to survive even if schooling opportunities were available.

Also emerging from the interviews is that most people worry less about working in unskilled or menial jobs as long as they achieve their goals. Most young people are concerned about how they are viewed in their immediate societies back home hence the desire to achieve more. Angela shared that she would not go back to Zimbabwe empty-handed, without achieving anything. This example shows that although a sense of educational achievement is valued by many, education is not a priority among the desired achievements when compared to material accomplishments, as it does not provide immediate benefits needed for survival. This is despite the future instrumental potential that education has in realising many of the achievements that the youth value. Although not in the majority, some of the youth who participated in the study did report that they valued the educational opportunities available in South Africa.

7.2.2 Post-secondary schooling opportunities in South Africa

In terms of educational opportunities, three women and eleven men believed there were better chances of schooling in South Africa than Zimbabwe. This was in the form of a wide range of bursaries for those who have documents such as study visas, and the wide range of colleges one can choose to study at.

Although most of the migrant youth note that educational opportunities are plentiful in South Africa compared to Zimbabwe, they agreed that there are more income-generating opportunities than educational opportunities. However, even if earning a meagre income is more valuable currently for the youth, studies suggest that without education, social mobility is unlikely, as education can potentially increase ones' chances of escaping poverty through income growth and other opportunities (Awan et al., 2011; Janjua & Kamal, 2011; Njong, 2010; Sen, 1999). This instrumental role of education (Walker 2010; Collins, 2007) is an indication that, although education is an end in itself, it is also a means to poverty reduction as it can improve the life conditions of the poor. Based on this, it is important to understand the circumstances under which education is available for the marginalised groups in society, such as marginalised migrant youth.

Lindani believes that learning for free at ASS was the biggest opportunity South Africa has presented to him so far. This sentiment is shared by Chido:

Doing my O-Levels was a huge problem for me back in Zimbabwe, but that is what I got when I came here to South Africa. Also the opportunity of getting money through piece jobs; you can get some money to enjoy and to buy your own things suitable for your life. (Chido)

Despite these schooling opportunities, some of the youth still indicate that there are many limitations to accessing these opportunities such as finances and documentation that make it easier to access higher education. This was reinforced by Dr. Gasi:

While most opportunities are wide open, the big issue is the financial constraints such that if a migrant does not manage to get some kind of job that can facilitate

the financial responsibilities that come with tertiary education, it's going to be very difficult. This is because there are not many bursary schemes and many philanthropists who are can take even the most brilliant mind and develop it. (Dr. Gasi, November 2014)

Although there are obstacles evident in the form of personal (such as age and gender), social, economic and political conversion factors in the desired wellbeing of the migrant youth in the study, there are examples of continuous exercise of agency in identifying how they can find means to survive in South Africa, such as taking part in diverse income-generating activities. Although education is viewed as an important capability in the global development arena, the degree of its value and what it takes for an individual to achieve it varies from person to person as these choices are framed by the tensions between social structures and individual agency (Watts, 2013). It is thus important not to simply assume that providing opportunities for education will necessarily lead to development, without a more broadly enabling environment and the availability of a threshold level of resources. In navigating between these structures and agency, migrant youth often have to identify opportunities to raise the financial resources required to make use of the available educational opportunities:

The students have got to help themselves. Some of them sell ice-cream over the weekend and some of them run little hair salons outside. These are the ones that go to university. The ones who live at the centre³¹ are the ones who get sponsored through the money that we get. (Dr. Gasi, May 2016)

Such levels of independence and agency may be compared with Biggeri and Anich's (2009) work on street children in Kampala. The authors view young people (particularly in marginalised contexts) as individuals capable of making their own decisions, and who play an active role in the lives of those around them. This implies a need to start viewing vulnerable young people as decision-makers, rather than only as recipients of services. In doing so, they express their views and priorities as well as agency, values and aspirations that ought not to be overlooked (Biggeri et al., 2009). This is reinforced by Ballet et al. (2011), who also argue that young people are not so

³¹The Centre in Soweto houses Primary and Secondary school students at ASS.

different from adults in their ability to make choices, and hence need to be recognised based on these abilities. Biggeri et al. (2009) emphasise the importance of the CA in assessment of the wellbeing of young people, as it would focus on what they have reason to value being and doing i.e. that which gives quality to their lives (Biggeri & Libanoro, 2011). Migrant youth in the study have shown the ability to exercise the limited freedom they have to decide what action to take, and to take action based on what is valuable to their wellbeing and quality of life. Such ability and exercise of agency in deciding what is valuable and what action to take to a certain extent overrides the possibility of adaptive preferences formation, which according to Watts (2013) is an on-going challenge for capability analyses of wellbeing. This is as a result of traditional interpretations of what constitutes human flourishing. Such interpretations may often foreground flourishing based on economic attainment, rather than the freedom and real choices that individuals make, whether they are economic or not. As a result, the misattribution of adaptive preference may potentially downgrade the importance of human diversity, which is at the heart of the CA, thereby overlooking the importance of freedom and choice, including the freedom to 'make what may be considered sub-optimal choices' (ibid.:504). Human flourishing and wellbeing can therefore vary from individual to individual based on what they have reason to value, and thus it must be considered that there may potentially be different means to the same end of wellbeing, based on context. My study highlights that context matters tremendously for marginalised youth. In the next section, I discuss the experience of some of the migrant youth who attend ASS, the opportunities this created for them, and present their newly acquired educational functionings post-migration.

7.2.2.1 *Albert Street School and post-migration educational functionings*

As will be shown in this section, post-educational functionings are biased towards those who attended ASS i.e. most of the men and none of the women. The gender bias in those who graduated from ASS, may, as already presented in the methodology Chapter, be attributed to the sampling techniques used to identify participants of the study, and thus I may have missed out on women who attended ASS. Additionally, this may be attributed to the fact that most of the migrant women spoken to had not migrated as minors, and thus the caring role ascribed to them called for immediate economic involvement so that

they could assume their responsibilities to those back home. Although most men mentioned having family back home, they did not explicitly talk about their family responsibilities as much as the women. Despite these potential limitations, the findings about ASS point to the value of this institution in the migrant youths' lives. Figure 7.2 presents the post-migration educational functionings of the migrant youth in the study.

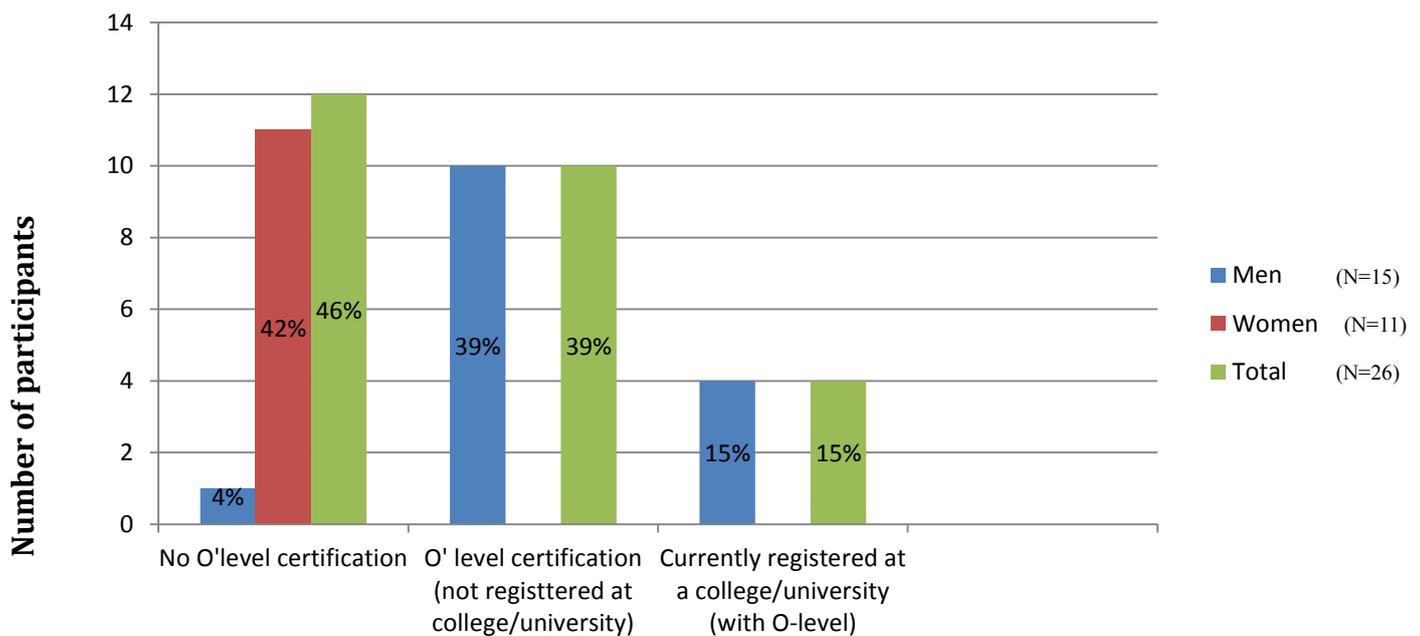


Figure 7.2: Post-migration educational functionings

Understanding these educational functionings is important, as they may be viewed as an indicator of what migrant youth perceive as attainable, based on their level of education. Individuals may use their current functionings as a basis for aspiration: for example, it may seem impossible for an individual without primary education to foresee him/herself at university. As already alluded to, some of the men in this study advanced their educational functionings on arrival in South Africa through access to ASS. While the opportunity to study at ASS was available to all migrant children living in the church's refugee shelter, mostly men enrolled at the school, for reasons explained in Chapter Five (section 5.3.1.2).

In contrast to the women whose educational functionings have not changed since migrating, eleven of the fifteen men now hold O-Level certificates from ASS. Some of the

migrant youth shared their experiences of ASS. Four of the youth are registered for programmes at college or at university and highlighted that the opportunity to develop and expand their educational functionings at ASS was not only important for leading to new educational aspirations, but also enhanced their wellbeing in other ways. Some of the migrant youth who attend ASS had this to share:

In Zimbabwe I wrote only two subjects, I left during exam time. I came and attended Albert Street, and the school was only a year old by that time so we were only few, like fifteen guys, so we were helped by Albert Street to write our O-Level[s]. We were taken to Albert Street the same day we arrived and we were welcomed there at Albert Street, there was everything, we could bath[e], we could do everything there. (Lesley)

We heard other people talk about a place called 'Methodist' where other Zimbabwean migrants were staying and we asked more about it and that's when we got here [at the church]. It was on the same day when we arrived here and we talked to Dr. Gasi. We were asked our ages and then he recommended us to go to school because we were still young. (Lindani)

When I heard about the school, they said they would give us food, somewhere to sleep, and somewhere to bath[e]. When I arrived in Jo'burg I had spent about two weeks without bathing, only washing my face. When I first went to school we were very few and there were very few teachers, you could not see that you were at school. It seemed as if we were playing. Truly speaking I thought I would only stay there for two months until I get work. But then I saw a light. (Pete)

Because I was young, Dr. Gasi encouraged every young person to go to school. From there I developed a passion for the film industry. (Rusu)

Another important factor to consider regarding some of the migrants youths' determination for schooling is that young people who migrate as minors often do not have attached responsibilities, hence may choose not to contribute. Additionally, because of age, some may not get jobs, and as a result focus on pursuing education at

ASS as it is one of very few schools that cater for marginalised young people. Also, it is unlikely that educational aspirations would be the same for everyone in any given context.

As this may be viewed as a best case scenario (many other marginalised migrant youths do not end up at ASS or an institution like it), it is important to be cognisant that things could have been very different for these youth too under different circumstances. In other words, had they not had the opportunity of enrolling at a school such as ASS, which is free to unaccompanied minors, the chances are the educational aspirations some of them currently hold may not have been developed. This highlights the importance of an enabling environment.

7.2.2.2 Influences on post-migration educational functionings

On why she did not attend free schooling offered by the church at ASS, Neo notes:

I thought I was too old to go back to school. I asked myself what I will be doing in school at twenty-one when there are probably young children of fifteen years of age. (Neo)

Similarly, at 27, Nancy notes of her age:

I do think of what I can exactly do at my age. Now I'm 27, so from 27 writing matric, going to university maybe another four years, I will be 33 or 30 something when I finish. Sometimes I think it's unnecessary to go (to school) when I look at my age, and I'm now a mum and everyone is looking up to me. So sometimes I think it's unnecessary, but also I still think it's the best way. (Nancy)

Neo's and Nancy's descriptions of themselves as 'too old to go back to school' are examples of how individuals can give up in response to the forces of social structures in their immediate environments. These rules, institutions and practices embodied in beliefs, actions, thoughts and decisions of individuals (Deacon & Mann, 1999) may wield invisible authority and inform the expectations, stereotypes and roles that are assigned to individuals, particularly based on gender. This societal power has the potential to

provide embedded meanings, description and understandings of what exists within the surroundings (Avelino & Rotmans, 2009; Van Dijk, 1989). According to Callinicos (2004) the capacity of agents to exhibit reflexive behaviour (agency) within structures can suggest that these contexts can provide explanations, motivations and justifications for the actions and choices taken by individuals. As such, this data reveals that although agents may act alone, their independence is influenced by their awareness of, and interaction with, those around them, and thus they are influenced by prevailing communal values and social structures (Evans, 2002). Common values and social structures therefore position an individual within wider social and cultural relations. For example, definitions of schooling as only appropriate up to a certain age; the expectation that at a certain age one needs to be working, with or without education or a particular level of skill; and categorisation of jobs based on gender are all under such influence.

While Susan and Ruth have certificates that can potentially enhance their income-generating opportunities, there are factors compromising their ability to take those opportunities, such as lack of funds to purchase sewing machines, limited exposure, social links to potential markets or employers and personal motivation. Susan's concern about lack of practical skills presented below also shows the importance of combining theoretical and practical learning.

I have a certificate in cutting and designing but could not afford to go ahead with the diploma because of funds. But even if I have the certificate, it is difficult because I don't have the experience; I just have the ideas. (Susan)

The importance of both theoretical and practical learning was reiterated by Dr. Gasi. In relation to the importance of practical activities at ASS, he indicated:

If you don't intentionally connect the academic to the practical, they both become irrelevant to one [an]other. If I teach you English and I don't craft your communication or artistic temperament and your philosophical ability with language, you can't assume because you can write an English sentence you will be able to do that work. (Dr. Gasi, May 2016)

The essence of the practical aspect of learning would have helped Sara convert her learned capabilities into required instrumental skills. Thus while conversion factors may broadly refer to personal, social, economic and political, they may also refer to acquired skills such as critical thinking, attitudes and abilities (Ziegler et al., 2015; Bozalek & Leibowitz, 2012; Walker, 2006). As a result of some of these factors, the aspirations and value placed on education (achieved or potential) differ among the migrant youth, as seen in the next section.

7.3 Value placed on education

Most of the youth, regardless of level of educational functioning, and considering their pre- and post-migration experiences, indicated that higher education (college diploma or university degree) would make it possible for them to realise their long-term aspirations. Different views were shared about the importance of education and are categorised into intrinsic and instrumental values of education.

7.3.1 Intrinsic value

One of the most important values of education identified by the migrant youth is that it would enable them to gain respect and recognition from the communities they come from. This was particularly the case among young migrant men. Although the women in the study did not explicitly mention the need for respect and recognition, the mothering and familial responsibilities they spoke highly of are an indication of the value of respect in the private and family sphere which, unlike men, women did not attach to educational and financial achievement. Because of socialisation, the respect and recognition desired by men in the study can be understood as the need to be accepted as achievers, as well as being given the honour that their society has made them believe they deserve. For example, in addition to respect and recognition, Henry believes that education enhances personal development through enlightenment and exposure.

Some people think that the little things we read are useless but when you take a look, it can actually help you a lot. It teaches you how to be social, how to

communicate, how to do stuff, because some of that I didn't even know before I went to university. And now I think I am a better person because I'm there. (Henry)

Unlike most men who shared the intrinsic value, among the women, only Nancy mentioned the intrinsic value of education when she noted:

Going to university or to college gives you dignity, more power for you to go on and do anything that you want. (Nancy)

The lighter emphasis on the intrinsic value of education among women may be attributed to the mothering and nurturing role associated with women (Afisi, 2010; Ngubane, 2010) mentioned earlier. Also, as seen in Chapter Five in the section on the schooling context, some young women's personal experiences may to a large extent have an effect on what they ultimately value and do, in certain instances exemplifying constrained freedom and choice. For example, as shared by Dr. Mbatha, in cases where a young girl may have to drop out of school because of pregnancy, the male pupil who may have impregnated her may well remain in school, as this experience does not have a direct physical, social or economic effect on him. Lloyd & Mensch (2006) established that for school-going young girls, falling pregnant came with sacrifices and choices. These female students have to choose either to withdraw from school to continue with the pregnancy, or undergo an abortion that is often illegal and potentially unsafe, in order to remain in school. A male student responsible for the pregnancy often does not face similar risks and choices (ibid.). In reference to the impact of early marriages on gender and education in Ethiopia, Rose and Tembon (1999) found that once married, it is, for a number of reasons, unusual for girls to continue with their schooling, whereas young men often continue with theirs. For girls, returning to school after pregnancy would depend on a number of circumstances, such as whether they can find a caregiver for the child (Grant & Hallman 2006), which is often not the case for migrant youth, many of whom have left their extended families back home. The need to financially address such responsibilities may therefore be associated with the instrumental value of education.

Regarding the value placed on education, another important factor to consider could be the role ASS played in shaping the value of education for the men, as the women did not go through the same educational experience. In other words, we may not actually know whether attending ASS could have impacted on how they value education. While not making unsubstantiated gender-based assumptions, it is important to note that the migrant men also ended up at ASS by chance, and not necessarily because they were determined to get an education. This is based on the push-pull factors presented in Chapter Six: none indicated migrating to South Africa specifically to get an education. As such, it can be argued that the process of education at ASS impacted their aspirations and how they value education, beyond the traditional gender norms.

7.3.2 Instrumental value

Although not all the young people interviewed agreed on the intrinsic value of education, both men and women agreed on the instrumentality of education in equipping them for better and decent employment opportunities, as seen in the extracts that follow:

You know, looking at the situation right now, it's like I have been trying to get a job without any qualifications, but it was too hard for me; and not looking at myself only but looking at a lot of people, it's so difficult for them to get employed without having certificates. (Elias)

If I am educated I will be a better person and I will be able to get better a job and improve my life, because now I am living a life that I am not supposed to be living because I am not well educated. I know that if I go to university and get a degree I will get a better job and I will be able to live a life that I want. (Rusu)

Lindani believes that education can help him get out of poverty:

The kind of life I lived here was tough. I could not afford having a meal because we had to wait if at school they were cooking. At night there were certain times when I was hungry, but we had to eat at the scheduled times. The month when I finished

writing, at times I would sleep hungry and I was not working, so where would I get the money, so I think if I don't get to be educated I will get back to that life for the rest of my life so it's what I want to run away from. (Lindani)

The excerpts below show both the intrinsic and instrumental values of education:

My wish is to get something to improve myself so that I go back home a better person. That man who chased us away because our mother had died should see an improvement. If I go back like this they will laugh at me. The problem is that it's difficult to get a job without education. The only thing is to go back to school and get educated. I want a good life that is what is important to me, here and in Zimbabwe, a good place to live. A good life means money and one cannot get a good job without education. If you are not educated, you only do piece jobs. (Rita)

I need education in order for me to get a better job that can sustain my future, so for me to get a better job I need to acquire [an] education first. Also, when you strive to get a degree or a diploma you also empower your children, because they know that their father has a degree and children will also put more effort in their studies and can reach the level of education that their father has. (Elton)

However, some migrant youth shared that, from their experiences, they believe that, although education is instrumentally important, it may not always be useful for certain individuals and in certain contexts. Those that believed this indicated that many individuals succeed without any level of education, as most people, especially their friends, make it through 'hustling in the streets'.

The value placed on education was also influenced by gender. Sara's narrative is an example of this: as a result of limited resources, Sara says she felt compelled as a girl child to give her brothers the opportunity to go to school. She believed it would be easier for her to get married, even without education, but it would be difficult for her brothers to marry without any form of education. Also, at that time, she thought, as a girl child, she could easily find work as a domestic worker. This may be understood from a view of gendered socialisation. Both girls and boys are taught and orientated to

education in such a manner that instils a particular perception about education between girls and boys. In this case, it seems Sara has neither intrinsic nor instrumental value attached to education for herself, yet believes in its instrumentality for men. Such ideas can be viewed as the consequences of inequalities experienced by girls in the environments in which they grow up. Unterhalter's (2013; 2012; 2009; 2007; 2005) work extends the literature on gender and schooling and highlights the dynamics of the various influences on girl's education such as families, communities, policy and schools. Such inequalities require concrete and thorough analysis of the institutional³² foundations that reproduce these inequalities (Unterhalter, 2015). In her work on women in Tanzania, Okkolin (2016) highlights that gendered impacts on functionings are socially constructed; this includes impact on educational wellbeing, such as the need for girls to balance schoolwork with chores.

Colclough et al. (2003) emphasise the importance of being reflexive about the complex nature of gender. For example, the need for female labour at home is socio-culturally defined rather than economically, and might be influenced by context, such as rural versus urban. Similar to findings in this study, particularly in relation to ASS, the authors' study of Sub-Saharan Africa found it easier for boys to work and contribute to schooling expenses, whereas girls had more domestic responsibilities (Colclough et al., 2013), and hence men seem to place more value on education than women. In attempting to understand gender and schooling inequalities, it is important to consider opportunities, experiences, processes, practices, and outcomes and how each of these can involve the discrimination and subordination of individuals (Unterhalter, 2015; 2012). Such processes and practices may limit opportunities, agency, and the realisation of valued achievements, and change requires intensive international, national and local work (ibid.).

The section that follows presents the aspirations of the migrant youth, building up from their pre-migration experiences, aspirations and educational functionings presented in Chapter Six, and moving onto their current experiences and educational aspirations. First, I conclude this section by providing a summary table of these experiences,

³² Political and economic processes, socio-cultural norms, and policy and management regime (Unterhalter, 2015).

functionings and aspirations, to remind us what has been discussed so far and what will be discussed in the sections that follow. The columns in dark grey show what has been discussed and the columns in light grey the discussions to follow.

Table 7.1: Summary of migrant's educational functionings and aspirations

	EDUCATIONAL FUNCTIONINGS		ASPIRATIONS			
	Level of schooling	Post-secondary education	High school aspirations	Current educational aspirations	Current short-term aspirations	Long-term aspirations (valued capabilities)
Tracy	Failed form four	None	Soldier	Given the opportunity, to complete O-Level and study Fashion and Designing	Do a 6-month sewing course	Live a good life; get a job; care for family (financially); have a home
Sara	Dropped out in form three	None	Teacher	Given the opportunity, to complete high school and train as a teacher	Get a well-paying domestic job	Live a better life; income security; get a teaching qualification
Rita	Dropped out in form two	None	Cashier	Sometimes thinks of becoming a lawyer	Not sure Husband wants her to do a nail and beauty course	To live a good life; get a good place to live (home); financial security; get an education; run a business; help family in Zimbabwe
Lorna	Dropped out in form three	None	Lawyer	None	Run a successful business (her fruit and vegetable stall)	Run an accomplished business; be close to family
Ruth	Failed form four	Dressmaking certificate	Nurse or teacher	Given the opportunity, she would rewrite her O-Levels in 2016 and do a course in Interior Design	Currently concentrating on her childminding job	To live a good life; get a better job; good health; build a house in Zimbabwe; enrol her son at university
Feli	Dropped out in form three	None	Prison Officer	Given the opportunity, study law or become a Prison Officer	Get a job to help her take care of her children	Get a job and send her child to school; buy a house; start a business in Zimbabwe; help disadvantaged girls like her
Leya	Dropped out in grade 7	None	None	Given the opportunity, study computers or sewing	To get a job so that she is able to survive	Get a job and be able to take care of her child; acquire knowledge by studying
Angela	Did not collect O-Level results	None	Nurse	Waiting for an opportunity to study matric, then study hotel management	None	Lead a healthy life; run a hotel management business; open a shelter for people with disabilities
Neo	Did not collect O-Level results	None	Chef	Given the opportunity, she would rewrite matric and study accounting	To get a job in order to survive	Get a job; buy a house in Zimbabwe
Susan	Failed O-Level	Certificate in Cutting and Design	Nurse	None	None	Job and financial security; buy a house and a car; be able to help others
Nancy	Dropped out in O-Level	None	Pilot or air hostess	Given the opportunity, she would go back to school	Get a job so that she can support her family	Be educated and start a business; live a successful life; travel around the world
Chido	O-Level - ASS	None	Accountant or pilot	Complete the accounting diploma he is registered for. To be a chartered accountant	Get a job	Have an educational qualification; financial security; be able to take care of family

	EDUCATIONAL FUNCTIONINGS		ASPIRATIONS			
	Level of schooling	Post-secondary education	High school aspirations	Current educational aspirations	Current short-term aspirations	Long-term aspirations
Elias	O-Level - ASS	None	Information Technician	Register for a programme in Information Technology	To further his education	Start an Information Technology company; have dignity and spiritual freedom; peace with family members; happiness
Obert	Grade 11	None	Medical doctor	Not sure- maybe do a course in catering	To get a job	Difficult to have long-term aspirations without education but wants to study business studies
Terry	O-Level - ASS	Registered for a law degree	Scientist	Complete the degree in law he is registered for	Complete his degree	Run a business; help others; financial freedom
Henry	O-Level - ASS	Currently studying Business Informatics	Accountant	Complete the diploma in business informatics he is registered for	Get more piece jobs; get his music studio to be successful	Start his own IT company; be successful; give back to community; empower young people; have financial security; be happy
Pete	O-Level - ASS	Registered for an electrical engineering diploma	To be a pilot	Do a BTech in Mechatronics	Complete his diploma in electrical engineering	Have a home and a family; financial security; open an orphanage; have a successful career; start a family; be able to provide for family
Sipho	O-Level - ASS	None	Pilot or policeman	To study Information Technology	Get a passport; get proper shelter	Get a degree in Information Technology; build a house for his grandmother; be able to care for family; open a children's home
Sandi	O-Level - Zimbabwe	Incomplete Automotive Engineering diploma	Boiler-maker	Complete his automotive engineering programme	Complete his diploma; get married	Run a business; provide for family (extended); start his own family; financial security; be recognised (for achievements); give back to community
Rusu	O-Level - ASS	None	Accountant	Study Film	Be able to register for the Film programme	Be educated; have shelter; be able to provide for family; live a better life
Elton	O-Level-ASS	Dropped out of university for financial reasons	Medical doctor	To be able to complete the degree in Environmental Management that he was once registered for	Study project management and Theology; get a stable job	Start a family of his own; provide for family Financial independence; be recognized by society (for achievements)
Musa	O-Level - ASS	Registered for a business management certificate	Truck driver	Complete the certificate in business management that he is registered for	Complete his certificate	Get a degree and be a professional; secure employment; financial security; providing for family
Dave	O-Level - Zimbabwe	Diploma in IT	Web designer	Study web design	Get a work permit; get a job	Secure employment; financial freedom; be able to take care of his family
Pari-dzai	O-Level -ASS	None	Join politics or army	Study IT	To realise his educational aspirations	Run his own IT company; be respected (for his achievements); financial independence; give back to community
Linda-ni	O-Level - ASS	None	Hoped only to survive. Never believed in the power of education	To have a BA degree in Journalism	Get a bursary	Be educated (to get out of poverty); travel the world; financial independence; job security; give back to community (help young people); start a family
Lesley	O-Level -ASS	None	Police Officer. Father wanted him to go to bible college; mother to study IT	Go to university to study IT and Film	To be registered at a college or university	Be a role model; have secure employment; be recognized by society (for his achievements)

7.4 Re-thinking educational aspirations

On arrival in South Africa, the migrant youth's aspirations changed from when they were in Zimbabwe as a result of a number of influences. This change of aspirations re-affirms Ray's (2006) argument regarding the aspirations window. The key positive influences that were noted and seemed to be interrelated were exposure, networks and access to ASS and these will be discussed concurrently. These are discussed here only as impacting directly on educational aspirations: influences on general lives and broader aspirations will be discussed in Chapters Seven and Eight.

7.4.1 Enablers of post-migration educational aspirations

Despite the challenges faced, some of the youth indicate that migrating to South Africa exposed them to opportunities and professions that they were not previously aware of, thereby expanding their aspirations window. Some of the migrant youths' extracts are shown in Table 7.2. The extract on ASS is important in understanding the role played by the school in providing basic capabilities necessary for enhancing the capability to aspire.

Table 7.2: Enablers of post-migration educational aspirations

Factor	Extracts
	<i>I didn't know that I was actually capable of producing more, because when I came here, you know in Zimbabwe some guys don't notice our talents, so when I came here and started studying, they just noticed my talent like right there and then they started pushing me. (Henry)</i>
	<i>When I came to South Africa I got a lot of exposure on the internet and I started searching, so I think they influenced me to want pursue Information Technology. (Sipho)</i>
	<i>When I got here, I started to see that I can achieve more than I thought. I got to look at life in a different light. I think it was because of my experience. Now I just want to study until I reach a point where I feel empowered. My definition of empowerment is to be able to stand on your own and not rely on others or on chances. Now I want to have a BA Degree in Journalism because I like travelling, talking to people, getting to know other places and cultures. It's something which developed when I got here because I really thought hard</i>

Factor	Extracts
Exposure and networks	<i>about it: what do I like? What do I enjoy doing? There is nothing I enjoy more than reading and writing. (Lindani)</i>
	<i>When I was at Albert, there were opportunities. For example, different companies and organisations would offer bursaries. Different companies used to take individuals, especially women for training. I wish there can be more opportunities like that - of different companies, organizations or individuals that are engaged on how they can help other individuals who want to achieve what they want. (Lesley)</i>
ASS	<i>When I got to Albert I realised that if I get my O' level certificate I will be at a better place because I can use it when I go back to Zim. Cambridge was all I wanted to do and I could go straight into a university if I get the money at some point, whether in Zimbabwe or here. (Lindani)</i>

7.4.1.1 Exposure and networks

Networks and exposure can be associated with increased social capital necessary for opening or expanding the aspirations window and ultimately narrowing the aspirations gap. According to Bourdieu (1986; 1984), this social capital, often accumulated over time, is significant in producing and reproducing benefits in an individual's opportunities. This capital can also be built at ASS, where students interact with peers, teachers and organisations interested in school activities. In addition to this, access to schooling at ASS can enhance migrant youths' knowledge and critical thinking, which in turn can expand the choices that they make concerning what they have reason to value. Also, job opportunities as shared by some of the young men who attended ASS included companies that came to the school and offered them opportunities for different types of training. The importance of capability enhancement is seen in Sen's (1999) argument that the expansion of capabilities is both 'the primary end' and 'the principal means' of development. Another relevant notion but forward by Wells (2013) is Sen's (1999) emphasis on the importance of agency freedom, which for some youth is very restricted based on different conversion factors. This is the notion that while agency freedom is an effective means for development as it enhances one's wellbeing, it also enhances people's capabilities to help themselves to bring improvement to their lives.

Exposure as a capability (and aspirations) enabler is also seen in Dave's narrative:

In Zimbabwe I wanted to have a web designing certificate because web designing is something which interests me. With times like these, internet is the way to go. Businesses survive through the use of technology. With that certificate, I see myself contributing meaningfully in society and that's when I would say I have achieved.
(Dave)

Although Dave already holds an IT diploma, he believes one has to keep up with the demands of the job market, which indicates that his aspirations shaped his awareness. Such awareness and exposure is important as it shows that Dave is abreast of what is happening in the job market and the realisation of this need in the market would be instrumentally beneficial as it would enhance his employment opportunities.

7.4.1.2 Education: Albert Street School (ASS)

As shown in the previous Chapter, thirteen of the fifteen men who participated in the study successfully completed O-Levels at ASS, and the data points to the key role of experiences at ASS in the formation of educational aspirations. However, unlike most of the men; women in the study did not seem to have experienced exposure in relation to educational opportunities and aspirations. While access to ASS advances educational functionings, there were different motivations to attend the school, as shown in the following extracts:

I went to the school not because I wanted to go to school but I wanted some food and clothing. When I came here I thought I was an adult and could work and marry start my own family like any other man, but when I arrived I went to Albert. I sat at the back and ate, I was very good at that, and I used to smoke a lot, I always thought of when I would have the opportunity to go out and smoke. Then after some time I start[ed] to be motivated. (Terry)

When we went to school everything changed, we no longer slept on the stairs of the building; we were bathing, going to school, food was there; we only had to contribute with our brains. (Paridzai)

The motivation to attend the school as a result of availability of food, clothes and bathing facilities highlights the importance of basic capabilities, firstly for survival, and secondly for productive learning. From the above motivations to attend ASS, we see that education also requires a certain minimum threshold of basic capabilities for it to become a functioning. For example, one would need shelter, food and resources such as books to be able to fully function educationally. Once these resources are in place, education, as Wood and Deprez (2015:13) note, becomes a process that equips individuals with means and abilities that widen possibilities and become a foundational capability for every individual to envision, choose and live a life s/he values. Secondly, as Robeyns (2005) and Unterhalter (2003) note, being literate and knowledgeable and accessing education is a valuable capability. Thus, additionally, the extracts from Pete, Terry and Paridzai show that often there need to be certain capabilities in place for the basic capability of education to be successfully achieved. According to Arneson (2002), the realisation of the basic capability of education is important, as it has the potential to place an individual at or above the threshold level for capabilities identified as essential for a minimally decent life. For migrant youth, such essential capabilities include access to decent employment and the ability to engage socially with confidence. This is exemplified by the stories of those who successfully completed their O-Levels. The O-Level certificate places them at an advantage such that an opportunity arises for university; they are better equipped to take up this opportunity in comparison to one who does not hold such a certificate. The importance of education is seen, as individuals who attended ASS express confidence and feelings of empowerment in relation to the realisation of their aspirations, illustrating the wider outcomes of education.

7.4.2 Limitations of post-migration educational aspirations

Although post migration educational functionings and language were mentioned as factors affecting migrant youth, they were not identified as having a major negative impact on their aspirations. Four factors that were identified as having a major negative impact on the migrant youth educational are illustrated by the following extracts:

Table 7.3: Limitations of post-migration educational aspirations

Factor	Extracts
Documentation	<i>Some of the places that I have applied for school want people with identity documents; they did not accept an asylum seekers permit. They needed a passport and a permit and it would be very hard for me to get a passport and, apply for a study permit. (Rusu)</i>
Finance	<i>As a foreigner it's hard to get bursary, you have to find money. The course that I want to do cost something like R18,000 and R18,000 is money that I cannot afford really. (Rusu)</i>
Living conditions	<i>For me to achieve my goals I need to move out of here and find somewhere that is good, it may be student accommodation so that I can be able to study. I see the guys who are at some colleges who are staying here, they are unable to study because of the noise, and anyone here will be playing on their 'phone. (Lesley)</i>
Individual background	<i>I'm the first born at home, so my mother looks up to me to provide everything. She knows that I am here to work, not to study. She knows that I always send money home but then I don't want to be like her. At her age now, if she had gone to school she could have been doing something on her own now. (Nancy)</i>

Of the 26 participants, 16 reported that their lack of recognised documentation (see Table 6.1) was the overarching challenge to both their daily lives and educational aspirations. While university funding remains a major issue in South Africa (Universities South Africa, 2015; Wangenge-Ouma, 2012; Wangenge-Ouma & Cloete, 2008), the migrant youth believed their difficulty in accessing funding was as a result of documentation challenges. All of the youth believed access to this funding is restricted to those with recognised documentation, such as the Refugee Permits or Asylum Seekers' Permits. However, the general feeling among the migrant youth was that for South African students, funding opportunities were easily available, and this forms part

of their imaginary narrative, as South African students are also facing major funding crises.

Lack of recognised documentation also limited migrant youths' opportunities to access decent employment, bursaries and scholarships. According to Terry, this is a challenge as it excluded individuals with potential. Living conditions were identified as not conducive for study by some of the youth and this ultimately influenced one's aspirations. Lesley shared how individuals around him made it difficult for him to concentrate on his studies while he was still at ASS, and emphasises that none of the people in his community motivate him. Lastly, the family that one came from had an influence on what one aspired to be and to do. Negative influences came from a lack of *parental*³³ and *emotional support*, as well as experiences of lack in various other aspects of the migrant youth lives. Circumstances such as a parent's death or absence of one of the parents negatively impacted on the necessary support and provision required for schooling, and motivation. For some, such as Nancy, these challenges required them to be breadwinners and thus she could not afford to do anything other than work. For instance, although Nancy says she feels forced to work and send money home, she does not believe there is anything wrong with such expectations. Such acceptance is an example of how and how socialisation can form an important part of who the person becomes by shaping what they want to achieve. This is also related to Sen's (1999) notion of having a sense of responsibility towards others, which is an important aspect of human agency. According to Sen (1999), human agency is both self-regarding and other-regarding with normative and ethical social values. As such, individual independence may be limited to a certain degree, as agency would incorporate the pursuit of goals that human beings have reason to value and advance, whether or not they are connected with one's own wellbeing or others.

For most of the youth, individual background also illustrated a lack of educational and parental support, closely related to the parents own educational background. Nancy emphasises that she does not want to become like her mother, who she says is not doing anything for herself as a result of lack of knowledge and education. For the migrant

³³The highlighted can also be discussed as separate conversion factors; however, in this case they were interrelated to individual background. Discussing them separately would have resulted in unnecessary repetition. The interrelation shows how conversion factors can and do influence one another.

youth, such situations may possibly lead to ‘corrosive disadvantage’ (Wolf & DeShalit, 2007:133) in that unless she takes action in breaking the cycle of disadvantage, it may continue to other generations. Additionally, the disadvantage of not accessing education may also potentially cause other disadvantages in her own life. Influenced by these challenges, some of the youth’s post-migration aspirations were divided between short-term and long-term aspirations, and these varied from individual to individual. These aspirations differed strongly between men and women, as presented in the next section.

7.4.3 Short-term aspirations

Short-term aspirations varied between men and women, as shown below. The most valued aspirations are at the bottom of the pyramids.

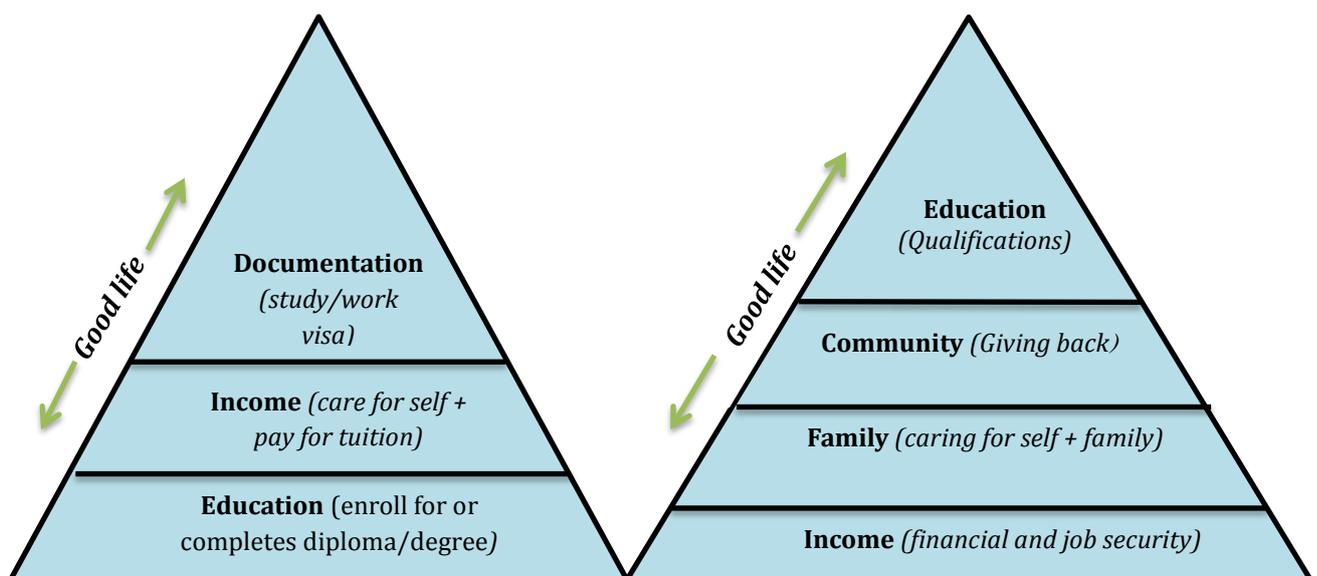


Figure 7.3: Men’s short-term aspirations

Women’s short-term aspirations

Of all 26 migrant youth who participated in study, 19 have short-term aspirations related to education, with a majority of these being men. Tracy and Rita are the only women whose short-term aspirations relate to learning something that could potentially help them in the long run. Although Rita says her husband suggested that she does a nail and beauty programme because it is financially viable and does not take long to complete, Rita says she is aware that there are many good short courses, but she is not sure of the options available. Tracy says although she would like to study fashion design,

she has limited information on how to go about it and is not sure if she is able to study in South Africa as a foreign national. As presented in Figure 7.3, the rest of the women's immediate aspirations relate to getting employment and earning an income to support their families.

Although migrant men in the study acknowledge the importance of income, most of them believe that the desired income (and consequently being able to afford the lifestyle they desire i.e. a house and a car) is obtainable once one is educated, as this brings more and better opportunities for employment. One of the reasons it is easier for the migrant men to have confidence in both their capability and potential to obtain the qualifications they desire is the exposure that most of them had at ASS. Exposure to different organisations while at the school made the young men recognise the opportunities that lie ahead of them once they are educated, hence their perseverance in desiring a qualification. Additionally, the men aspiring to enrol at colleges may be motivated by their peers that are already enrolled, and believe this is possible for them too. Although not specifically mentioned, it was observed in discussions with the young men that they seemed to be competing for similar opportunities, particularly those that attended ASS during the same period. For example, Musa shared that four other migrant men had applied for the scholarship that he was eventually awarded. He mentioned that it was an intellectual competition and he believed that other applicants were better than he, which is a sign that there is some form competition for educational opportunities outside ASS. This shows that the opportunity to engage in education impacts on aspirations, and the influence of educated peers creates a competitive environment; this in turn has the potential to enhance agency and capabilities as the youth seek opportunities, and at the same time can reduce interpersonal solidarities.

Obtaining official documentation such as study and work visas is also mentioned as important in the short term. The young men report that refugee and asylum seekers' permits limit opportunities of getting better-paying jobs or accessing opportunities that may enhance their skills and academic development. For example, Pete mentions that although he is studying, it is difficult for him to get an internship in electrical engineering as established organisations prefer students with study visas. Because the church's refugee shelter, where most of the men lived, was about to shut down at the time of the interviews, some of them indicated that finding alternative accommodation

was a priority. Those that were studying indicated that they needed a suitable study environment, as at the church there was a lack of study space and a lot of noise.

Among the fifteen men in the study, Siphon, Dave, Chido, Obert and Henry did not have short-term aspirations related to educational attainment. Siphon and Dave would like to get proper documentation so that it would be easier for them to get jobs, and Chido and Obert wish to get jobs that could help them survive in the meantime. Siphon also reported that his immediate goal was to get a place to stay since the church was closing down the refugee shelter. Other than getting a job, Chido says he had not thought about what he wants to achieve in the short term; however, says he wants to be a chartered accountant in the long-term. Although Pete is busy with his diploma in electrical engineering, in the short term he would like to apply for a study permit, which will allow him to be an officially documented migrant and expand his opportunities for getting an internship in his field, funding and bursaries open for international students.

Contrary to the men, most migrant women indicated that they want to live a good life by having a good job, being able to care for themselves and their families, giving back to the poor in their community and, if opportunities arise, pursuing their educational aspirations. For some of the women, financial and job security might include running successful businesses. Although all migrant women desire to live good lives, they were aware that for this to be realised, there was a need of some level of education. Also, while these women do not see the possibility of pursuing educational aspirations, they acknowledge the instrumental value of education. For example, Rita says:

I want a good life. That is what is important to me, here and in Zimbabwe. A good life means money and one cannot get a good job without education. If you are not educated, you only do piece jobs. (Rita)

Despite this view, many of the women indicate that education is not their immediate priority, principally because it would not directly and instantaneously contribute to their current survival needs. Although most women concur that these short-term aspirations are related to their long-term aspirations and can only be realised through getting an education, they do not believe it is possible to get the education necessary to

achieve these. As a result, they seem to be only imagining futures that they are unlikely to experience, given their current contexts and the structural constraints they face. As a result, their actions do not match what they say they want to achieve. Their priority aspirations are in contrast to what male migrants prioritise: getting a qualification (that leads to income and job security). Caring for self, immediate and extended family (buying a house and a car), giving back to the community (through opening business and employing poor people), and social status. However, regardless of their educational level, most women have started being agents of their imagined ideal futures by seeking employment opportunities and exercising what they view to be their responsibilities. Ruth notes:

I am not doing anything [about realising educational aspirations] because I have so many things to do. Right now I have a residential stand in Zimbabwe and I paid money for a water well, wall and a cottage. So I thought I should focus on building the house and then do school later. (Ruth)

Similar to Ruth, most women say they send the little money they get from piece jobs back home for the upkeep of their families. They report that they continue to seek better jobs in order to improve their families' lifestyles, and to live the lives that they value.

In contrast to many of the migrant women, very few of the migrant men's short-term aspirations relate to caring for family or sending money home. While women's short-term/priority aspirations are similar to each other, those of men varied, from obtaining documentation, being employed, enrolling at a college/university, to completing their studies. Literature has shown that women's career and educational aspirations are more complex compared to men, because they can be shaped by existing stereotypes based on the social roles women have to take up (Danziger & Eden, 2007; Eccles, 2005; Heilman 2001). As such, short- and long-term aspirations of men and women are likely to differ.

7.4.4 Long-term aspirations

Similar to short-term aspirations, long-term aspirations varied among men and women in the study. Although the aspirations discussed above need a certain level of education in order to be realised, both pre- and post-migration educational functionings and aspirations have an influence of the migrant's long-term aspirations. Pre-migration educational functionings and experiences not only include educational aspirations, but also influenced what the youth want to achieve in the long term. Although all migrant youth made mention that they had immediate responsibilities to address, all migrant women indicated that they prioritised these immediate responsibilities, both in South Africa and in Zimbabwe. This, they indicated, needed their attention before they could start thinking about pursuing anything related to education. Below is an illustration of the men's and women's long-term aspirations. As with the short-term aspirations, the bottom of the pyramid reflects the most valued aspirations.

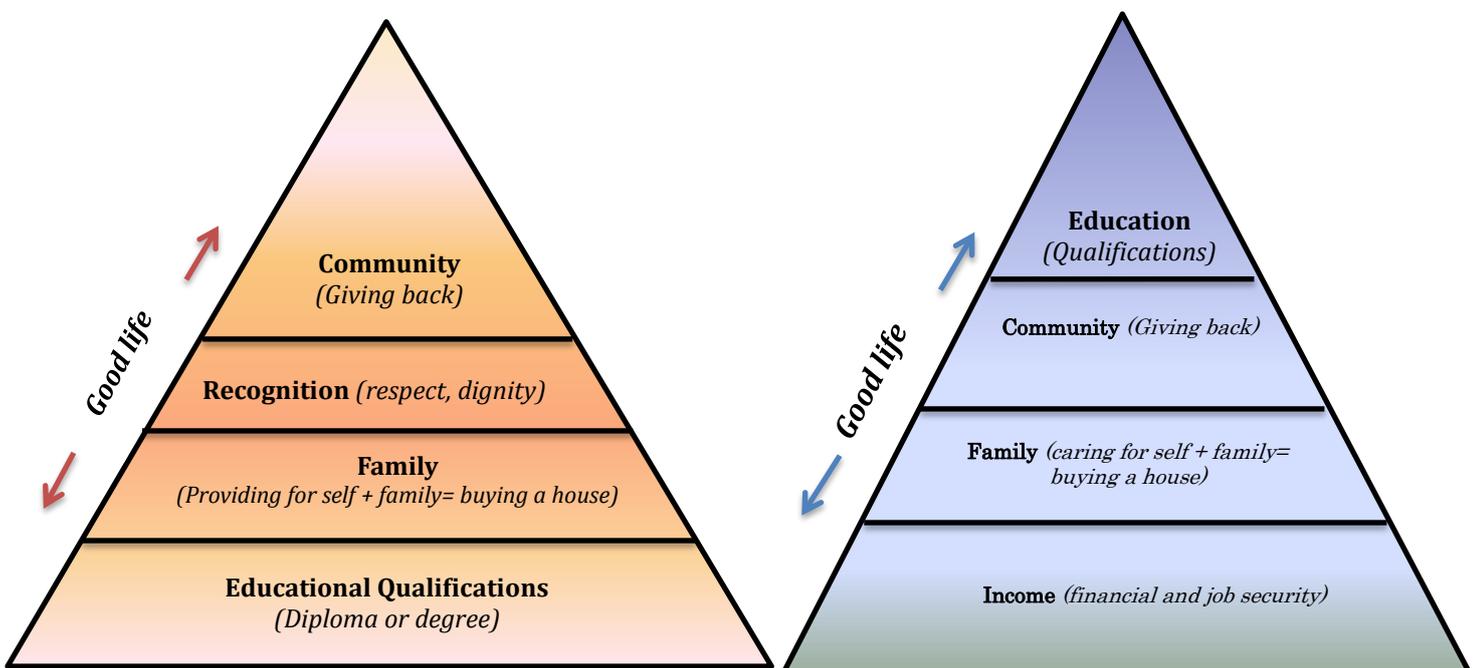


Figure 7.4: Men's long-term aspirations

Women's long-term aspirations

Unlike most of the migrant women, who were of the view that income will give them financial and job security, most of the men believe that education will lead to more

secure financial opportunities and job security, holding the view that this is one of the ways that one could get out of poverty. Although most of the men want to start families and provide for their families like the women, they believe an education will enhance their ability to do so. In this context, helping family refers to providing for the extended family such as paying school fees for siblings and building houses for guardians. Some of the men reported the ambition to start their own families, whereas all of the young women had married early, as discussed in Chapter Five. Although most of the men reported having long-term aspirations, Elias noted:

I think I don't want to have a lot of goals just because it will disturb me. I'm not good at concentrating because I have got a lot of things which already disturb me emotionally, spiritually so I don't want to have a big load again. (Elias)

Elias's narrative demonstrates that although aspirations may be viewed as the map to the journey of each individual's life, as Appadurai (2004) asserts, some gradually give up on their aspirations as a result of diverse conversion factors within social environments. In relation to this study, this may not suggest that migrant youth do not value aspiration, but rather that they have accepted their reality, which offers little opportunity to pursue aspirations, as some of the migrant youth shared on the values of education.

One of the valued long-term aspirations noted by the young men in the study is to be recognized by society for their achievements, and these achievements can only be realised through being educated, getting successful employment, starting businesses and giving back to the community. While this may be related to gender socialisation, it is also related to Fraser's (2009) concept of recognition, which can be associated with the formulation of one's identity. Fraser (2009) advances that economic disadvantage and cultural disrespect are entwined with and support one another. From the narratives of the migrant men, the relationship between these two aspects (economic and cultural) emerges strongly. The lack of income makes the young men feel as if they have no cultural and social significance, which they feel may lead to them not getting the respect and recognition that they deserve. The economic disadvantage experienced by these young men, who feel they should be economically able to provide for themselves and their families, has resulted in feelings of marginalisation and deprivation. As they

experience this deprivation, the social patterns of representation, interpretation and communication (through socialisation, as it emerges in the narratives) has seemingly resulted in an oppression of non-recognition and perceived disrespect from society. Fraser (2009) therefore calls for a combination of transformative redistributive politics and a transformative recognition politics. Most of the migrant men also added that they value being respected. Elton believes respect is important in his life because when he is respected, he feels like a human being. In addition to the need for recognition, such a desire to feel as a 'human being' may be related to Nussbaum's (2006) notion of 'human dignity', which she highlights is important to all individuals regardless of state or condition, as a matter of minimal justice. With such dignity comes respect (Nussbaum, 2008) and entitlement to have the capabilities needed for a flourishing life. From this analysis it is apparent that human dignity has a strong linkage with access to the minimum threshold of resources and capabilities necessary for individuals to live a dignified life. Most men may feel they have been robbed by their circumstances of their ability and role (given by society) to provide for the family, hence the need for social recognition. It emerges from the data that such recognition may potentially bring back lost confidence. While women did not explicitly raise issues of dignity and the need to be recognised by society, the aspiration to be able to care for their immediate and extended families implied that these capabilities were important to them. Thus, dignity and recognition are important for both men and women, through different achievements.

7.4.4.1 Collective aspirations

From the long-term aspirations identified in study, the social embeddedness of aspirations highlighted by Appadurai (2004) emerges very strongly and can be viewed as collective aspirations. The long-term achievement that the youth want to realise is more than what is of benefit to the individual. Statements such as 'giving back to the community', 'helping the poor' and 'taking care of my family' are examples of the collective nature of aspirations, which underlines the conception that aspirations are, to some degree, influenced by the community, environment and culture. Women's' collective aspirations were immediate, whereas for men these aspirations were future-oriented, as seen in the previous section on long-term aspirations. As a result, because men assumed seemingly fewer responsibilities back home: they could afford to

experiment with different aspirations, including educational aspirations, whereas for women their aspirations were directed toward providing for others and having little time and resources to think of the 'self'. Women have also been found to be more willing to help family members, and their remittances are more consistent over time (Lopez-Ekra et al., 2011; Orozco et al., 2010).

Despite these differences, societal expectations and socially-defined roles not only separate the roles between men and women, but teach us that individual actions may have implications for other people. Such social responsibility taken by individuals shows the importance of connections between people, through their social commitments and their embedding social institutions (Ballet et al., 2007:186). As such, individuals cannot be viewed as independent of their relationships with other people: they belong to a community and participating in its daily activities impacts on the wellbeing of individuals (ibid.). These social interactions which involve intentionality and obligation towards others opens the way to 'enriching' the individual in order for him/her to achieve his/her intrinsic value(s). In this light, whatever one achieves or desires to achieve is not always individualistic, but may be collective in nature. Therefore, while personal aspiration is important for migrant youth, these aspirations are directly or indirectly influenced by the happiness, safety, and wellbeing of their families and communities, including people left in Zimbabwe. These collective and individual aspirations are not polarised, but are rather complementary to each other, in the sense that when family is happy, so is the individual. As suggested earlier by Creegan's (2008) assertion, these collective aspirations are important for addressing broader societal inequalities, which is important as a poverty alleviation mechanism.

Similarly, in relation to collective aspirations, Sen (1999) highlights the interdependence between freedom and responsibility and advances that responsibility is a component of freedom. Sen's premise is that responsibility towards self and others requires freedom. In essence, individual responsibility needs to relate to the circumstances that we see around us and this is influenced by the substantive freedoms that one has. Without the freedom and capability to do something, a person cannot be responsible for doing it, yet also having the freedom and capability to do something imposes on the individual the duty to consider whether or not to do it, and this involves individual responsibility (Sen,

1999). For example, poverty among the migrant youth may not only deprive them of their own individual wellbeing, but also may lead to a deprivation in living a responsible life even towards others. As such, support of individual marginalised migrant youth is likely to have a wider impact on their families and communities.

The next section will discuss the intrinsic and instrumental aspirations of the youth as they emerged from the study.

7.4.4.2 Instrumental versus intrinsic aspirations

Expanding the discussion of the instrumental and intrinsic value of education, the migrant youth shared similar sentiments on the instrumental and intrinsic values of aspirations. Short-term aspirations are of instrumental value, while long-term aspirations have intrinsic value. Considering the migrant youths' socio-economic standing, for them to achieve that which is intrinsically valuable requires some form of instrumentality. Elton also provides an example of an instrumental aspiration:

Right now I have got two options because I need to study Project Management: it's a short course that can give me a better job. Once I got a diploma in Project Management, then I can look for a job; and the[n] once I [have] got a job, I can pursue my degree. (Elton)

Although most women had lower educational aspirations than their male counterparts, they still felt the instrumental value of education. For example, on education, Feli says:

I think it is important. Even if things are tough and there are no jobs in Zimbabwe, one day it will come around and those who are educated will start looking for something to do, whilst those who are not educated will just stay at the same position. If you were a domestic worker here, you will just remain a domestic worker until you die, but if you are educated life can change. (Feli)

This instrumentality was reiterated by Nancy:

It's very, very important that one goes to university, because it is the only way out of this situation [poverty]. (Nancy)

While Feli is aware of the potential instrumental benefits of furthering her education, she believes there are limited opportunities to move out of domestic work into pursuing what she aspires to. Although she has no clear map of how she can make this move, she believes an education would provide her with wider options when she returns to Zimbabwe.

Rita's narrative presented earlier also provides an example of an instrumental aspiration, where an aspiration is motivated by the need to have a job that will provide financial value, rather than wanting to achieve something because it is 'good' in itself. These are, however, not the only examples of instrumental aspirations, but only a few, as all the youth would like to get jobs that would provide them with a decent income, so that they are able live lives that they value.

Education also emerges as both an intrinsic and instrumental aspiration. Elton believes education will not only enhance his opportunities for employment, but also make him become recognized in the community.

I need a better character in life; I need education for me to get a better job that can sustain my future. For me to acquire a better job, I need to acquire education first. Education will make me to have a job, and once I got a job that means I will be having a salary, and from having a salary, I can be in a position to keep a family. I need to be recognised. When I leave this world, when I die, and the only way people can recognise me is when you are looking at my children and wife. I also need to have a degree, because when you strive to get a degree or a diploma, you also empower your children, because they will also put more effort in their studies and can reach the level of education that the dad had. (Elton)

Two issues for consideration can be extracted from Elton's story, which are the intrinsic nature and instrumentality of his aspirations. Additionally, his desire to be a role model and interrupt intergenerational disadvantages for his children by supporting their

education shows he wants to avoid corrosive disadvantage. Thus, his desire to protect his children from the challenges he experienced is an indication of his awareness of possible generational transfer of poverty. If he, as a parent, is not educated, he may have little incentive to motivate his children to aspire to pursue education. That is, his level of education beyond secondary school may have the potential to positively influence his children to follow in his footsteps and this may lead to flourishing in other areas.

Both intrinsic and instrumental aspirations may be considered important, as they contribute to the desired wellbeing of the participants. Arguably, it is important to highlight that only the very well-off can be intrinsically motivated all the time. Most individuals combine instrumental and intrinsic motivation and aspirations. The intrinsic aspirations that emerged from the study connect to freedom, respect, sense of achievement, and control over one’s immediate environment such as autonomous decision-making. These intrinsic aspirations had related instrumental aspirations, as shown in Figure 7.5.

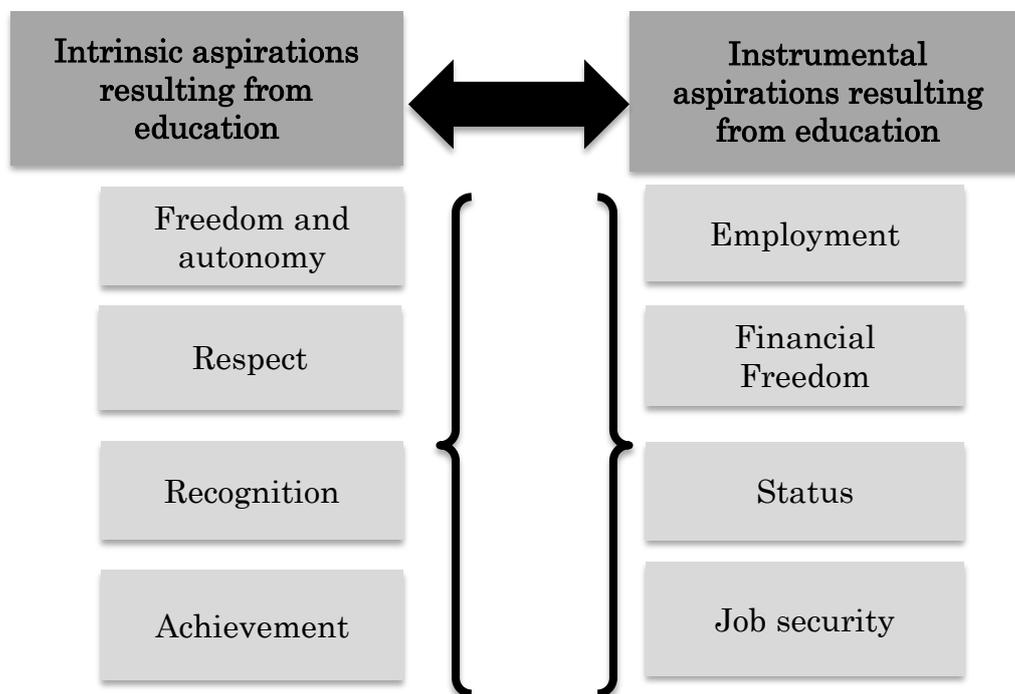


Figure 7.5: Relationship between instrumental and intrinsic aspirations

From a CA viewpoint, there is a very close relationship between the migrant’s intrinsic and instrumental aspirations. This is because both sets of aspirations may be viewed as capabilities and functionings. For example, the instrumental aspiration to employment and the intrinsic aspiration to freedom can both be capabilities, as they can form part of the opportunities available to an individual to pursue things that they value. The functioning of these two aspirations is that they both can be the end result (actual achievement) of the opportunities that migrant youth may have had, and can allow the youth to undertake different beings and doings to the advancement of their wellbeing. Instrumental aspirations were also viewed by migrant youth to lead to intrinsic aspirations, and as such, in addition to being capabilities and functionings, they were a means to their desired wellbeing. The interaction of the means and ends processes in the broader process of aspirations formation among migrant youth is illustrated in Figure 7.6.

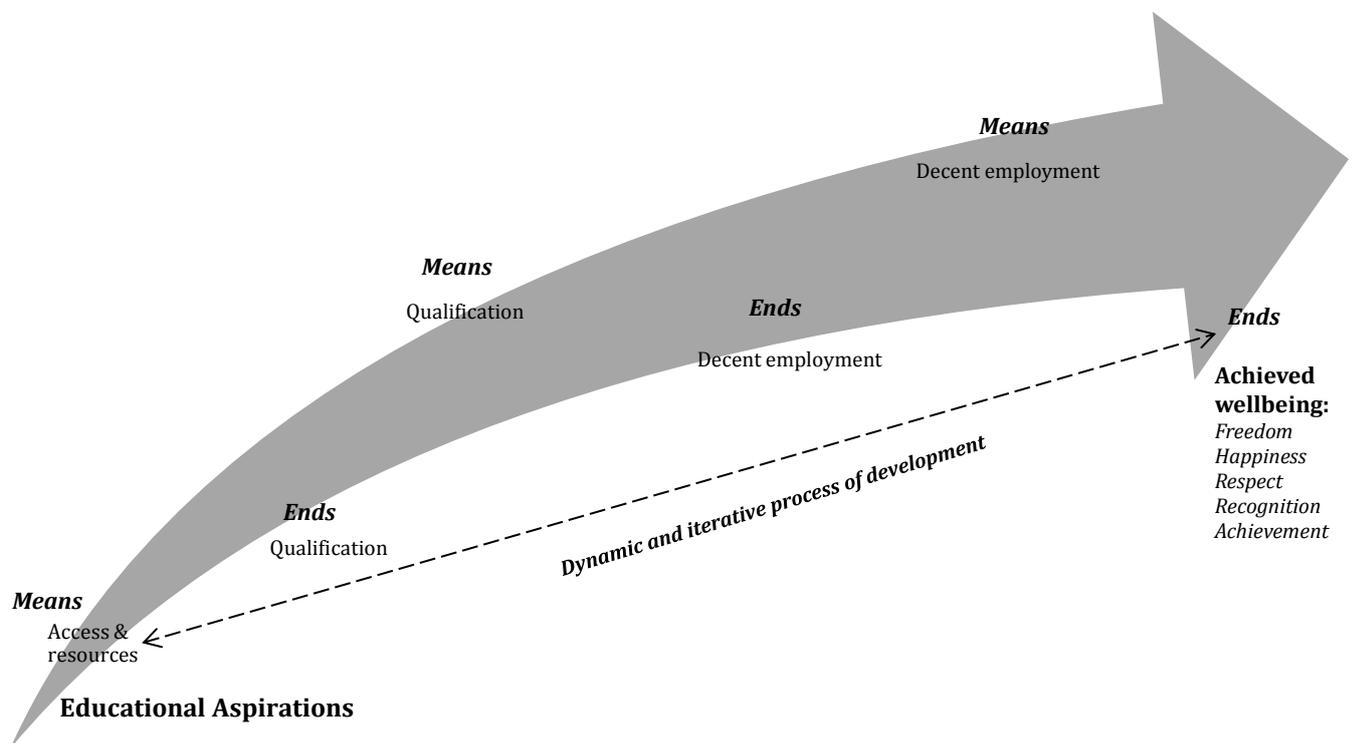


Figure 7.6: The means-ends process in the aspirations process of migrant youth³⁴

³⁴ Although the women may have low educational aspirations currently, their view of the potential benefits of education is also part of the illustrated process.

Hart's (2013) assertion discussed earlier, that certain aspirations would require the realisation of some aspirations first, strongly relates to the context of marginalised migrant youth. As the diagram shows, for migrant youth to realise their ultimate desired wellbeing, there are still issues of access to education; obtaining the desired qualification to achieve the educational aspirations; getting desired employment; and ultimately achieving the desired wellbeing. For example, from the participants view, being able to realise one's educational aspirations is seen as a means to an end (that of obtaining a qualification). The qualification may also be viewed as a means to an end of better employment chances and a means of gaining social recognition. While the means-ends process may seem linear, there is a dynamic and iterative development of capabilities and functionings (instrumental and intrinsic aspirations). The process may be different for individuals depending on factors such as availability of resources, agency, and those present within one's aspirations window. For those migrant youth with a narrow aspirations gap and high levels of agency, the means-end process may be faster and so they may realise their desired functionings and wellbeing earlier than others. This reinforces the view that those with resources will have wider aspirational horizons (Appadurai, 2004). There is need, however, for further exploration of gender differences in aspirations among marginalised migrant youth, as earlier studies in America (Kasser et al., 1995; Kasser & Ryan, 1993) found females to rate intrinsic aspirations more highly, which is the opposite to my findings in a South African context, where females seem to rate instrumental aspirations more highly. As such, it is important that some of these differences be followed up with further research.

So far, the narratives of the youth have shown the fundamental role of education in career and personal development, prosperity and economic wellbeing, and this also seen in the array of literature on development and education (Wilson-Strydom, 2015; Nussbaum, 2011; Walker, 2010; Collins, 2007; Unterhalter, 2002). While education has been viewed as a luxury in certain migrant contexts (Zeus, 2011), this did not come out strongly in the study. Although there are financial responsibilities prioritised by many, especially young women, education is their ultimate desired achievement. As shown earlier, for the male participants education is viewed as the key and necessary means for the wellbeing they desire, whereas this is not the case for most of the women. This study has shown that the unavailability of educational opportunities, which most men

indicated they would take up if available, does not necessarily mean education is not valued or desired by marginalised migrant youth. This means that to these men, education is not viewed as a luxury, but a need that would open many doors for them. It is also an indication that in many circumstances, individuals adapt to what is within their immediate reach, as is the case with many of the youth. This focus that the CA allows, of not exclusively concentrating on ends but on the idea of whether individuals have access to the conditions necessary to pursue their desired wellbeing, allows for consideration and assessment of the beings and doings valuable to migrant youth, in addition to income and wealth (Robeyns, 2011).

From a structural point of view, this also helps development initiatives in identifying ways to improve human welfare based on what it is valued under certain contexts.

7.5 Understanding the aspirations gap

In the process of developing aspirations, prioritisation of these aspirations, interaction of conversion factors and exercise of agency, the gap between their aspirations and present socio-economic circumstances has an effect on what the youth ultimately choose to do; that is, their agency. A large gap between aspirations and socio-economic status would lead to a 'disincentive' effect on forward-looking action, as Brandon and Pasquier-Doumer (2013) put it. Many stories shared by the youth in this study show a large aspirations gap. A key factor for women in widening this gap is in relatively low educational functionings and gender conversion factors, whereas for men it is conversion factors such as documentation and financial accessibility. Obert had a wider aspiration gap than the others. This was based on his educational functionings and current socio-economic status:

If I could do a course at college, my life would be better, but it's difficult for me to get the money to complete my secondary education. As of now, I don't know what I will do, since I am not sure if I will finish off my schooling or not. It's very difficult to start with dreams when you do not have a secondary school certificate. As of now I will take anything that will come my way because I don't have a choice. I want to change my life, but right now I don't have a plan [of how] to do that. Now [I] am

looking for a piece job [so] that I can feed myself [and] clothe myself so that even when I go out, people see me like a human being. (Obert)

As discussed in Chapter Three, this aspirations gap influences individual agency. In a case such as Obert's where the aspirations gap is larger, there is little motivation to raise standards because the gap is too large. According to Ray (2006) this gap, not aspirations per se, would influence Obert's future-oriented behaviours. From the excerpt, it is clear that Obert has stopped aspiring to what he cannot achieve, leading to aspiration resignation. This, according to Camfield et al. (2012), results in an adaptation process where individuals accept what they cannot change. A narrow aspirations gap may possibly lead to aspiration failure or resignation. Similar to aspirations adaptation raised by Conradie and Robeyns (2013), here an individual may focus on the capabilities at hand and believe that particular capabilities are unavailable to them, when in actual fact such capabilities are available. For example, as Dr Gasi noted (in section 7.3.1), a migrant youth may, as a result of lack of motivation, believe they are not capable of doing well at a university when in actual fact the capability is available, but has remained unexplored for various reasons. Contrary to Obert, individuals such as Musa and Terry have narrower aspirational gaps as they were already studying towards the different programmes of their choice and exemplify the need to exercise one's agency in exploring opportunities that may otherwise seem unavailable.

I'm completing my studies next year and I will get my higher certificate in Business Management. The terms and conditions of the scholarship I have are that after completing the higher certificate, I will get an internship. After that, if I want to further my studies, they will see whether I qualify or not [and] then I can pursue my degree. (Musa)

I'm studying law. I do not want to be a trial advocate, but I want to use it as a vehicle for me to negotiate with other people and get where I want to go and achieve what I want to achieve. I want to help a lot of people, and I think law on its own cannot help people. At the moment I am part of three organizations I have created with my friends and we are still writing a lot of ideas [about] where we want to go. (Terry)

Terry and Musa's opportunities to explore the relationship between means and ends are not as limited. Additionally, we see from their narratives that there is agency involved in realising their aspirations. One might think this suggests that Obert does not have the capacity to aspire, but actually it shows that he has limited opportunities to explore the relationship between the means and ends, as discussed in the previous section. As a result, he has a weaker capacity to aspire in comparison to his peers such as Terry and Musa who have a narrower aspirations gap. The difference in these gaps may be as a result of different degrees of individual agency and the interaction of various conversion factors.

Elton was pursuing a Bachelor's degree in Environmental Management and reports that he had to drop out as a result of financial challenges. Although he has a job with one of the youth initiatives, he says it does not pay enough for him to pay for his tuition fees, and so he is looking for other job opportunities. Elton's aspirations gap is neither wide nor narrow: although he had to drop out of university, he was already on the path to realising his aspirations. Thus, his aspirations gap is distinct from those of Obert, and of Musa and Terry. However, if opportunities and resources remain scarce, there is a risk of falling into the adaptive process. Discussion of the aspirations window follows.

7.5.1 The aspirations window

Although gender has been discussed earlier as a conversion factor, it also makes a key contribution within the aspirations window. It emerges in the study that gender also influences who an individual socialises with and looks up to. For example, while men look up to the elder of the church and their circles of networking, there was no strong evidence that women had influence from their peers or individuals within their circles of socialisation or networking, because most of them were not part of a formal system such as a church. This is because most of the women were domestic workers (see section 5.2), which often limited their involvement in church activities and networking. The influence of the church elder on the young people's lives, particularly the migrant men, indicates the importance of role models among young people.

While Elton's long-term aspiration is an example of exposure, it also illustrates what happens in the aspirations window:

I had a nickname in 2010 when I was still at Albert; they used to call me Professor. That is the title which I want to be called by in my life; without that I can call myself a failure, because it's something that I have always wanted since I was doing my O-Levels due to the inspiration which I have seen from the professors. We used to go to seminars at University of Witwatersrand when we went for career guidance. I also participated in young people's parliament, and we met professors, and the way they responded to our questions was something that inspired me, you know?
(Elton)

Elton's narrative is an example of Ray's (2006) notion of how aspirations are socially determined; this is also advanced by Genicot and Ray (2014) who epitomise aspirations as socially-determined reference points by way of the aspirations window. Terry's extract on exposure to the law profession presented earlier also epitomises the formation of the aspiration window by drawing on aspirations from the lives and achievements of those individuals who exist in the aspirations window and are relevant to one's experiences (Ray, 2006:9). The existence of new role models at the Legal Resources Centre in Terry's life helps resolve the 'aspirations trap' noted by Rao and Walton (2004) experienced by some marginalised migrant youth. The stimulation of agency that comes with these newly-formulated aspirations, as seen in Terry's case, can lead to the advancement of capabilities, and in doing so positively altering the migration experience as opportunities and aspirational window widens (Ray, 2006). In the next Chapter, I present how agency emerged from the youths' narratives.

7.6 Conclusion

Building on Chapter Six, which focused on pre-migration experiences of the migrant youth, Chapter Seven presented the post-migration experiences of these youth. Although there are evidently many obstacles that migrant youth face in South Africa, the opportunities for wellbeing available in the country are still better than in Zimbabwe. Despite the identified limitations of pursuing educational aspirations, this Chapter has

documented the current aspirations of the migrant youth. In doing so, it has provided comprehensive information on these educational aspirations as these young people endeavour to make a living in a foreign land. Through the adoption of CA concepts, questions on how these experiences influence individual ambitions and aspirations for educational continuation or achievement have been posed, and will be comprehensively discussed in what follows. Thus, in the next Chapter I conceptualise and theorise the themes that emerged in this Chapter and the previous Chapter.

Chapter Eight: Re-imagining educational aspirations in disadvantaged settings

8.1 Introduction

Chapters Six and Seven presented the pre- and post-migration experiences and educational aspirations of marginalised migrant youth in the study. These Chapters answered the first three research questions: *What are the experiences of marginalised migrant youth? What educational aspirations do the migrant youth have? Which capabilities and functionings do they value?* These experiences, aspirations and valued capabilities were analysed descriptively; thus, this Chapter and the one that follows analyse, conceptualise and theorise the data presented in the previous two Chapters, using the human development and capability lens. One of the aims of this Chapter is to show that although material support is important for migrant youth, it is inadequate on its own and may fail to prepare this group fully for their future. Thus, the Chapter seeks to understand the diverse conversion factors that influence the formation of migrants' educational aspirations and what this may mean for their future plans in relation to human development.

Conceptualisations of aspirations using the CA have been done by a number of scholars in education (e.g. DeJaeghere, 2016; Katusiime, 2014; Hart, 2013) and in disadvantaged contexts (Ray, 2016; Conradie, 2013), as well as for nation states (Nussbaum, 2016). While some of this work relates to marginalised contexts, conceptualisation of aspirations remains limited when it comes to educational aspirations of marginalised migrant groups, particularly in the South African context. This is because of the limited research in this field of study, as argued in Chapter One. Thus, in this Chapter, I start by conceptualising four different types of aspirations formation to illustrate diverse conversion factors and different levels of agency. I have named these *resigned*, *powerful*, *persistent* and *frustrated* aspirations. The four types of aspirations discussed in this Chapter are interrelated as they may change depending on the various conversion factors at play in the migrant youth's lives at a given time. The purpose of this conceptualisation is to understand aspirations formation in the contexts of marginalisation, disadvantage and vulnerability experienced by migrant youth in the

study. Secondly, I discuss these four types of aspirations based on the diverse contextual and individual conversion factors that influence migrants' daily lives and aspirations. Lastly I present an analysis of re-imagined educational aspirations and what this means for development.

8.2. Conceptualising aspirations formation

As highlighted earlier, from analysis of the findings, four types of aspirations were identified; *resigned*, *powerful*, *persistent* and *frustrated* aspirations. Each type is accompanied by a migrant youth narrative to exemplify the interplay of various factors that influence the formation of each type of aspiration. The narratives and types of aspirations resemble other stories in the study; these four were chosen as they provide the clearest illustration of each aspiration type. Thus, while all 26 stories have been used throughout the analysis, the four that I have chosen strongly represent these types of aspirations.

8.2.1 Resigned Aspirations

These aspirations can be placed at different points along two intersecting continua of positive external influences (social and structural conditions) and low levels of agency (internal influences), and these operate in the space of the aspirations window.

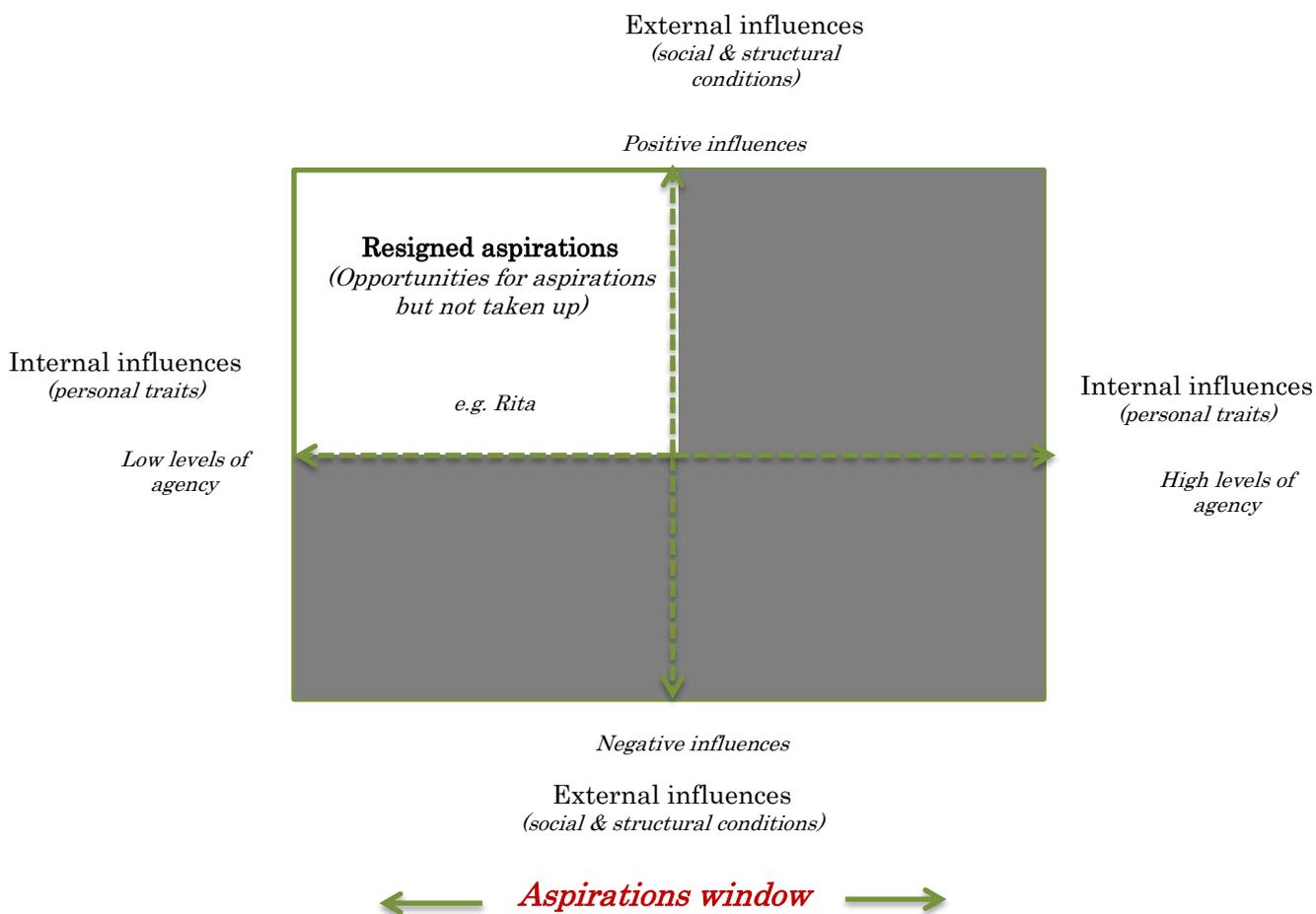


Figure 8.1: Resigned aspirations

Rita's story

We are two in our family, my sister and I. I don't know my father. In 2009 when my mother passed away I fell in love with a guy who promised to take care of me since my mother had passed away. He took me and we lived together for six years. I was sixteen years old when he took me and doing form two, so I didn't complete school. He was born in 1987 and I was born in 1993, we had two children and after that he married another woman. In February last year I left him because I couldn't stand it any longer. He was failing to support myself and the children very well. I didn't dress nicely, I would bath[e] but there was no lotion to apply on [my] skin, so I used lemons. He couldn't buy clothes for [our] children and what surprised me was that he is the one who said he would look after me. I left my children with him and I decided to work and start a new life of my own.

I came to South Africa on the 7th of September last year. When I was in Zimbabwe, I used to sell tomatoes, I used to have a garden of tomatoes, when I didn't have [any] I would hoard clothes for resell[ing]. Then there arose an opportunity for me to come to South Africa to work at a potato farm. There was a man in our area who was taking people who wanted to work there, so I submitted my name and that's how I came here. We came through border jumping, you don't pay anything. The season for potatoes ended so I had to wait for the next season the following year. I left the potato farm and went to another town where my job was to cut onions. Working at the onion farm was much better than the potato farm because if you work hard you make money; I got R1500 in two weeks. Some people would choose and say they wouldn't work for an Ethiopian in the shops for R300 per week. I just wanted a job, I did not choose; I was even prepared to wash cars. When I came to Johannesburg in November I worked for a Malawian, selling tomatoes, but I left that work because I was not familiar with the food that they ate. My sister and I had nowhere to go. It was November, then we met a guy who showed us the shelter at the church. The man I am staying with now was there at that time and started proposing love to me. That day I slept by the stairs with no blankets but a bag which had my few clothes and it was very cold. On the second day when that man came back proposing again, I quickly accepted and we started staying together. My husband is 44 years [old] and I am 21 years [old], I think it's better than to have my time wasted by people of my age. I just gathered some courage to love him. He has five children in Zimbabwe and one here in SA; I have two of my own. I went to his rural home and I was accepted and I feel that my life is getting better. The only problem we have is accommodation; we don't have a proper place to stay. But still, life is better here the life I lived in Zimbabwe was difficult; I now have body lotion that I could not have in Zimbabwe.

I was arrested by the police because I don't have a passport. I was in prison at John Vorster for almost one month and then was deported back to Zimbabwe. I was arrested on the 8th of May and was deported on the 29th of May and came back on the 22nd of June 2015. At that time my husband was not working; we were staying at the church and I was the one who was working, so I lost my job the time I got arrested. We were supposed to move out of the church but we didn't move out

because we didn't have a place to go. It was difficult for people to move out of the church because we didn't have money to pay rent and it was difficult to get jobs. So we were just staying there because it was for free, that's why we were raided at the end.

In Zimbabwe it was also difficult to go to school because at times I only had two books so it was a waste of time. I wanted to learn how to operate the till. I also wanted to go for attachment at wholesalers but did not have the money to pay. I never thought of courses like law, teaching or nursing, I saw that I did not have money to do that. My husband is very [well-] educated but he can't get a proper job. I wish I could study law, I heard that it has good money. My husband's child is studying law at a college in Zimbabwe, but now I would rather study what is simple, I don't want a course that will take many years or months because I want to get an income fast. My husband thinks I should do a nail beauty course; he says it's the one that does not take long to complete and it has money. I don't know whether there is money but I just want a good course. But I am also afraid that I might get arrested on my way to college because I don't have papers. If one has the right papers, life becomes easy. One can do whatever they want to do without being afraid.

My wish is to improve myself so that I go back home a better person; if I go back like this they will laugh at me. The problem is that it's difficult to get a job without education and now I don't have a safe place to stay; I am not working and we don't have money so I can't afford to pay rent at expensive flats. My husband is a contract worker and work can end anytime. I want a good life: that is what is important to me, here and in Zimbabwe. A good life means money, a good place to live. I want to have businesses and be able to help others like my relatives and friends who were there for me in my times of need. But one cannot get a good job without education and if you are not educated, you only do piece jobs. I can't come to South Africa to continue living a miserable life like I used to in Zimbabwe. Running away from my country is because there was no good life and I came here where I heard that that life was better. (Rita, July, 2015)

While Rita had social and structural conditions in place, such as living at the church shelter and an opportunity to attend ASS, her choice not to take up this opportunity suggests that she had accepted that realising her aspiration of becoming a lawyer was impossible. Her experiences and circumstances have led her to believe that the opportunity to become a lawyer has passed and thus, she has resigned her aspirations. The loss of confidence in her ability to realise her aspiration is also captured when she questions how realising an aspiration of studying towards a degree in law would be possible for her, as she failed to realise what she thought was achievable (being a till operator). Giving up on her valued aspiration, she now wants to pursue a profession that she will not necessarily enjoy, but that will provide her with an income so that she is able to care for herself and her children. Such resigned (potentially adapted) aspirations may be challenging in strategies that aim to use aspirations as an instrument for human development progression (Conradie & Robeyns, 2013). This is because often when individuals have adapted their aspirations, they are likely to believe that certain capabilities are not available to them, even when such capabilities and options are present (Conradie & Robeyns, 2013).

While aspirations resignation can also be seen as a result of the absence of minimal resources to at least live a decent life, the interaction of conversion factors leading to aspirations resignation is complex, as it can involve personal, economic, social and cultural influences. The structural conditions may be in place, such as ASS and flexible policies for migrant youth to participate in education, but the immediate needs of survival lessen one's agency towards pursuing educational activities. In some cases, even the people within one's aspirations window may not motivate an individual to make use of any potentially available opportunities. To a large degree, one's agency to realise what they value is influenced by the current state of being, rather than the possibilities of the future. Thus, the decision of resigning a valued aspiration should be understood in terms of the extent to which basic needs are met, and the uniqueness of such a decision as a result of individual varied experiences.

8.2.2 Powerful aspirations

Powerful aspirations can be placed at different points along two intersecting continua of positive external influences (social and structural conditions) and high levels of agency (internal influences) operating in the space of the aspirations window.

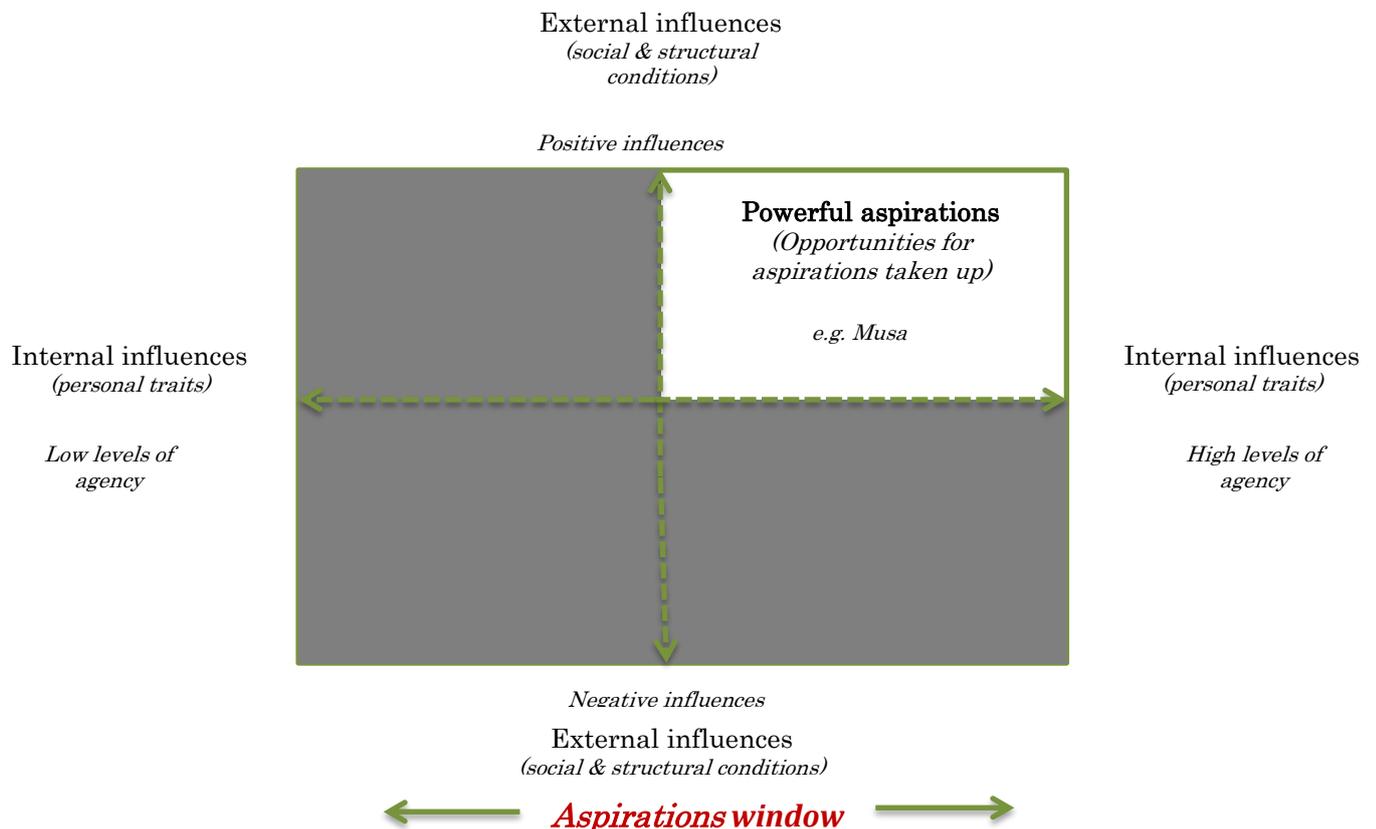


Figure 8.2: Powerful aspirations

Musa's story

I was born on 3 April 1991. When I was in Zimbabwe I never had dreams of going to college or university because they were all shuttered. My mum and dad divorced when I was 11 years and I went on to stay with my mum at her parents' family. She was remarried in 2004 and left me with my grandfather, her father. In 2005 I enrolled for Form one, that is grade eight here, I went for two terms only. After that my mum told me she could not provide for me because she was not working. I started working as a cow-herder, herding cattle, donkeys, for other people and getting money; by that time life was hard because my father never really provided for me. I never knew what a shoe is by that time; I walked barefoot from the age of

one until the age of sixteen. I worked from 2005 to 2006, then 2007 September I heard that people were coming to South Africa, working in a construction industry, getting money and coming back home. I envied that lot and thought it was easy.

The first time I arrived here was on the 13th of September 2007 and I was sixteen years old. I border-jumped because I had no passport, and when I got to Pretoria I found a job helping at an RDP site, where they were building houses. The contractor paid me R90 for each house that was completed. I worked for only two weeks and decided to look for another job.

I arrived at the church in May 2008, and in July all children were called by Dr. Gasi, and he told us a school was being opened, that is when Albert Street School was opened. I realised then that there was no future in working for construction companies or doing gardening, so I decided it is better I go to school. I started school, and I started in form one where I had left in Zimbabwe. When I started Form one, I did not have a rand in my pocket, and the guys who knew me from home were laughing and mocking me, saying 'you don't have a future! Do you mean you came to South Africa to go to school? Let's go to work!' At first I listened to them, and thought if I found a job I would join them. In 2009 I was in form two; that is when I found a job, I only worked on Sundays, selling the Sunday Times. So I started selling the Sunday Times, getting money; if I was hungry I could even go and buy my own food and did not eat much at the school. Things started pressurising me; first it was my father: because I had no 'phone, they told me in 2009 that my father had passed away in 2008. There was nothing I could do because I had no money to go to Zimbabwe. Around April, my brother passed away, [and] again I had no money to go back home.

I completed my O-Levels in 2011, I wrote five subjects and I passed them all. My parents could not take me to school, so this is a precious gift for me. This year I managed to go back to Zimbabwe to apply for my birth certificate and identity document[s], and I also applied for my passport. When I came back in February Dr.

Gasi told us about a scholarship at Multi³⁵ College. I applied, [and] in March the response came, saying 'congratulations you qualified, you now have a scholarship to study business management'. I didn't have a laptop and I have to do online study, so I went back to where I sell [the] Sunday Times. There is a Catholic church there and I talked to a man who goes to the church and told him about the scholarship. He bought me a laptop. I also talked to a lady, who managed to get me a modem for [the] internet. This was important because I am doing an online course. Part of the scholarship terms and conditions are that after completing the higher certificate I will get an internship, after which I can further my studies with a degree, that is, if I qualify. I moved out of the church in September this year and I live with my two friends, who are also students. As a tertiary student it's not conducive for me to study here at the church, and it's not very safe if you have some valuables, so I decided to move out with my friends to a place where I can lock in my valuables. I pay rent for myself. Until when will I rely on the church for shelter? It's time for me to do something for myself; if you get used to free things it means for the rest of your life you will rely on them. Now, there is an organisation here called Peace Action, that is where I work but not always, because sometimes you can go two weeks, or three weeks without working, they can tell you that we have stopped monitoring now, until further notice, so if I'm not working sometimes I will remain at home, if I have R5 I go to Super Bet for ticket betting, it's a way of making money.

South Africa has taught me that life is about who you want to be. In Zimbabwe I never dreamt of becoming somebody and I never dreamt of where I am today. If I were in Zimbabwe right now I would not have had an O-Level certificate, I would not have been studying at a college; I could have been married right now and wondering where to find work to support my children. Now I am more responsible because I'm learning more about life. The more you get to learn, the more experienced you become; I have learnt something of value about life and I think university or college education is very helpful. As I'm working at [to sell the] Sunday Times, I open the paper on the Money and Careers section and they are looking for a project administrator: all they need is someone with a college or university certificate. Education also brings moral values; when you go to school

³⁵ This is a pseudonym.

they will teach how to respect [your] parent[s and it] keeps you away from the streets. Education brings that conscience within you, that when you do something bad you can easily recognize that this is bad, so that's helpful because you get to understand other people's feeling[s] and emotions. But when I was in Zimbabwe, I had no hope of going to college; I used to think I would complete my O-Level one day and become a truck driver, or do mechanics or something that does not involve college. In Zimbabwe you can do mechanics without going to college, you go to a garage and they can teach you basics of how to repair a car. Now my goal is to get a degree, even an Honours degree. Right now I need people who will inspire me, already I have people who give me confidence; when I get to where I sell the newspapers, the two people who helped me with the laptop and modem keep telling me that I can do anything. The lady told me she will be there on the day I graduate: it's something that gives me motivation, that people really love me, so if people have that love for me, then I can do it. (Musa, September 2014)

Powerful aspirations are clear and powerful, and occur when the individual is pursuing what s/he values in life. This control is in different aspects of one's life, such as emotional, physical and psychological, accompanied by flexible social and structural conditions in terms of policies and schooling access. These clear and powerful aspirations explain well the positive relationship between one's high agency and positive available structural conditions. However, reference to positive structural influences does not suggest that the available conditions naturally make it easy for migrant youth to form educational aspirations. Rather, it suggests that despite the circumstances, an individual may choose to see potential in an otherwise difficult environment, which is why understanding the nuanced intersections of agency and social conditions is so important. For example, while some may view migration policies and a lack of documentation as limiting, others may nonetheless find possibilities within these systems. Similarly, although lack of recognised documentation and finance may limit one's choice of studying at a first-class school, some may view the opportunity to study at ASS (structural condition) to be a positive conversion factor in the realisation of their aspirations. Hence, Musa's narrative demonstrates that negative experiences can motivate an individual to raise their aspirations in order to overcome their present conditions. Here, the level of agency determines how far the individual goes with the

hope of living a life that s/he values. If this agency is accompanied by positive individuals within the aspirations window, one may remain motivated. As such, motivation and mentorship can be viewed as important factors that have a positive impact on an individual's life (Fried & MacCleave, 2010; Day & Allen, 2004), and for clear and powerful aspirations to be in place, different positive influences, which are not necessarily material, are required. Because some of these influences may not necessarily be positive at all times, one needs to be able and willing (agency) to manoeuvre within these structures and conditions (conversion factors).

8.2.3 Persistent aspirations

Persistent aspirations can be placed at different points along two intersecting continua of negative external influences (social and structural conditions) and high levels of agency (internal influences) operating in the space of the aspirations window.

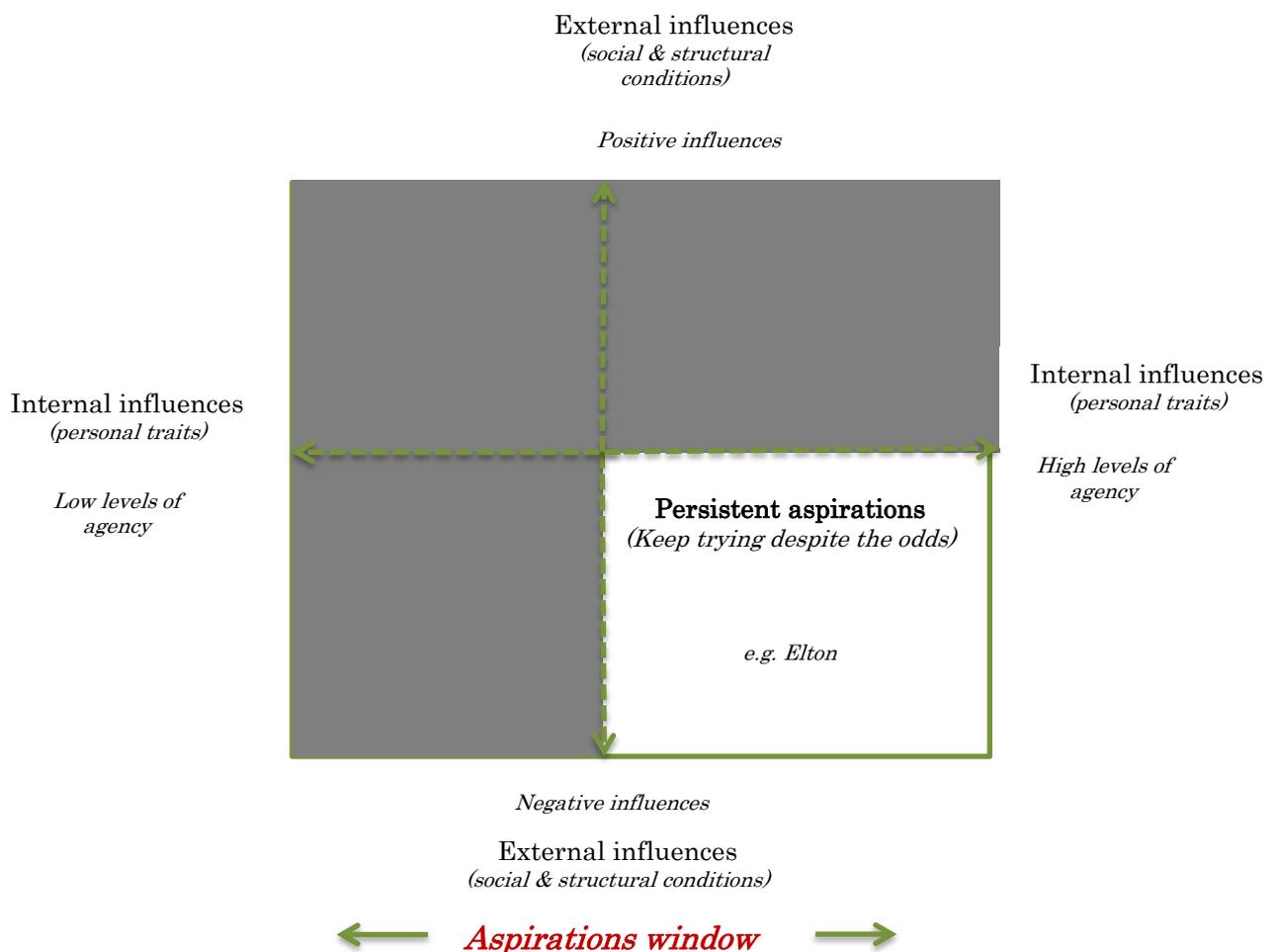


Figure 8.3: Persistent aspirations

Elton's story

I came to South Africa in January 2008 when I was sixteen years old and doing form three. I didn't have a clear reason of coming here although there were some factors which contributed, we were forced to participate in those things of politics, and we were supposed to toyi-toyi, in the streets and such things I hated most. I did not have a passport so I used dabulap³⁶ through crossing Limpopo River. My friends and I stayed in Venda but could not get work; people were saying "you are under age so we can't give you piece jobs". When we arrived in Johannesburg, no-one had an idea what it looks like. We went to Parkview to look for piece jobs, some people gave us food and some of them gave us money, our life [was that] we were like begging. We had no place to stay; we were living like street kids until we met two guys who were also sleeping under a bridge there. They told us about the church and they brought us here. I used to sell mayo at Bree Taxi rank and that capital which I started that business [with], I was given by a taxi driver, a Zimbabwean. He asked what I was doing and I told him I was just roaming around, and he gave me R200 and said "go and buy those things....I need you to sell those things here!" and he showed me the guava juice and then I started [by] buying two pockets; within 20 minutes they were finished. I ended up buying lots and the business was so good. I started getting money and that's when I became a better person. That is the year Albert Street School was opened, and I went there. We started with only three teachers, then there were five, then eight, that is how we started learning. I completed my education there in 2010. I then registered for an Environmental Management program, but had to drop out due to finance problems.

I think university education is life; it's only that I'm failing to raise the fees but I need to fulfil my education: that is very important. Also, I need a better character in life, I need to shape my future, I need a better job that can sustain my future and for me to acquire a better job I need to acquire education first. When I was in Zimbabwe I wanted to pass my O-Level and to continue to A-Level, and go to university. I was inspired by, you know, doctors, so I wanted to study medicine, that was the profession which I wanted most, but everything failed and went another

³⁶ A term used to refer to illegal border-crossing.

way. When I strive to get a degree or a diploma, I will also empower my children because they will know that their dad has a degree and will also put more effort in[to] their studies. At Albert, I had a nickname, they used to call me Professor and that is the title which I wanted to be called by in my life; without that I can call myself a failure. When I was doing my O-Level, I told myself that I want to be a professor because of the inspiration I got from professors. We used to go to the seminars and career guidance at the University of Witwatersrand. I also have participated in young people's parliament and we used to meet professors and the way those professors responded [to our questions] was something that inspired me.

South Africa has opened its doors and for all those people who wanted to study and if you have got proper documents, yes, there are lots and lots of bursaries which are there in South Africa and they can offer those bursaries. For me, its financial problems that have made me to be stuck like this, but what I know is once I get a job that can give me a stable salary like R3000, I can budget and continue with my studies. It's only that I can't get a better job that can give me such a salary. Right now I want to study Project Management; it's a short course that can give me a better job. Once I get a diploma in Project Management, then I can look for a job, and then once I get a job, I can pursue my degree. I also need to do Theology in Development and I can get a job at NGOs, so those two courses are the ones which are in my heart as for now. It's due to the experience which I'm working in communities, how to approach people affected by certain situations, like those people in squatter camps. But as a migrant, the issue of documentation is one of the major challenges, the other thing is the issue of bursaries, I think it's very difficult for you to get a bursary because they need documentation. If you have proper documents, there are lots and lots of bursaries which are there in South Africa. Although I am not getting paid now, I am still working under one of the youth organisations. Sometimes I do piece jobs. That's how I am pushing. Also the way I am living here is something that really disturbs my plans. Even if you wanted to concentrate on something that is good, you can't concentrate because somebody can come, when I was reading during my studies and sometimes busy with my assignments, somebody could come and disrupt me, so the way I am living it's not

good for me to fulfil my goals. In addition to education and work, the other important thing in my life is respect. With respect I can feel that I am a human being. (Elton, September 2014)

Aspirations can be viewed as persistent when an individual is exercising agency, but social and structural factors are such that it becomes difficult to realise these aspirations. From Elton's story, it can be argued that this type of aspiration is influenced by intrinsic motivation more than extrinsic motivation, although he has instrumental values tied to what he wants to achieve. From the data analysis, regardless of the available conditions, the individual maintains both high levels of agency and possesses the capability to keep optimistic that the aspirations will be attained in the future. In some cases, an individual may have the determination to raise and/or achieve their aspirations, but structural conditions may be too restrictive. These conditions may be present structures, or as a result of one's past choices. For example, one may have the necessary requirements to enrol at university, but fail to manoeuvre through the system for a variety of reasons, but remain persistent on the possibility of realising their aspirations.

Elton's situation does not suggest that his aspiration to become a professor are unachievable, but rather may take a longer time, depending on changes in the structural arrangements. The interaction of high levels of agency and constraining structural conditions points to the role that personal conversion factors such as motivation and resilience can play. Thus, from this narrative, it is important to understand that constraining conversion factors do not always result in lesser agency, but can motivate one to exercise higher levels of agency. If Elton's agency can meet up an opportunity, his aspirations have the potential to become 'powerful'. What is important is for one to actively seek these opportunities, rather than believing that opportunities will arise naturally or randomly in the future. Elton is also at a risk of aspirations resignation. If things keep on going as they are going, he may give up later.

8.2.4 Frustrated aspirations

Frustrated aspirations can be placed at different points along two intersecting continua of negative external influences (social and structural conditions) and low levels of agency (internal influences) operating in the space of the aspirations window.

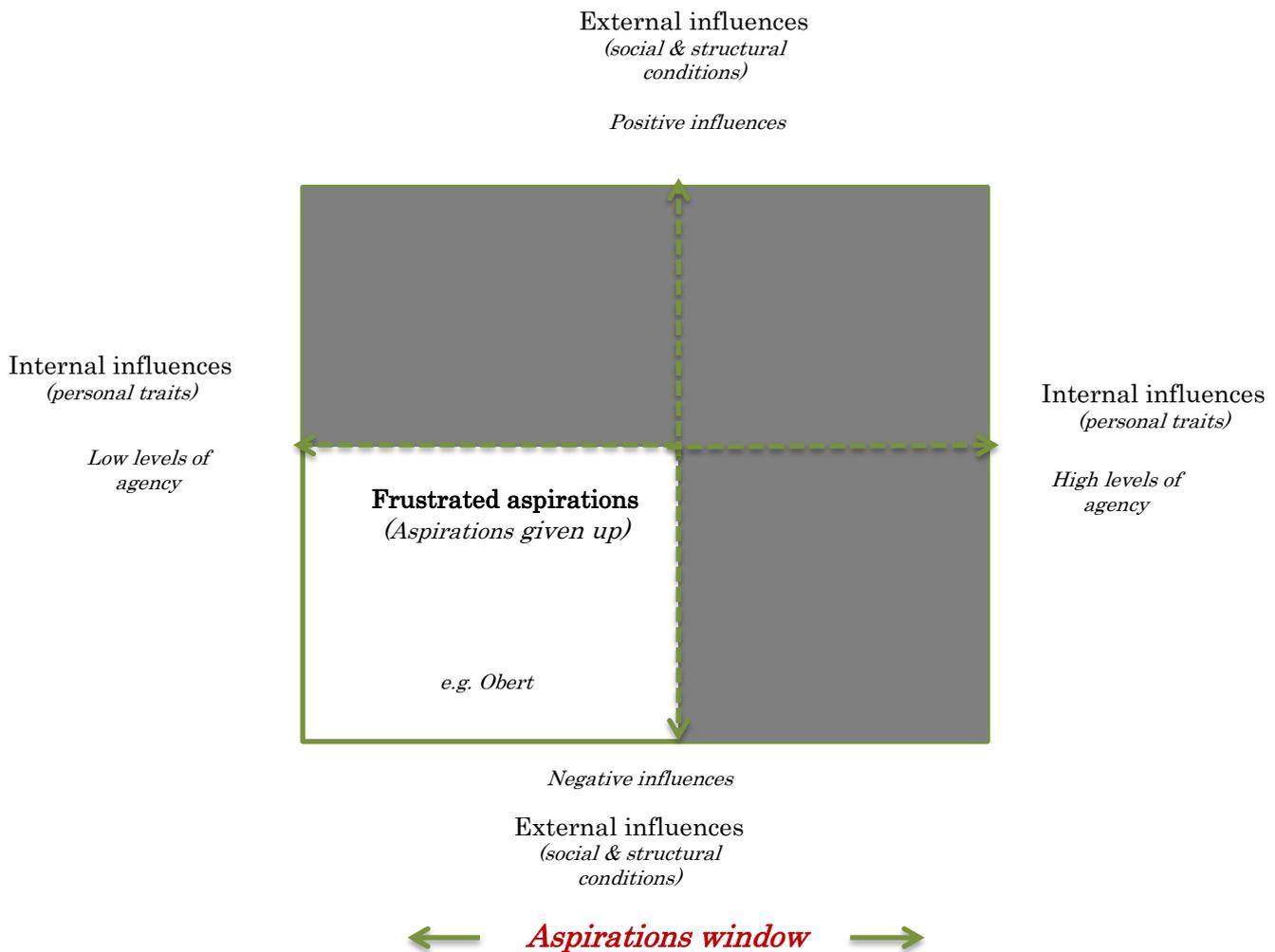


Figure 8.4: Frustrated aspirations

Obert's story

When my father died in November 2007, his family chased my mother away to go back where she came from. After that I lived with my aunt, but the way she treated me was abusive, at some point she took me to the rural areas to go and work there

herding cattle. I stayed six months with my aunt and then in 2008 I decided to run away and came to South Africa. I was fourteen years old. I have three other siblings, two are older than me and one is younger and they are also here in South Africa but they live in Springs.

When I arrived at the border I went to Mesina Showgrounds where I had heard people saying that is where I could apply for an asylum document. I stayed for almost a month there until I met a man who helped me apply for the asylum document, by that time there was a donation by an NGO that if a person got an asylum document, they provided free transport from there to where a person wanted to go so I registered my name. I have been using the asylum seekers' permit but now it expired because I went to Mesina last year to renew it, but this year in July I did not get money to go back to Mesina and they don't agree to renew in Pretoria. So now I have no document[s].

When I got to Johannesburg I stayed at Park Station and some woman brought me here at the church. When I arrived here, there was a church service inside the church and it was announced that young children will be taken to school. I stay[ed] here upstairs for almost two months after which social workers came and took young children and they said it was not safe here; they took us to a shelter in Orange Farm. I was not sure if schooling at Albert would go on, so I thought they would be able to help me at the shelter. Some of the social workers had spoken to us and I had thought it was going to be better and easy to finish school. When we got there, they took us to school; the problem was we were not allowed to go outside the yard; the gate was always closed so that we do not go out, children played inside like people in prison. I attended school at the shelter from grade six until grade eleven but the problem that happened is that the shelter became full and they told us that they would return us back to our homes, in Zimbabwe. I saw that I had nowhere to go and I did not want to go to Zimbabwe because I knew there was no one who would support me no matter what happened; I just left and decided I would not go to Zimbabwe. So I had to drop out of school in grade 11 when I left, that was in 2011. I came to Albert Street School and tried to learn there, but I had so many personal challenges.

Now I'm doing nothing. Sometimes, it's just difficult because I have always wondered how my life would end because of my upbringing. My mother does not know that I live here at the church because I do not want her to know that I live here because she will be heartbroken. I told her I live in the township in Soweto and she knows that I attend school. I told her I found someone who was willing to pay for my school fees. I don't want her to be heartbroken, because of what my family did to her. It did not make me happy. Although my siblings live here it's difficult for me to get along with them because while my father was alive, he did everything for them so that they complete school, but they could not help me to finish off school. I have seen that in my life no-one will help me; I need to help myself, now [I] am trying to look for work, even painting; I am very quick to learn anything if someone shows me. A man had asked me to mix paint for him and I asked him to teach me, then he taught me then afterwards I was doing the painting with him.

When I was still at home I wished to become a doctor. I have a cousin who is a doctor and I liked the job that she did and thought when am older I would become a doctor. Now I think if I could do a course at college like catering it would be better, but I know it's difficult for me to get the money to go to school. Really, as of now, I don't know what I will do. In the first place I am not sure if I will finish off my schooling or not; it's very difficult to have dreams when you do not have schooling. As of now, I will take anything that comes my way because I don't have a choice, and though I want to change my life, right now I don't have a plan of how to do that. But the way I grew up and the experiences I had, I am sure that I want things to be better in my life. If I see people that I grew up with who are my peers, I start wondering and sometimes cry about why things happened this way in my life. Now I am looking for a piece job [so] that I can feed and clothe myself so that even when I go out, people see me like a human being. I do wish that while I am here I could get the opportunity to complete school. It's difficult to have job security if you are not educated, but I have also seen that there are people who will not have everything in life. (Obert, male, 20, November 2014)

Frustrated aspirations are characterised by low levels of individual agency and negative influences of social and structural conditions, as exemplified by Obert's story. The

combination and interaction of these two contexts has the potential to lead to a situation where an individual resigns their aspirations and this resignation is accompanied by lack of belief in oneself and in the social and structural conditions present. Similar to resigned aspirations, diverse factors may lead to low levels of agency, such as lack of motivation or personal history. However, in frustrated aspirations, low agency is accompanied by negative structural influences such that there seems to be no room for opportunities. According to Duflo (2012), low agency may be a result of the anticipation of likely failure by an individual who may then decide to hold back his or her efforts. Where there is absence of individual motivation, absence of the capability of hope and stringent structural conditions, it becomes a challenge to start imagining the crossing of paths of opportunity and action. In the event that structures are altered and are flexible, thereby narrowing the aspirations gap, this may not necessarily mean one will shift to persistent aspirations, as this relates to those actively seeking to obtain and pursue possible available opportunities. Thus, while the presence of opportunities should be accompanied by the desire to make use of these opportunities, this is not the case in the absence of the conditions. According to scholars such as Appadurai (2004) and Ray (2006; 1998), such frustration of aspirations can create poverty traps.

Although I have assigned migrant youth to a type of aspiration, there may be instances where an individual can experience all these forms at different points of their lives, dependent on the interaction of resources and conversion factors at various stages. That is, depending on the prevalent conversion factors in a migrant youth's life at a given time, aspirations can therefore become fluid and take over temporariness as highlighted in section 3.4. Thus, based on ones' current needs, experiences, and conversion factors, an individual can potentially fall in any of the four aspirations and these; can also change if the circumstances change. Furthermore, the lines between the types of aspirations in practice may be blurred at any one time; as such, these types of aspirations are 'ideal'. In the next section I bring together all the major conversion factors that emerged from the conceptualisation of the four types of aspirations above. These conversion factors also apply to other migrant youths whose extracts were shared in Chapters Six and Seven.

8.3 Integrating conversion factors influencing migrants' lives and educational aspirations

In discussing conversion factors, it is taken into account that each migrant youth in the study has a unique profile of conversion factors (Robeyns, 2011). However, the conversion factors presented here are the dominant influences identified by the youth as influencing what they aspire to do and be. Identifying these dominant shared conversion factors is important for making recommendations about how these young people could be supported. Therefore, derived from data on their pre- and post-migration experiences and aspirations presented in Chapters Five and Six, the major conversion factors are grouped into five themes (Table 8.1). The italicised factors represent those that have a positive influence and the remainder have a negative influence on educational aspirations.

Table 8.1: Conversion factors impacting on migrant youths' lives and educational aspirations

Conversion factors			
Economic	Personal	Social	Institutional
Unemployment	Individual background <i>(emotional and parental support)</i>	Living conditions	Recognition/ legality of status
Family responsibilities	<i>Motivation</i>	Affiliation and belonging	<i>CMC</i>
Limited access to bursaries	Age	<i>Exposure and networks</i>	<i>ASS</i>
<i>Philanthropists</i>		Gender	<i>Access to NGO services</i>

8.3.1 Economic conversion factors

The economic conversion factors negatively impacting on migrants' lives and educational aspirations included unemployment, family responsibilities, and limited access to bursaries. Generally, as it is the case for the rest of the youth in South Africa, the high unemployment rate (Statistics South Africa, 2015) makes it difficult for

individuals to find employment. However, the opportunities are more limited for migrant youth in the study as a result of lack of recognised documentation and possibly limited job skills, and hence some resort to low-paying jobs, such as in construction or domestic work. Many also have family responsibilities in addition to their own needs, and as such, it is even more difficult to save money for any form of schooling. Although some are involved in entrepreneurship activities, such as running fruit and vegetable stalls, income derived from these is still too little to cover all the responsibilities the migrant youth have.

Financial challenges in accessing higher education are not only experienced by migrant youth, but by the majority of young people in South Africa and beyond. In 2014 the University World News estimated that over US\$2,200 was required per student per year for tertiary programmes and this requires at least multi-year donor commitment (Sheehy, 2014). Although for most migrant youth this was worsened by limited access to bursaries as a result of a lack of recognised documentation, it is in such circumstances that individual agency becomes important. For some of the youth, this would involve engaging in income-generating activities and identifying potential sponsors, as in Musa's case. The need for such philanthropic contributions in addressing economic challenges for disadvantaged individuals was echoed by Dr. Gasi, who noted:

Everything is wide open. The big issue is the financial constraints, that if a migrant doesn't manage to get some kind of job that can facilitate the financial responsibilities that come with tertiary education it's going to be very difficult. There aren't many bursary schemes and many philanthropists out there who are going to take even the most brilliant mind and develop it, and some of the difficulty is that some of the migrant intelligentsia is hidden, it's not given free breathing space. (Dr. Gasi)

The impact of such philanthropic activities needs to be measured by looking beyond the numbers of people that get such assistance, and focusing on the difference that such assistance makes to an individual's aspirations and wellbeing, as in Musa's story.

8.3.2 Personal factors

Individual background, age and educational functionings make up personal conversion factors. Factors such as parents' education make a significant contribution to enhancing or constraining one's educational aspirations as some studies have found (Arshad et al., 2012; Dubow et al., 2009; Gratz, 2006). It emerges from the data that for most of the youth, the role of being a breadwinner officially starts when the migrant decides to leave home for South Africa. As a result, one deviates from his/her own aspirations in order to satisfy collective aspirations, based on what parents and the family need. Biddle's (1979: cited in Kiche, 2010) role theory holds that expectations held by a group such as family, parents and community will influence one's beliefs and behaviours. This influence is not to be overlooked, as aspirations are socially constructed (Appadurai, 2004). The CA reminds us to ask what is it that the individual values being and doing, and are the necessary opportunities and freedoms to do so are available? Sen (2009) also acknowledges the societal influence on one's life. Positive effects of this societal influence were evident as *motivation* that some of the migrant youth had to achieve what they believed would take them out of poverty. They were motivated to work hard and realise educational aspirations, as they argued that this would lead to a better life (with instrumental returns such as decent employment) than they had in Zimbabwe and what they are currently experiencing in South Africa. Wilson-Strydom and Okkolin (2016) also highlight that such strong connections with family and the community can potentially positively influence one's educational pathways. Families can provide moral support and in so doing enhance the agency of an individual (ibid.). For most women, however, achieving this educational goal was constrained because of age, as the view was that 'age comes with responsibilities' and the women in the study did not seem to think more widely about the possibility of furthering their own education once they had children. Such views held by the women in the study can be associated with traditional gender roles that are still prevalent in some societies, such as women getting married, rearing children and taking care of the household (Ngubane, 2010; Kilroe, 2009; Kwatsha, 2009).

Levels of educational functionings achieved have both a positive and negative influence on what migrants' aspire to be and do. The negative influence is seen in Obert's story, where he is not clear if he will be able to realise any aspirations that he may have without completing basic schooling. Failure to achieve valued functionings has an

impact on one's future aspirations, since achieved functionings may also lead to the formation of new aspirations. In cases where one does not achieve what one values, one is more likely to stop aspiring in future or change their aspirations to fit within their current context. Individuals like Musa and Elton, who attended ASS and successfully completed the Cambridge O-Level exams, viewed their educational functionings to be an advantage as they were able to use their certificates even when they decide to go back to Zimbabwe. Although someone like Elton may not yet have the financial resources to access education, he will be well equipped to further his education when the opportunity arises.

8.3.3 Social factors

Identified social factors included living conditions, affiliation and belonging, exposure, networks and gender. In relation to living conditions, social ecology is important as this is where people's capabilities are influenced and aspirations formed (Stern and Seifert, 2013; Sen, 2009; Appadurai, 2004). For migrant youth, this environment can also play a role in the definition of their aspirations window in which factors such as socio-economic status, ethnicity and role models in one's day-to-day life influence what one believes one can achieve. The impact of the environment on what one is able to achieve is seen also in Musa's narrative, where he described how he had to move out of the shelter in order to focus on his studies. Hart (2008) found that promoting the capability to aspire in supportive environments provided a starting point for young people. An environment that limits the expansion of freedoms in the social, economic or political spheres can potentially lead to the creation of a poverty trap (Dalton et al., 2016; Genicot & Ray, 2014) where it becomes difficult to realise aspirations and leave the disadvantaged position. Despite challenging living conditions, many of the participants reported the importance of affiliation and belonging within the refugee shelter. Although most literature on migration research has documented religious affiliation as a common coping strategy among marginalised migrants (Nzayabino, 2010; Reale, 2010), for migrant youth in this study, feelings of segregation by the community led to identity awareness and national and ethnic affiliation became valuable to them. While ethnic and national affiliation is often characterised by a need for shared values, feelings of belonging and shared identification (see Phinney et al., 2001), in addition to these, in

this study it was characterised more by feelings of security. Thus, this affiliation built at the refugee shelter was important for potentially decreasing migrant youth vulnerability resulting from the identified limited educational and economic opportunities (UNHCR, 2006).

Exposure and access to knowledge can be influenced by diverse factors simultaneously, as Terry shared that his exposure was as a result of his experiences at the church, the people around him, and access to supportive non-governmental organisations:

I changed my career aspiration in 2009 after the movement of the children at the church; there was a huge quarrel between the Department of Social Service, Albert Street and the church. As children we ran away and went to an organisation called Sawema in Randfontein where I was selected to do a press conference, but before I did that I had to meet with the advocate from Legal Resource Centre. We had a lengthy conversation which was very interesting and that is when I developed an interest in the [legal] profession. Then, when I completed my A-Levels he gave me a job to shadow at the Legal Resource Centre. When I did my shadowing job, it was even more interesting. (Terry)

Such interaction and social influence of aspirations is an indication that aspirations are formed within a complex web of activities, experiences, and opportunities. This interrelationship and simultaneous interaction of capabilities is a dimension of the CA that provides a rich and comprehensive understanding of the real freedoms individuals have to achieve beings and doings they have reason to value.

Gender cuts across one's individual background, family responsibilities, age and educational functionings. In relation the formation and pursuing of educational aspirations, gender emerged as a negative influence for women more than men. This influence is seen in the migrant youths' short- and long-term aspirations, and is also associated with socialisation based on gender roles and expectations. Traditional values seem to assume that gendered roles such as child-bearing and -rearing and taking care of the home do not require any form of education, hence women do not need one. Wood and Duprez (2012:472) are of the view that access to higher education can also

potentially liberate individuals from habits and customs as well as provide individuals with a platform to develop 'critical, imaginative capacities to question the world as it is while also imagining new possibilities for themselves and others within it'. Such critical reflexivity can provide an opportunity for women to question these gender roles and differences.

What is also important to note is that while in Zimbabwe the roles are more about physically caring, once the women arrive in South Africa, they do this caring financially by doing different jobs that provide an income to send back home. Hence, although opportunities to pursue higher education may be available in South Africa, some women may choose not to pursue these opportunities, demonstrating the powerful nature of socialisation in influencing one's outlook on education. A variety of writings on access and success in girls' schooling in Zimbabwe show that there are a number of factors that influence girls' schooling such as multiple roles of women, family commitment, low self-esteem, family socialisation, lack of support, cultural beliefs, and persistent gender stereotypes, among others (Mapuranga & Chikumbu, 2015; Chinyoka, 2014; Chabaya et al., 2009). This is reiterated by Dr. Gasi:

The expectation of men to provide for the family is higher. I think the reality is that men have a responsibility to bring bread home and the responsibility of women is to take care of the children, cook and clean. Those stereotypes are unfortunately still very much in place. Our experience however of the Zimbabwean situation is you find that a lot of the women that come through come because they either lost a husband or because they are single parents and they hope that coming here will help, not many of the women in this building are political refugees per se; most of the men are.
(Dr. Gasi)

Emerging from the narratives in the study is that as women assume the role of provider in their families, they do other background activities that bring income, such as running vegetable stalls. Thus, a gradual shift from the traditional expectations takes place, 'temporarily' relieving them from gendered roles in their homes. This is reiterated by Birchall's (2016) assertion that although labour migration may come with the pressure to provide for family members left behind, it can also be an advent of new freedoms and

opportunities for women and girls to escape restrictive gender norms. This ability and responsibility placed on young women to work in South Africa and take up responsibilities back home provides a transnational narrative that influences their wellbeing, as their wellbeing has to be balanced in both countries. Having close family members, especially children in Zimbabwe, increases the exercise of this transnational balancing narrative, often through sending remittances (Bloch, 2010). These remittances, among other non-financial kinds of support, made Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa active transnational actors (ibid.).

Another important consideration of this transnational narrative is that when migrants live their lives across national borders, assumptions about development are challenged (Levitt, 2004), as is the example with migrant women in the study, who have taken up different roles in providing for their families. The importance of the CA in transnational narratives is that the approach focuses on multidimensional evaluation, including attention to the social and political spaces in which migrants live (Gasper & Truong, 2010). Considering this, while there may be a need for raising awareness among migrant women in the study about the possibility of higher education in advancing the skills necessary for functioning in a competitive economy, thereby widening the opportunities available to live the lives they value, university education may not be a viable option under their current circumstances. Therefore vocational training becomes an important consideration, as it will equip them with practical skills such as dressmaking. Based on cases studies of refugee youth in Lebanon and Rwanda, Storen (2016) found that with very low enrolments of refugee youth in tertiary education, vocational training represented an alternative route to gainful employment, offering practical skills instead of literacy and numeracy. One of the incentives of such programmes was that it increased individual agency (Storen, 2016). Similarly, an earlier UNHCR study in Tanzania also suggested that VET skills were not only useful upon repatriation, but were a way to keep migrant youth busy and out of trouble (Lyby, 2001).

Another important theoretical contribution of the women's narratives is how the women live their lives in both countries, thereby breaking assumptions that individuals essentially live their lives in one place, according to one set of national and cultural norms (Levitt, 2004). This ability of the migrant women to live across boundaries is an

example of transnational migration,³⁷ which, in the twenty-first century, has seen more and more people belonging to two or more societies at the same time. It can therefore be assumed that with such transnationalisation, it becomes a challenge for individuals to have fixed aspirations as lives continue to be fluid; hence the need to go back to DeJaeghere's (2016) notion of imagined futures presented in section 6.1. This example of the fluid nature of individual lives leads to the understanding that aspirations may therefore not remain the same, particularly in contexts where social and structural factors have different levels of influence on one's life.

8.3.4 Institutional factors

The identified institutional factors comprised of legality of status of the youth (legal documentation), CMC, ASS, and NGOs. In relation to broader policy, the identified limitation was that it was difficult to obtain legal status in the country. As noted in Chapter Two, the problematic nature of securing legality of status in South Africa either as an asylum seeker or as a refugee is noted by a number of scholars (Bloch, 2010; Khan, 2007; Vigneswaran, 2007; Landau et al., 2005). Misunderstandings about the asylum system and assumptions about Zimbabweans as economic migrants (Vigneswaran, 2007), rather than 'real' asylum seekers, was also cited by the minister of Home Affairs (Gigaba, 2015). However, in addition to the structural challenges in the process of asylum-seeking, the migrant youth indicated that some of the Refugee Reception Offices where most of them had to renew their asylum seekers permit were too far away.³⁸ Financial challenges made it difficult for the youth to travel every six months to renew asylum seekers' permits, and hence most had forfeited the validity of their permits, living in the country as undocumented migrants instead (Landau, 2005). This resulted limited access to the services that require legal recognition. Despite this, most of the youth had access to shelter at CMC before it was closed down, which for most was valuable as they were able to access ASS, from where many obtained their O-Level certificates. Despite limited resources at the school, access to ASS expanded migrant

³⁷ The process by which immigrants forge and sustain simultaneous multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement (Schiller et al., 1995:48). According to Gasper and Truong (2010:340), transnational migration takes the form of cross-border movements that involve retention of this intense contact with the locality of departure, through remittances or visits, frequent communication, intended or actual return, continuing cultural reference, or some combination of these.

³⁸This was particularly the case for those individuals who obtained the permits in Mesina upon entry into South Africa, a town approximately 500km from Johannesburg.

youths' opportunities and choices for the future. Interviews with Dr. Gasi and Dr. Mbatha reveal that, for those that have attended ASS, some end up progressing, although slowly, towards their career aspirations. NGOs also played a positive role during the migration process as they provided the migrants with services necessary for their integration.

In context of the identified conversion factors, many migrant youth found ways to navigate their way around and re- think their aspirations based on current circumstances. In the next section I provide an analysis of 're-thinking' these aspirations in view of the reality of their disadvantaged circumstances.

8.4 Re-thinking of aspirations by marginalised migrant youth

Suggestions that an individual has adapted preferences require critical analysis of the context and agency. A state of adaptive preferences has a risk of downward assimilation referred to by Goldin et al. (2012) as spiralling into permanent poverty and assimilation into the underclass. What we might call the capability for hope makes this picture look different for the youth in the study. Despite the odds, most of the youth are hopeful that their educational potential will give them a future they desire. As shown throughout Chapters Five and Six, while constraints and challenges may be frustrating, most of the youth recognise the value of education in living decent and dignified lives. The value of dignity as a result of educational attainment gives them hope for a better future.

Therefore, some of the individuals in the study genuinely prefer to be in a certain state over another, as they have no options to choose from. This is because of the complexity of the context of these migrant youth. While the concept is relevant in certain contexts, here I take into account Baber's (2007:3) assertion that:

While people typically prefer to avoid unpleasant qualitative states associated with the thwarting of desires, we cannot assume that agents who cease to feel frustration have ceased to have the desires that are thwarted.

In essence, a change of aspirations is not necessarily an indication that one has written off their initial aspirations, but may have simply put them on hold. For instance, it is

possible to conclude that individuals in the 'resigned aspirations' category have resorted to adaptive preferences, yet in essence they do not necessarily prefer the chosen state either. As a result, relevant to this study is DeJaeghere's (2016) findings on educational aspirations and agency of girls in Tanzania. Her study shows that the change of aspirations is not necessarily an adaptive preference adjusted to what is realistic; instead, this adjustment should be viewed as characteristic of the dynamic nature of aspirations influenced by the exercise of agency in difficult situations (*ibid.*). Applied to the marginalised migrant context, their change in aspirations is influenced by exposure to different possibilities together with what they are able to do at the time, both located within broader contextual and structural factors. Further to this, DeJaeghere's assertion that the ability to realise aspirations is not high or low, real or adapted, should be seen as fluid and open to change over time resonates with many of the migrants' aspirations narrated in this study. For example, in addition to exercising her agency to get out of the marriage, Rita's narrative shows that aspiration resignation was a result of conditions that were prevalent in her life at the time. During this resignation, her aspirations changed from wanting to be a lawyer to wanting to 'live a better life', meaning having everything that she needs to survive (such as money, clothing, food). There is no evidence that if the necessary opportunities and structures were in place, her old aspirations would not be revived, thereby moving out of the seemingly current 'adaptive preference' state. As a result, Rita's aspirations can be understood to have been fluid based on her experiences, context, available opportunities, and agency over time.

Most of the young people, particularly men, view the change of aspirations as a positive process. They view not being able to realise their childhood aspirations as an opportunity for new things, and an example of their resilience. Commonly, the challenge of not being able to realise one's dream would be viewed as a limitation. In this case, the positive interpretation may be attributed to exposure as a factor that familiarised migrant youth with what they had no prior knowledge of. Thus, as a result of the varying degrees of disadvantage and marginalisation among and within groups of people, an adaptation of Conradie's and Robeyn's (2013) approach would be beneficial for aspirations' 'expression' among these youth. Regarding the issue of adaptation, the authors suggest that potential adaptation may be addressed by framing aspirations formation and expression within a frame of public deliberation and awareness-raising

activities (Conradie and Robeyns, 2013). On a small scale, this approach would allow the migrant youth to pursue their aspirations if the necessary resources and capabilities were put in place by institutions such as government, NGOs or civil organisations. Until such time that relevant interventions are in place, the likelihood remains high that marginalised migrant youth will continue to have limited opportunities to realise their educational aspirations.

8.4.1 Unrealistic aspirations?

Different conceptualisations have been made for understanding 'unrealistic' aspirations (Setegn, 2014; Goldman & Lowenstein, 2012; Strand & Winston, 2010), and similar to these studies it can be argued that the experiences and aspirations of the migrant youth presented in this study do not demonstrate the notion of unrealistic aspirations. As soon as there is a certain degree of agency exercised, the aspirations may potentially take a while to realise, thus making them long-term aspirations rather than unrealistic. Therefore, the fact that enabling social and structural conditions are not in place now for the migrant youth does not suggest that what an individual hopes for should be written off as unrealistic. Based on the CA, there is a need to consider other available conditions beyond the physical and tangible before aspirations are labelled unrealistic. For example, certain questions need to be asked. *Does the individual know the requirements of achieving the aspirations? Do they have in-depth knowledge of what is required to achieve it?* A conclusion cannot be reached at face value about the extent to which aspirations are realistic, as factors such as finances and access may change at any stage.

For migrant youth in this study, the aspirations gap may be used as a measure for estimating how long it may take an individual to achieve to the desired end. However, if the current aspirations gap among migrant youth is used to determine whether or not one's aspirations are realisable, we may run the risk of overlooking the importance of the capability of hope among individuals. The capability of hope (see section 9.2.2.2) functioning within the aspirations window can fuel aspirations, and Duflo (2012:40) illustrates this by stating that 'a successful role model can change the expectations of what a girl can achieve, and thus affect her own aspirations for herself'. Thus, with hope as an enabling capability, the individual may remain aspirational even when society

views one's aspirations as unrealistic. With hidden capabilities such as hope one remains motivated to achieve their aspirations; hence, current visible circumstances (e.g. marginalisation and lack) may not always determine an individuals' definite future.

8.4.2 Understanding aspirations from a disadvantage perspective

As seen in the discussions above, a substantial contribution of the CA is its ability to explain the complex lives of marginalised migrant youth by capturing multiple disadvantages. In addition to its normative approach in evaluating wellbeing and quality of life, the framework also allows for the incorporation of the participants' voices and aspirations, particularly those from various disadvantaged backgrounds (see also Calitz, 2015; De-Jhaeghere, 2015; Mutanga; 2015; Walker & Mkwanzani, 2015a; Unterhalter, 2007). Using the CA to understand disadvantage in terms of available freedoms and to conceptualise migrants' life experiences, this section shows how disadvantage influences both educational and broader aspirations of these youth. From the migrant's narratives, Wolff and De-Shalit's view of disadvantage as a state 'when one's functionings are or become insecure' (Wolff & De-Shalit, 2007:72), and a 'lack of genuine opportunities to secure functionings' (Wolff & De-Shalit, 2007:84) is appropriate. This view of disadvantage allows for looking at conversion factors and the impact of agency and freedoms to realise valued aspirations. Indicators such as the resources available and constraints on basic capabilities such as shelter and food can be used to determine the extent of disadvantage among a group of people (Arneson, 2010; Wolff & De-Shalit, 2007). According to Anand and Sen (1997), the HD Reports have, since 1990, been concerned with the removal of disadvantage and the creation of opportunities to lead worthwhile lives. Migrant youths' experiences of push and pull factors, their experiences in South Africa, and the aspirations gap for some of them may be considered evidence that these conditions placed them at a degree of disadvantage and deprivation associated with poverty. This therefore calls for an understanding of how their lives could be improved.

The capacity to aspire to what one wants to achieve in life is not the same among poor and rich. As presented earlier in the Chapter, the rich typically have a stronger capacity to aspire compared to the poor, who work with few resources around them. As a result,

Appadurai (2004) recommends that poor people be encouraged to practice the capacity to aspire. A number of studies have found that the poor have a greater risk of socio-economic vulnerability, which affects their emotional wellbeing (Chinyoka, 2013; Kuruvilla & Jacob, 2007; Murali & Oyebode, 2004), which results in vulnerabilities such as stress and low self-esteem (Park et al., 2002).

Such effects of poverty can manifest as other social challenges, such as a high prevalence of HIV/AIDS, higher rates of substance abuse, and higher rates of criminal and violent behaviour. Thus migrants' experiences of disadvantage and poverty go far beyond the articulation of educational aspirations. Such systematic poverty can be the result of a failure to realise one's educational aspirations, leading to an inability to make good use of one's imagination, identified by Walker and Mkwanzani (2015a) as aspirations failure. Thus, creating opportunities that help migrant youth to both express and realise their educational aspirations is an important strategy to address some of the ills that come with disadvantage and poverty. Lack of access to HE is a cause of aspirations failure and can be a cause of systematic poverty.

Seen in the experiences and valued functionings of the migrant youth are the characteristics of poverty identified by Anand and Sen (1997:5), such as lives robbed of dignity, confidence and material wellbeing. While 'income-based' understandings of disadvantage are simple, they do not look at other aspects of disadvantage, which are important for understanding valued human wellbeing. For example, a migrant youth may enjoy the benefits of a particular economic activity, yet be illiterate and lack critical thinking skills, both of which are important in expanding the capacity to aspire. This leads to an interest in formulating a broader understanding of 'capability disadvantage'. While poverty may be viewed as capability disadvantage, experiences of disadvantage among the migrant youth provide a way to think about poverty as both a challenge and a catalyst for critically thinking about and reflecting on one's life. The realisation by most of the migrant youth of the need to get an education in order to live a better life is an indication of the awareness of education in reducing poverty, as they will be able to provide for themselves and the rest of their families. This widens our understanding of migration from a development perspective. In this view, generally, experiences of severe poverty may not always result in 'downward assimilation' as observed by Goldin et al.

(2012) among migrant populations. Thus, as literature on migration and development shows, while poverty may affect migration rates, migration can also decrease poverty and improve wellbeing (Waddington & Sabates, 2003; Adams & Page, 2003, Skeldon, 2008).

However, although the migrant narratives in this study may enlighten us about South-to-South migration and development, the sample in this thesis was not representative of the vast majority of migrants that come from other countries. How many migrants are actually able to pursue their educational aspirations is a question that remains unclear, as not many schools in the country cater for migrants like ASS. As such, for the majority of South-to-South migrants who do not get the opportunity to engage in education, poverty remains very much a reality, even in a different national context.

8.4.2.1 Education and disadvantage

My data has shown that many marginalised migrant youth suffer particular forms of disadvantage in the form of conversion factors that negatively impact any possibility of realising the highest qualification they may hope for. Such educational and knowledge disadvantages have the potential to increase levels of poverty, whereas access to these capabilities may improve other dimensions important for valued wellbeing. Therefore, the aim of arguing for higher education is not necessarily university education for everyone; it is about having a choice, and the opportunity to progress to different types of higher education.³⁹ In looking at marginalised migrant youths' capacity to aspire to education, a number of studies in the field of higher education are relevant, particularly Walker's (2012, 2008, 2007; 2005) and Walker and Mkwanzani's (2015a; 2015b) work. To address inequalities, Walker (2012) recommends that all stakeholders in education ask themselves about the kind of world and society they would want to work and live in, and then look at how education can help to create that kind of world. Such an approach would enhance the freedoms and address the disadvantages hindering the development of a better society, including the advancement and realisation of one's aspirations.

³⁹ Including vocational training.

Appadurai (2004) supports the need to advance educational aspirations among disadvantaged individuals, as better-educated people tend to have wider horizons and aspirations, which can become a fertile functioning (Wolff & De-Shalit, 2007) with the potential to lift them out of poverty. This instrumental importance of education is reinforced by Walker's (2010) assertion of the importance of higher education in bringing forth social change directed toward justice. For the migrant youth, being in education is imperative, since the confidence, resilience, motivation, knowledge and navigational skills that can be acquired through education are preconditions for participation in work, life and community areas (Walker, 2012). My data also shows that this is particularly so for marginalised migrant youth. From her earlier work, Walker (2007) suggests that education is a capability enhancer, especially for individuals from marginalised and disadvantaged backgrounds. Through education, people become better positioned to pursue what they have reason to value, which for migrant youth is first and foremost to escape poverty. In their work on disadvantaged youth, Walker and Mkwanzani (2015a) further reinforce the capacity of education to reduce disadvantage. The authors suggest that the formation and use of capabilities acquired through higher education have the potential to enhance young people's quality of life and the lives of their families (ibid.).

A further example of the importance of education in addressing disadvantage is highlighted by a University World News article that reports a direct link between refugee tertiary education and positive impacts on durable solutions among Afghan refugees. The report states that Afghan refugees who had access to higher education moved back home, with 70% taking up employment as civil servants and in NGOs, making a valuable contribution to the very much needed development in the country (Sheehy, 2014). Thus, the potential long-term contribution of education for marginalised migrants on development is very significant, even though not easily measurable as it encompasses both intrinsic and instrumental contributions in a transnational sphere. Developmentally, education may well be used for self-reliance, but even more so in the longer term to rebuild the countries of origin of these migrants.

8.4.2.2 What this means for human development

The understanding of the formation of the four different types of aspirations presented earlier in the Chapter is important for both education and human development, as it shows how potential educational aspirations could be raised for the betterment an individual's life. In presenting the influence of external and internal conditions (conversion factors) on aspirations formation at different times of one's life, a foundation is provided for approaches of development interventions to employ. According to Conradie and Robeyns (2013), aspirations have a role to play in small-scale human development initiatives by assuming a capabilities-selection role and an agency-unlocking role. Careful analysis in Chapters Four and Five reveals the potential role that these concepts may have for any development intervention to be directed toward marginalised migrant youth realising both their educational and long-term aspirations. Capabilities identification would involve identifying the capabilities valued by the migrant youth in a given context and directing interventions towards advancing and creating these capabilities. The creation of such capabilities would potentially lead to the youth being active agents in the realisation of their aspirations. Thus, understanding the nature and formation of aspirations is important not only for the individuals concerned, but also for structural bodies (such as governments and NGOs) to direct policies and development initiatives that enhance the capabilities and freedoms necessary for human development. In essence, human development in aspirations formation would be characterised by the extent to which migrant youth have options to pursue based on what they value. This includes opportunities for an education, and a favourable environment for aspirations development and expression.

8.5 Conclusion

In this Chapter, I have looked at the types of aspirations formed when marginalised migrant youths' agency interacts with available resources and opportunities. One of the benefits of the CA in this study is that it has allowed for the understanding of aspirations formation by not assuming away the influences of subtle forms of disadvantage. The Chapter has shown that the educational needs of marginalised groups should not be overlooked, as doing so has the potential to recycle experiences of poverty. From this Chapter and the two previous Chapters, I draw the conclusion that addressing issues of

poverty, particularly in Africa, requires addressing institutional structures such that services are accessible to all disadvantaged communities that require them. Flexible access to these opportunities can enhance capabilities necessary for aspirations formation, as we keep in mind Alkire and Foster's (2009) assertion that development should be based not only on one dimension, but the expansion of multiple capabilities. I take this discussion further in Chapter Nine, where I provide an overarching analysis that brings together the key themes for this study: capabilities, conversion factors and aspirations.

Chapter Nine: Capabilities, conversion factors and aspirations

9.1 Introduction

Throughout Chapters Five, Six and Seven, conversion factors and agency have emerged as important aspects in the life trajectories of the marginalised migrant youth in this study. In applying the CA to this study, none of the concepts were explicitly used during data collection so as not to point the study in a particular direction. Instead, the migrant youth were asked to share their stories, without specific probing in the direction of these theoretical constructs. In the analysis and categorisation of CA themes emerging from these narratives, I found that many of the central concepts overlapped with each other, thereby making the conceptualisation of capabilities, conversion factors and aspirations rather complex. This may have been evident in Chapters Five and Six where a theme is discussed in more than one place, as well as in this section where the discussion of conversion factors is taken further. In this Chapter, the aim is to reconcile these overlapping themes by way of classifying them as capabilities and conversion factors. The discussion starts by looking at what were identified as capabilities and functionings valued by the migrant youth and how these relate to their aspirations. Another aim is to show the interaction of capabilities and conversion factors in influencing aspired functionings (aspirations). Here I also show the relationship between capabilities, conversion factors and aspirations. In analysing the capabilities available for migrant youth, I use Sen's (1999) five instrumental freedoms to understand the current external capability context of these youth. Based on the evidence, fostering the conditions for these instrumental freedoms to be realised is key for any development intervention that will be directed at marginalised migrant youth. I also discuss the intersectionality of conversion factors in an attempt to understand how they interact with each other. Finally, I show the role of agency in the interaction of capabilities and conversion factors. I illustrate this role by reconciling and drawing on the four migrant stories that are illustrative of the themes that emerged across all stories shared in Chapter Eight.

9.2 Valued capabilities and functionings

Although all migrant youth interviewed reported a number of constraints on valued capabilities (education and employment) as discussed in Chapter Seven, there were also available capabilities that they valued, which they believed would result in achieving their desired wellbeing, as illustrated in Table 9.1.

Table 9.1: Capability landscape of migrant youth

Current constrained valued capability(s)	Current available capability(s)	Valued functionings/aspired wellbeing
		Respect
Education	Income generating opportunities	Dignity
Employment	Resilience	Recognition
	Hope	Happiness
	Exposure/knowledge	Independence and confidence
	Aspiration	Contributing to society
		Role model
		Freedom
		Knowledge
		Job security

9.2.1 Current constrained valued capabilities

9.2.1.1 Capability for education

Education emerges to be a valued yet constrained capability for most migrant youth in the study. As seen in Chapter Four, education is valued for its intrinsic and instrumental purposes. From the narratives, education was argued to result in all valued functionings. Without education, the migrant youth, especially men, think they would not experience an independent life and other capabilities that they value. This view is also seen in Unterhalter's (2009) reference to the instrumental and empowering role of education. The significance of this instrumentality is further highlighted by Walker's (2010) assertion of higher education's value in expanding other capabilities and its ability to bring forth social change directed toward justice. The empowering role is when it provides the marginalised and disadvantaged groups with the ability to decide and participate in that which is important in addressing their conditions (Unterhalter, 2009). Failure to have this capability would mean that most of these valued capabilities are

unlikely to be realised. The importance of both intrinsic and instrumental dimensions is summed up by Kelly (2005:71), who emphasises that the critical role of education in development is that it restores lost confidence, brings significant improvements in one's life and prepares young people for adult responsibilities. Although the relation of migrant youths' aspirations to the available resources directs them to a compromised possibility of realising these aspirations, the hope of a better and brighter future, and enthusiasm to accept these responsibilities can direct their agency to the achievement of their aspirations. This capability to be educated, therefore, becomes not only important for the individual, but for those that are around him or her, as will be shown in the discussion of aspired capabilities.

9.2.1.2 Capability for employment

In their survey of Zimbabwean labourers in South Africa, Blaauw et al. (2015) found that migrants face intense competition for already scarce jobs, resulting in economic uncertainty. Although such limited employment opportunities may be understood from the broader labour market context in terms of high unemployment (Statistics SA, 2015) as noted earlier, it is additionally difficult for migrant youth as they require documentation to get into formal employment (Kavuro, 2015). Most of the migrant youth in the study had forfeited their asylum seekers' permits for financial reasons associated with renewing their permits as discussed earlier. Thus, although in theory some employment opportunities may be available, the freedom to work is not only limited by the unavailability of jobs but by broader challenges that come with being a migrant. For a while these included ineffective policy implementation and lack of human rights awareness for marginalised migrants (Onuoha, 2006); however, as the government attempts to address access to the labour market through strategies such as the ZDP and Lesotho Special Permit, additional challenges such as xenophobia and limited legal protection (Onuoha, 2006; Peberdy et al., 2004) still stand in the way of the valued lives that migrants want to live. Such employment limitations not only result in additional challenges of accessing basic capabilities necessary for survival, but are also challenging for human development, which is about individuals expanding their potential and freedoms and enjoy a decent quality of life that they value (Alkire, 2009). These limitations of choice and opportunity regarding what migrant youth are able to do

may be understood as characteristic of a gap resulting from limited, or a lack of instrumental freedoms, as seen in Chapter Seven. This leads to un-freedom(s) which are likely to obstruct other freedoms, such as in the political and social spheres and so restricts the formation of new capabilities, which are important for achieving desired wellbeing.

9.2.2 Current available capabilities

9.2.2.1 Capability to generate income

While a limitation has been identified on the capability of employment among migrant youth, this also relates to the choices that they have in relation to formal employment. In the midst of this limitation, all of the youth interviewed made reference to *better income-generating opportunities than in Zimbabwe*. Most of the migrant men indicated that they 'hustled' in the streets, which may not be possible or safe for women to do as they want to get jobs that have some form of security, such as domestic work. Women also run small business such as Rita and Ruth, who run vegetable stalls. Such jobs confine them to the same environment and may give few opportunities to network with individuals that might expose them to different ideas. Although through their small business women may meet education-oriented customers, this is dependant on one's level of agency in letting others know one's aspirations, and on how far the sponsor wants to go in providing help; it provides an example of individuals within one's aspirations window.

Overall, the opportunity for income generation is valued by all the youth, as this helps them manage their day-to-day lives. For example, individuals like Terry and Henry use money obtained from these opportunities to pay their tuition fees; for most of the women, the money is remitted back home for the upkeep of other family members. Such opportunities are important for development in three ways: Firstly, migrants are able to afford day-to-day basic needs such as food and clothing, which they reported had been a challenge in Zimbabwe. An ability to afford basic needs improves individual wellbeing and dignity which is inherently valuable to all human beings as espoused by Nussbaum (2011). Here, dignity may be related to functioning (Claassen, 2014) as it shows what

individuals are capable of achieving. Secondly, the use of income to pay for tuition fees is an example of the expansion of other capabilities, including the expansion of one's aspirational map. Finally, income is also sent back to Zimbabwe as remittances to and for the consumption and sustenance of other family members (Waddington & Sabates, 2003; Adams & Page, 2003, Skeldon, 2008). Such enhancement of other peoples' lives illustrates the link between development and migration. Although this may have no direct link to the senders' own educational aspirations, such income can be used to send others to school, thereby moulding the educational aspirations of others. Additionally, such employment opportunities allow migrant youth to exercise their agency freedom towards the achievement of wellbeing. This opportunity to exercise agency freedom is imperative, as it permits the youth to decide and act on what they perceive would bring a better life, and this in itself is a component of dignity.

9.2.2.2 Capability for resilience and hope

According to the HDR (2014:16), resilience is about addressing the deterioration in wellbeing and human development, which is determined by people's ability to adjust and cope with these challenges. We saw this in the previous Chapter discussing persistent and powerful types of aspirations. As migrant youth face limited choices and capabilities, their resilience can reduce vulnerability and marginalisation by eliminating barriers that restrict their choices and capabilities (HDR, 2014). Thus, using their agency, the youth negotiate social, economic, and political challenges of the day. In this way, hope and resilience are identified by the migrant youth as necessary capabilities for them to survive. Drawing on the earlier discussion of resilience, this capability can be built in the presence of one or more the following conversion factors: motivation, policies, or support systems (emotional and material). Other studies have also found resilience to be greater in the presence of the capability of hope, strong structures (these could include policies of the day), social support and feelings of security (Waller, 2001; Ahmed et al., 2004). Both resilience and hope can also be viewed as conversion factors influencing one another, even in the presence of other factors. For instance, resilience is visible among the youth who have hope that life will change for the better in future. The degree of this resilience is higher for those who want to pursue their education, as well as those who want to pursue other long-term aspirations,

representing the hope of accomplishing these aspirations. Absence of the capability of hope for the future may lead to low levels of resilience, as often this leads to adaptation of one's aspirations seen through the examples of resigned and frustrated aspirations. Such a deficit of hope can be the cause of a poverty trap (Duflo, 2012). For broader, deliberate human development intentions, resilience as a capability can be built by putting in place structures that support the strengthening of this capability, such as access to a school like ASS. In such instances, the outcome would be higher levels of hope among disadvantaged and marginalised groups. Building resilience among this group of people is important for reducing disadvantage and marginalisation, and securing human development progress.

9.2.2.3 Capability for exposure/knowledge

Knowledge was identified to be a consequence of exposure and was one of the capabilities viewed as important for people in disadvantaged contexts, because it widens the aspirations window and builds an awareness of available opportunities. With such a capability, individuals are more aware of what is happening around them. This is seen with the young men who attended ASS. The school, therefore, may be viewed as a conversion factor that led to the capability for exposure. While at ASS, the youth recognised the importance of the life-changing chances that exposure may bring into their lives. Without exposure, someone like Terry may not realise that law was actually what he was interested in. Therefore, it becomes a necessary capability, which can be developed at individual and community levels. At the individual level, this capability may be advanced through the exercise of agency in response to available opportunities, while at a community level it can be encouraged through different initiatives targeted at the disadvantaged and marginalised. Such community initiatives may take the form of awareness campaigns run by local NGOs in an effort to expose the youth to opportunities. Limited exposure may lead to missing out on opportunities that may be valuable in the youth's lives. Therefore, exposure/knowledge may be viewed as a capability that results in the advancement of other capabilities. Exposure may also be viewed as a conversion factor as it influences the conversion of other capabilities into functionings. For example, a lack of exposure could result in non-pursuance of available opportunities. As an individual, you may not have exposure to diverse fields, and

therefore one can end up pursuing traditional programmes such as nursing and teaching without knowing of fields such as genetics, biochemistry, mechatronics or food science.

9.2.2.4 Capability to aspire

Although constrained, limited, low and high for different individuals, the capability to aspire is centrally important for the migrant youth. Although experienced and exercised at different levels, as seen in Table 9.1, the capability was present for all of the youth interviewed. The capability to aspire for future functionings is a crucial element in looking at migrant youths' aspirations. This 'culture of future aspirations', as Appadurai (2004:67) presents it, is important for people to pursue what they desire to achieve in the future. Although in many ways challenging, the socialisation related to the roles that they need to assume also seems to cultivate a strong culture of future aspirations, whether or not they are related to education. In the midst of the obstacles experienced, many of which lead to a cyclical process that requires the constant reimagining of their future lives, the future long-term aspirations expressed by the marginalised youth are a motivation rooted in their history and experiences. As this capacity to aspire (and re-imagine) is influenced by social environment, such as family and surroundings, Ray's (2006) concept of the aspirations window becomes important, as one's environment may include people and experiences that either positively or negatively influence the migrant youths' capacity to aspire. Understanding these influences is thus particularly important.

9.2.2.4.1 Resources and the capability to aspire

The interplay between aspirations and capabilities available to satisfy aspirations is very important, and particularly so for disadvantaged and marginalised communities. These capabilities and opportunities, which I refer to as resources, in this section, are resources that individuals possess, such as economic, political, individual and other types of resources. For a marginalised migrant youth to realise their educational aspirations, s/he would require resources such as social (social capital, exposure, support networks), economic (tuition fees and daily upkeep), political (necessary documentation or legal support), and individual capabilities (such as language skills). If

these resources are available, aspirations are widened, whereas if they are scarce, the horizon for aspiring is narrower. This study shows that deprivation of resources can lead to a change of aspirations, and so points to the need to ensure at least threshold levels of resource availability. This is in line with Appadurai's (2004) opinion about the capacity to aspire and its uneven distribution in society. Those who are better-off in terms of power, dignity and material resources are more likely to be mindful of the links between the more and less immediate objects of aspiration (Mkwanaenzi, 2013). Therefore, through agency, the capacity to aspire becomes a navigational capacity (Appadurai, 2004), allowing individuals to act on the resources available to realise his/her aspirations. In aiding their navigation of the capacity to aspire and convert resources into functionings, marginalised migrant youth require directed effort. For example, Obert may have frustrated aspirations because he lacks exposure, a capability that can be cultivated at macro level, targeted at individuals like him. Thus, simply put, the ability to convert resources (such as access to ASS) into valuable functionings may be different from individual to individual, depending on experiences (such as a traumatic past).

Sen's (1992:45) reference to the 'threshold level' of relevant basic capabilities is instrumental for the migrant youth under study. Sen argues that a basic capability is one that has the 'ability to satisfy certain elementary and crucially important functionings up to certain levels'. With these basic capabilities an individual has to have access to opportunities viewed to be necessary for survival which can aid in escaping disadvantages such as poverty. Emerging from the stories is a need to achieve (and secure in the longer term) basic capabilities such as shelter and food. As discussed, the migrant youth reported that these capabilities were constrained, and this constraint impacted their educational aspirations. For example, Terry notes that it is difficult to concentrate on study while the basic capability for food has not been met. As many shared, particularly women, the urgent need is to satisfy these basic capabilities for themselves and also sometimes for their families before they realise their educational aspirations.

Thus, while capabilities may refer to various opportunities for these youth, basic capabilities would refer to the real opportunities for the youth to meet a minimum

threshold of wellbeing. According to Nussbaum (2003), this formulation of the social goal of getting individuals above the capability threshold is essential, as it provides grounds to start thinking about social justice. An analysis of these basic capabilities is therefore important, not only in understanding the wellbeing and aspirations of the youth, but also broader constitutional laws. When basic survival is precarious, an individual would want to secure the resource thresholds that address their immediate welfare and focus less on what does not contribute to their survival. While none of the youth viewed education as a luxury, many believed its realisation can only be achieved when the immediate needs have been met. Some youth, however, like Musa, Terry, Rusu and Henry, navigate their educational aspirations in the midst of low levels of these basic capabilities. Therefore, while for many, meeting the minimum threshold of capabilities is a priority, for some the inability to meet the threshold is also a motivation, as they believe not addressing this challenge through education would result in continued poverty.

9.2.3 Valued functionings

The valued functionings comprise the intrinsic and the instrumental valued functionings (or long-term aspirations). *Intrinsic* valued functionings included helping the poor, developing their villages and communities and living a good life. The migrant youth believed the realisation of these functionings was possible through education as they would then have the necessary resources to achieve the functioning, thereby showing a direct linkage between intrinsic and instrumental functionings. Because of their experiences, some of the youth believed their worth was not recognised in society and therefore they need to demonstrate to society the value that they can bring. *Instrumental* valued functionings related to job security and financial freedom where one is able to care and provide for a family. These instrumental functionings are strongly motivated by the day-to-day lives and experiences of the youth in both in Zimbabwe and South Africa.

These valued functionings also illustrate the influence of aspirations by those around us⁴⁰ and the need to achieve these aspirations for their wellbeing. Moreover, it

⁴⁰ See section 6.4.3.1 on collective aspirations.

demonstrates the collective benefit of education as it benefits development of not only one individual, but also those within the individual's circles. Reinforcing Walker's (2010) view of the intrinsic and instrumental roles of education, evidence presented in this study shows that better access to education would result in the realisation of instrumental functionings, which in turn would lead to the realisation of the intrinsic functionings. Although the youth strongly felt higher education attainment would result in decent employment, there are also relatively large numbers of unemployed and underemployed graduates in South Africa. However, higher education achievement would generally enhance the potential for decent employment, other than what most of the youth are currently doing. In addition to an enhanced capability to find employment, this achievement would also lead to income security and financial freedom, allowing an individual to live what young people call a 'comfortable' life, where one is able to afford what s/he believes is important for his/her survival. When a comfortable lifestyle is achieved, one has the respect of family and community and this recognition is important for one's dignity and potentially enables young people to work towards their other aspirations, such as starting community development projects, being role models and enhancing the wellbeing of others.

Creating realisable opportunities to achieve these intrinsic and instrumental functionings is important as it could re-position the migrant youth as agentic and contributing to society (even if limited by their current conditions) and so allow them to regain their confidence and worth in society. These views of the youth are also an indication that one's role and contribution should not be overlooked in society, irrespective of where one is placed or the context in which one is functioning. Although this role is not always clearly defined, it is about recognising that everyone has a role to play in society, partly defined through socialisation. Sometimes disadvantaged conditions limit the potential of the individual to contribute to society as they might like, which is a contribution they have reason to value. Thus, in all that they aspire to, the migrant youth's ultimate valued future functioning is that they each realise their collective aspirations in which they make a positive difference in their families and communities.

This desire to contribute to society varied depending on individual background and gender. As seen in Chapters Four and Five, the roles are very clear for both men and women as it emerges in the study based on their aspirations, an indication of the continued influence on gendered socialisation. Gendered socialisation defines the roles men and women think they ought to take up in society. This in turn influences their educational aspirations and leads to the large differences in the aspirations of the two groups. Except for Rita and Sarah who want to prove their success to their ex-husbands, the desire to be recognised and respected was expressed by men more than women. In this desire, the men indicated the need to be able to 'provide' for their families, including extended families such as parents and grandparents (in other words, assuming the traditional male role of providers). For most of the women, the desire was to provide for their children and make sure that they attend school, are well fed and dressed, an example of the assumption that women are 'carers'. Therefore, focusing on the aspired functionings only, it is reasonable to suggest that instrumental aspirations were higher for women, whereas intrinsic aspirations were higher for men. This positioning of feminist identity and female functioning and its influence on aspirations is documented by Colaner and Rittenour (2015), who found daughters' perceptions of their current and future selves to be as a result of their mothers' influence, especially through communication.

9.3 Intersections of capabilities, conversion factors and aspired functionings

While the central notion of the CA is to evaluate achievements (functionings) and freedoms (capabilities) that individuals have to do that which they have reason to value (Sen, 1999), the different institutional and internal factors make it challenging for migrant youth in the study to convert resources into valued functionings. However, the socio-economic conversion factors presented have allowed for the acknowledgement of human diversity based on the unique profiles of the migrant youth. Thus, while the possibility of converting the minimum available capabilities (both resources and opportunities) into aspired functionings (achievements) varies from individual to individual, the intrinsic and instrumental aspirations as illustrated in Figure 6.5 provide

us with a snippet of the capabilities and functionings that the migrant youth value, whether or not realising these is feasible. As Wilson-Strydom & Walker (2015) assert, these aspired beings and doings help identify human potential and allows for the interrogation of whether an individual has genuine opportunities to choose from in pursuing what they value. If these intrinsic and instrumental aspirations remain constrained, migrant youth cannot realise their valued capabilities and functionings, therefore the process of development is limited as people's real freedoms are not expanded, according to Sen (1999) and Nussbaum (2000). For marginalised migrant youth to experience development, their freedom and opportunities must be expanded beyond what they are currently experiencing. Table 9.2 presents the relationship between capabilities, conversion factors and aspirations that was found across the spectrum in both men and women in the study.

While aspirations can be a capability that is possessed or acquired by migrant youth through the aspirations window as shown in Figure 3. 1, data has also revealed that the relationship between capabilities and aspirations can also be independent from each other as shown in Table 9.2. This independent relationship is influenced by the opportunities required by migrant youth at a given time in their lives. For example an economic opportunity can be a capability that allows one to pay for his/her tuition fees, while as an aspiration, an economic opportunity would be the desire to gain decent employment. This is an aspiration considering the process and requirements (e.g. the process and requirements of obtaining a work visa) of being able to be in decent employment. Unless such potential constraining factors (conversion factors) are addressed, being in decent employment can potentially remain an aspiration. Similarly, as a capability, the aspiration to being in decent employment can be a motivating factor that would potentially cause one to identify and act towards (agency) obtaining the required visa in order to increase the opportunity to access the employment that one desires.

Table 9.2: Relationship between capabilities, conversion factors and aspirations

Factor:	As a capability:	As a conversion factor :	As an aspiration:
Economic opportunities (Income)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Allows migrant youth to afford resource thresholds and live a decent life (<i>capability to be nourished, decently dressed, etc.</i>) - Allows migrant youth to pay for higher education tuition and progress towards their educational aspirations - Allows for providing for extended family 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Determines what young people are currently able to do, such as accessing basic services (food, shelter, education). - Unavailability of financial resources constrains access to their desires and basic services. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To be employable in diverse fields and earn a living. - Employability will lead to desired functionings such as living a better life, accessing accommodation, affording food, giving back to community, etc.
Institutional opportunities (Education; NGO's; Churches)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Promotes critical thinking and creativity - Creates a capability for respect and sense of achievement (Intrinsic value) - Better employment chances (instrumental value) - Institutions such as NGO's and churches can provides necessary resources for survival (e.g. material and emotional support) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lack of education limits job choices, exposure and employment opportunities and ultimately their desired functionings, such as living a 'good' life. - Access to material and emotional support can promote aspirations formations and high levels of agency 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To achieve a diploma or a degree. - A recognised qualification will gain them respect and recognition, enhance employment chances and widen job choice. - Aspire for emotional stability (e.g. peace of mind) - Aspire for material resources (e.g. a home, food, etc.)
Social opportunities (Affiliation & belonging; legal recognition)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Capability for voice (e.g. political participation) - Belonging and identity - Legal recognition allows for free movement and access to valued opportunities such as decent employment, internships, access to diverse institutions of learning and access to bursaries 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lack of parental and emotional support in schooling. - Lack of affiliation leads to identity awareness (<i>related to nationality</i>), feelings of seclusion and limited social networks - Lack of legal recognition limits access to a number of opportunities such as bursaries and scholarships, access to decent jobs, access to some mainstream universities and developmental initiatives such as internships. It also results in fear of being deported and exposes the migrant youth to risks such as being exploited as a source of cheap labour force. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Be able to contribute to community and building positive, long-lasting relations. - The desire to obtain official and 'respectable' residence in South Africa such as study or work visa. - Access to documentation , so as to legalise their stay in South Africa, which in turn boosts individual confidence.
Personal opportunities (individual background)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Capability for motivation (<i>also influenced by resilience and capability for hope</i>) - Available individual resources (<i>such as time, knowledge, etc.</i>) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Limits what one is able to do as a result of limited functionings due to past experiences - Positive motivating factor to work hard and exercise agency and seek opportunities that were not available in Zimbabwe 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Change current circumstances (break cycle of poverty) - Contribute positively to the wellbeing of other family members - Provide for one's own children (e.g. take them to school)

As social elements (e.g. identity influencing affiliation and political participation) influence each other, this also influences the interaction of other spheres, such as the economic (e.g. access to bursaries) and personal (e.g. motivation and confidence) environments. This introduces us to the complex challenge of understanding the multiple interrelationships between these contextual factors. From Table 9.2, it can be seen that for a migrant youth interested in pursuing educational aspirations, lack of legal documentation would potentially limit opportunities of decent employment, even for an individual like Dave, who already has a teaching qualification and experience. Therefore, having legal documentation may be viewed as a functioning that can open doors to other opportunities; in Dave's case, the unavailability of such documentation limits the conversion of his skills (and other personal capabilities such as critical thinking) to help him live a life that he values. As such, obtaining this documentation (e.g. a work visa) remains an aspiration for him. Table 9.2 also illustrates that economic, environmental, social, institutional, and personal factors all interlink and may be viewed as functions of one another. Each factor is also complex to assess, as it can also be influenced by various elements in its own context, as shown in Figure 9.1 (section 9.3.1).

Thus, based on my empirical data and earlier discussions of migrant youth's experiences and aspirations, it emerges that there are different intersectionalities between and within influential factors and environments. A number of scholars have used the concepts of intersectionality in relation to feminist scholarship (Walby, 2009; Hancock, 2007; McCall, 2005) and critical race theory (Crenshaw, 2012). However, Choo and Ferree (2009:3) highlight the underutilized potential of the concept of intersectionality in the discipline of sociology, outside gender studies. Following other scholars who have used the concept of intersectionality to understand the complexity of various factors in others disciplines (e.g. Wilson-Strydom (2015) on conversion factors in the field of higher education and Wilson-Strydom et al. (2016) on intersectionality and institutional research), the contribution of this research is therefore to look at intersectionality from a different viewpoint: that of the intersection of different institutional factors influencing marginalisation. This conceptualisation of intersectionality contributes to the fields of development, migration and education in which this research is situated. The migrant narratives showed that different institutional factors can interact and meet at a point where they either increase or decrease individual marginalisation and

disadvantage. According to Wilson-Strydom (2015:147), understanding these complex intersectionalities and drawing on the voices of the groups concerned allows for the identification of strategies that can potentially address relevant challenges.

Theoretically related to this study are two of the three dimensions⁴¹ that Choo and Ferree (2009) highlight in their work. Firstly, the significance of including the perspectives of multiple marginalised individuals (group-centred), represented by marginalised migrant youth in this study. Secondly, seeing multiple institutions as overlapping in their co-determination of inequalities (system-centred), represented here by social, economic, and political and institutional conditions. Thus, this study not only problematises the relationships of power in dealing with marginalised groups, but also presents marginalisation and different disadvantages as multiply determined and intertwined. The inclusion of intersectional perspectives aims to give voice to the migrant youth on their challenges and needs in widening their educational aspirations. From the earlier discussion of conversion factors and aspirations, migrant youth experiences necessitate consideration of how social, economic, political and institutional influences impact their potential achievement of wellbeing.

Using the CA, Chiaperro-Martinetti and Von Jacobi (2015) use the concept of intersectionality to identify how different conversion factors interact with each other, thereby determining the rate of conversion of resources into valued achievements. The discussion that follows illustrates the interrelationship of these factors and how they impact the educational aspirations of marginalised migrant youth. The focus on the connection of the factors enables a broader conceptualisation of migrant wellbeing and consequently the formation of their educational aspirations. Such a conceptualisation offers a comprehensive account that reveals the complex contextual dynamics of both marginalised migrant youth and other disadvantaged, vulnerable and marginalised groups.

⁴¹ The authors distinguish between three types of intersectionality: group-, process- and system-centred. Group-centred intersectionality emphasizes placing multiply-marginalized groups and their perspectives at the centre of the research; process-centred intersectionality views power as relational, seeing the interactions between the main effects as multiplying oppressions; and system-centred intersectionality pushes the analysis away from associating specific inequalities with unique institutions, considering the entire social system (Choo & Ferree, 2009:2).

9.3.1 Intersection of aspirations environment in migrant contexts

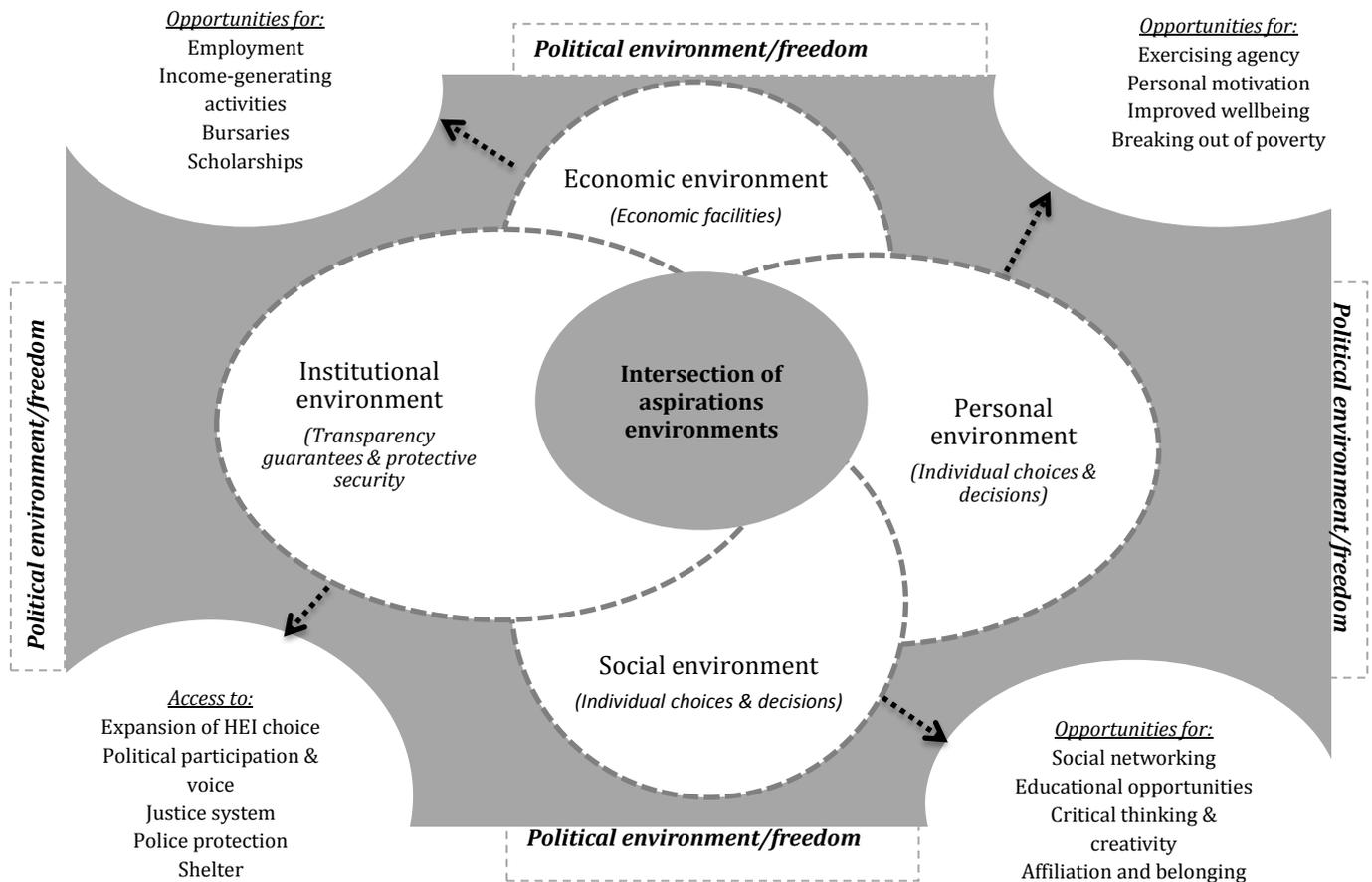


Figure 9.1: Aspirations environment

While Sen (1999) highlights that his five freedoms interact equally with each other, Figure 9.1 presents the political environment as overarching. This is because analysis of the data demonstrates that while these freedoms are interrelated, for marginalised migrants, the political environment influences the other environments, including individual choices. This influence is also seen through the continued amendments of current migration policy in South Africa in an effort to manage the changing international migration landscape (see section.2.5.2). Such political intervention highlights the authority political institutions have in determining the level of

opportunities in public fora for different types of migrants shown in Table 2.2. Opportunities for migrants may include access to the labour market, educational opportunities and access to refugee shelter. Therefore, limited representation and restricted opportunity for participation in public debate and dialogue by marginalised migrant youth not only constrains their voice on what they value as highlighted by Sen (1999), but also demonstrates the need to recognise the influence of power on voice and participation noted by Walker and Unterhalter (2007).

Thus, broadly, the intersectionality of aspiration environments and their elements in disadvantaged contexts is extremely challenging, as a constraint in one environment can potentially lead to a constraint in all the others, hence potentially leading to corrosive disadvantage and injustice. For those with resources living in advantaged settings, the intersectionality of these elements and factors potentially yields a positive result: even in cases where one element may be negative, if all other factors are in place, they complement or outweigh the constrained factor. For example, in the event of high unemployment rates, those with resources can potentially turn to entrepreneurship; with social capital and political and structural representation such as the National Youth Development Agency (which currently provides entrepreneurship funding and training for local youth), such individuals can potentially sustain a decent livelihood. Although this also may be a result of individual agency, the important consideration is that there are structures in place that provide opportunities for choices. This is, however, unlikely to be the situation for the disadvantaged, particularly marginalised migrants. For them, negative interactions of economic elements remain unlikely to attract any structural or political attention, as, firstly, they have limited or no political representation, no capability for voice to have their concerns heard, and constrained social capital, among other factors. As such, the odds of them remaining in a disadvantaged position are high; hence the importance of understanding the effects of such intersectionality of capabilities and conversion factors. Such an understanding may provide a clear picture of the impact of capabilities and conversion factors on general individual livelihoods and individual aspirations. The next section focuses on the intersectionality of the capabilities necessary for marginalised migrants to live a decent life.

9.3.1.1 *Understanding intersectionality of capabilities in the migrant context*

To understand the intersectionality of capabilities and opportunities, Sen's (1999) five instrumental freedoms are relevant, as they address the key contextual dimensions that emerged as constrained from the migrant youths' narratives. Sen (1999) links these instrumental freedoms to capabilities, and notes that the freedoms are likely to enhance the general wellbeing of an individual, and allows the individual to life freely (Sen, 1999). These freedoms can therefore be used to evaluate the extent to which marginalised migrant youth are living freely. According to Sen (1999), certain freedoms are interrelated in positive ways, and some unfreedoms interrelated in negative ways; as a result, he suggests five instrumental freedoms (presented in section 3.5), which are interlinked and need to work together to address any development initiatives (Wells, 2013). Table 9.3 helps us understand migrant youths' experiences and educational aspirations through Sen's instrumental freedoms by providing an evaluative summary of the youths' current freedoms and opportunities.

Table 9.3: An evaluation of marginalised migrant youths' capabilities using Sen's five instrumental freedoms

Type of freedom	What Sen (1999) says	What the data says (un-freedoms)
Political freedoms	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Opportunities to determine who should govern and on what principles - Ability to participate in public discussions and have political representation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - No voting rights - Limited political representation (in the form of institutional arrangements) - Limited opportunities to participate in public discussions on issues concerning them - Susceptible to arrest and deportation
Economic facilities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Opportunities to utilize economic resources for the purpose of consumption, production, or exchange - Open labour market, saving opportunities and stable business ethics 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Open to risk of being exploited as a source of cheap labour - No saving opportunities - No access to bank loans - Limited access to bursaries and scholarships - Limited access to internship programs
Social opportunities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Arrangements that society makes for education, healthcare and other services influence the individual's substantive freedom to live better 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Limited access to educational opportunities and other services
Transparency guarantees	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Absence of corruption - Mechanisms for seeking justice - Access to police protection 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Constrained access to police protection as they are vulnerable to deportation because of lack of official recognition
Protective security	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Protective security provides a social safety net for preventing the affected population being reduced to abject misery, and in some cases even starvation and death. - Arrangements for protection from extreme deprivation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - No access to emergency food supplies - Vulnerable to xenophobia

As these instrumental freedoms supplement and reinforce one another, and are seen to enhance the capabilities of individuals (Sen, 1999:40), the process of development, to a large extent, depends on this interconnection (Davidsson, 2010). Wells (2013) suggests that this interconnectedness shows how important it is for development to enhance multiple capabilities concurrently, and this was clearly evident in narratives of the migrant youth. The expansion of each of these freedoms may be seen as a principal means and also as the “primary ends” of development (Sen 1999:10). Therefore, if migrant youth are deprived in one type of freedom, the rest of the freedoms are impacted upon.

While voting liberties are reserved for citizens of the country, it was evident from interaction with the migrant youth that, beyond formal voting, opportunities for free debate and public discussions on issues that affected them were constrained. Although they had opportunities to discuss matters that affected their daily lives during the refugee meetings while the refugee shelter was still operational, these opportunities were no longer available after its closure. Despite their availability through the refugee shelter, these discussions hardly had any impact on the broader political landscape. The closing of the refugee shelter also meant that there were no more opportunities for such meetings, as individuals moved to different areas. As such, we see that although the refugee meetings had little impact, they provided a forum in which migrants could voice their concerns. The absence of such a structure has potentially silenced the voices of these migrant youth as they do not have platforms to express themselves. As a result, these migrant youth do not have the necessary freedoms to have their voices heard, as Sen (2009) emphasises. Referring to the context of women and development, Heward (1999) indicated that many groups in society have remained invisible, lacking voices such that their interests and what they value remained ignored. Therefore, giving groups such as marginalised migrant youth a voice would not only reveal the multi-layered nature of conversion factors that influence their experiences and wellbeing, but also conceptualise these experiences in relation to the challenges of power relations that exist in their specific context, impacting on their lives and educational aspirations. As will be discussed in the next section, these power relations may be in the form of local communities and various structures shown in Figure 9.1.

Although opportunities for better wellbeing in South Africa compared to Zimbabwe have been reported by the migrant youth, the real freedoms of accessing economic resources are not available. Such economic constraints limit the youth's ability to gain productive livelihoods that they value. Further to this, such constraints limit what the migrant youth can do in relation to their educational aspirations, as they have limited access to credit facilities and bursaries that can enhance further educational opportunities. They are at risk of becoming a source of cheap labour; some of these exploitative jobs are viewed as valued opportunities by the youth, because of the limited choices available to them. The fear of deportation extends these unfreedoms to limited transparency guarantees, evident through justice and the need for police protection in cases when such protection is required. Another important factor to consider is that those marginalised migrants who are undocumented (such as those overstaying their permits), as with some of the youth in the study, are least able to rely on state protection (Fenton, 2010). As a result they have constrained access to the freedoms of transparency guarantees and protective security. In some cases, receiving communities condemn undocumented migrants as they are viewed to be a threat to the integrity of that society, including working in jobs where they are exploited (ibid.:122). As a result, marginalised migrants remain at risk of xenophobia, which they may be afraid to report. Thus, they remain vulnerable and in extreme deprivation; hence Sen's (1999) emphasis on the pivotal role of state organisations in providing necessary measures that safeguard individuals from the consequences of poverty.

Significant to this study, Kim (2012) suggests that Sen's (1999) instrumental freedoms and Nussbaum's (2000) ten central entitlements may be used as evaluative criteria of whether existing social and political institutions or policies have guaranteed individual's basic freedoms. To do this, those experiencing deprivation of freedom should try to reflect their needs and demands into the policies and institutions by public discussion and participation (Kim, 2012; Sen, 1999). Such action plays an important role in enhancing capabilities and freedoms in various contexts (Alkire, 2005; Clark, 2005; Tikly & Barret, 2011). As Sen (1999) sees individuals as active agents with capabilities, constraint in these freedoms can potentially affect levels of agency among the migrant

youth. Similar to these capabilities, conversion factors may also be understood based on their intersectionality, as seen in the following section.

9.3.1.2 Intersectionality of conversion factors

According to Hart (2016), multiple conversion factors affect the freedom an individual has to aspire and the kinds of aspirations they develop. The interaction of these conversion factors influences whether or not aspirations are transformed into capabilities and functionings (ibid.). This study also points to a multilevel interaction of these conversion factors among migrant youth. On the first level, conversion factors with a direct impact on the individual (see Table 8.1 for the conversion factors that directly impact educational aspirations) interact with each other, thereby directly influencing day-to-day individual action (agency). On the second level, broader structural conversion factors with an indirect impact on the day-to-day lives of migrant youth interact together (such as policies). While the factors interact together, they influence the minimum threshold resources required by individuals to live the lives they value, as illustrated in Figures 8.2 and 8.3. If factors at these two levels interact positively, the opportunities for migrant youth to realise their educational aspiration are enhanced. For the migrant youth who have resigned and frustrated aspirations, they might be able to consider wider options regarding their educational pathways. However, in the current situation with migrant youth, these conversion factors have interact negatively, and so magnify the constraints. This negative interaction of conversion factors limits the opportunities and platforms for the youth to express their educational desires, thereby constraining their capability for voice.

Drawing on Chiapperro-Martinetti and Von Jacobi's operationalisation of the concept of intersectionality, this study has in previous sections demonstrated the significance of stimulating the 'capability for voice' among marginalised groups as an important capability that cuts across all conversion factors in addressing power structures. The authors forward a notion that 'social structures'⁴² can work as conversion factors that affect the rate of conversion of resources into valued functioning (Chiapperro-Martinetti & Von Jacobi, 2015:4), as they can place individuals in a state where they can exercise

⁴² Seen as public/collective resources that individuals can use (besides private resources) for their desired life achievements (Chiapperro-Martinetti & Von Jacobi, 2015:4).

power (Beckert, 2010). Therefore, the concern about marginalised migrants' experiences becomes situated in the degree of power that they have to change their situations to live lives that they value. Through individual and collective agency, the CA therefore allows for the assessment of influence that individuals themselves have in the distribution of available resources.

To influence the distribution of resources, agency and social innovation can be used to exert pressure on existing institutions through a bottom-up approach (Chiappero-Martinetti & Von Jacobi, 2015). For migrant youth, this can involve agency and deliberation on what is valuable to them. While such platforms can enlarge agency, what is of importance is that the platforms of deliberation are available so that the capability of voice can be exercised. This capability for voice can be denied to marginalised and disadvantaged individuals when institutions fail to create platforms necessary for relevant actors to discuss their values, freedom and agency (Calitz, 2015:233). As such, to address these complex intersectionalities, there needs to be collective agency (Chiappero-Martinetti & Von Jacobi, 2015). The importance of such collective action is noted by Pelenc et al. (2012:87), as they assert that 'every human being is responsible, but shares this responsibility with others, thus forging a collective capacity for responsible action'. Heward (1999) highlights that giving individuals (such as marginalised migrants) a voice would potentially help in understanding the role of these youth as active agents. Such platforms also promote the agency unlocking effect of aspirations (Conradie & Robeyns, 2013) by allowing individuals to voice and act on what they value, which they might not have been sufficiently motivated to act on (Johnson, 2015) outside such platforms. This highlights that the scope for agency is not always individualised, but is also achieved and sustained through interaction with others and finding those with whom one can act. For marginalised migrant youth, such collective efforts would help with motivation, self-confidence, skills and knowledge through taking responsibility (Johnson, 2015; Katusiime, 2014). In addition to these, Chiappero-Martinetti and Von Jacobi (2015:9) add that such action and participation can activate personal skills through the creation of a sense of belonging. With such networks, social capital is enhanced and can potentially expand individual freedoms, including the expansion of the aspirations window.

9.4 Agency

We have seen from the migrants' narratives that in order to strengthen one's capacity to aspire, especially in marginalised communities, there needs to be a combination of both material and non-material resources that can alter migrant's current living conditions. In the presence of these resources, the role of agency becomes important, as it helps us understand the degree of agency freedom available for the migrant youth to bring about the achievements they desire. For youth in the study, the exercise of agency (process freedom) is seen in their decision to migrate and throughout the whole process of migration. Even after arriving in South Africa, although at varying levels, the migrant youth each exercised agency, as illustrated below:

The major reason of working is to get money and go back to school. I am working at a construction company. I do welding and painting. Next year I will go back to Zimbabwe and complete the programme, I am left with one year. (Sandi)

However, as a result of different influences such as individual experiences, aspirations window and actual aspirations, the levels of agency may vary, as seen in Obert's story (see Chapter Eight):

Now I will take anything that will come my way because I don't have a choice, I want to change my life, but right now I don't have a plan on how to do that. (Obert)

In addition to these individual differences in the exercise of agency, there was also a difference in what men and women chose to do. For most migrant men, their agency was directed toward activities that would advance their education, whereas for women, their agency was oriented towards finding economic opportunities, motivated by familial responsibilities as shown in previous Chapters. This reinforces the effects of socialisation in what individuals do, echoed by one of the migrant men:

We [men and women] do not have similar goals. My observation is that women often put focus on supporting families back home whereas most of the men when they came here, they adopt the way South Africans live. I can use an umbrella term that women are more supportive of families than men. (Elias)

The view that men adopt a 'South African lifestyle' upon arrival may be used to suggest that oftentimes migrant men intend to settle in South Africa for longer periods compared to women. This is because it can be assumed that, for one to successfully adopt a particular culture and lifestyle, they need to be in that specific environment long enough to learn and assimilate that specific lifestyle. It emerged from the study that all the men (except for Sandi who wants to go back to Zimbabwe to complete his diploma) indicated that they did not foresee going back to Zimbabwe in the near future. Although they wish to go back to their home country, they are not willing to do so without achieving their long-term aspirations. This standpoint helps in understanding the difference in educational aspirations and agency levels between the men and women. Remaining in South Africa for a longer time can allow the migrant men to develop new aspirations and/or advance their current aspirations. However, for most migrant women it would be difficult to develop and advance aspirations (especially educational), as they view being in South Africa as temporary. Based on earlier discussions of familial responsibilities that most women have in Zimbabwe, permanent settlement in South Africa might detach them from these responsibilities. Hence, this temporariness is characterised by the need for piece jobs and keeping their families in Zimbabwe, rather than migrating with them. As they do not expect to stay, women may feel more attached to their homes and families in Zimbabwe and so may choose not to accumulate anything that will associate them long-term residency, such as schooling.

Like most Zimbabwean migrants in countries such as the United States, Canada and Australia who do not intend to return to Zimbabwe (Crush et al., 2015), the migrant young men in the study did not foresee returning to Zimbabwe soon. Although the authors conclude that a majority of individuals view South Africa as a longer-term destination (Crush et al., 2015), which is true for fourteen of the fifteen men in the study, an earlier study by Makina (2012) of Zimbabweans in South Africa found that migrants who had left Zimbabwe after 2000 for economic and political reasons (which made up all the migrant youth in this study, in addition to other reasons) were more likely to return in comparison to others who cited different reasons for migration. However, of the twenty-six participants, only nine (eight of the eleven women and one of the fifteen men) noted that they were in South Africa temporarily as they still had responsibilities

back in Zimbabwe. The migrant man wanted to complete his diploma and was solely in the country to raise money for that, whereas the eight women still had families and children in Zimbabwe. The other three women who noted longer-term stays lived with their husbands in South Africa and thus did not see any purpose in returning.

Based on this discussion, it can be concluded that decisions about length of stay in the country to a certain degree determine educational, short- and long-term aspirations, as well as the action that an individual takes (their agency). As a result of such choices and freedoms, in the next section I attempt to show how agency interacts with the formation of educational aspirations and conversion factors.

9.4.1 Interplay of conversion factors and agency in aspirations formation

Figure 9.2 shows the interaction between conversion factors and agency in aspirations formation and provides a summary of how these two factors influence the formation of the four types of aspirations presented in Chapter Eight.

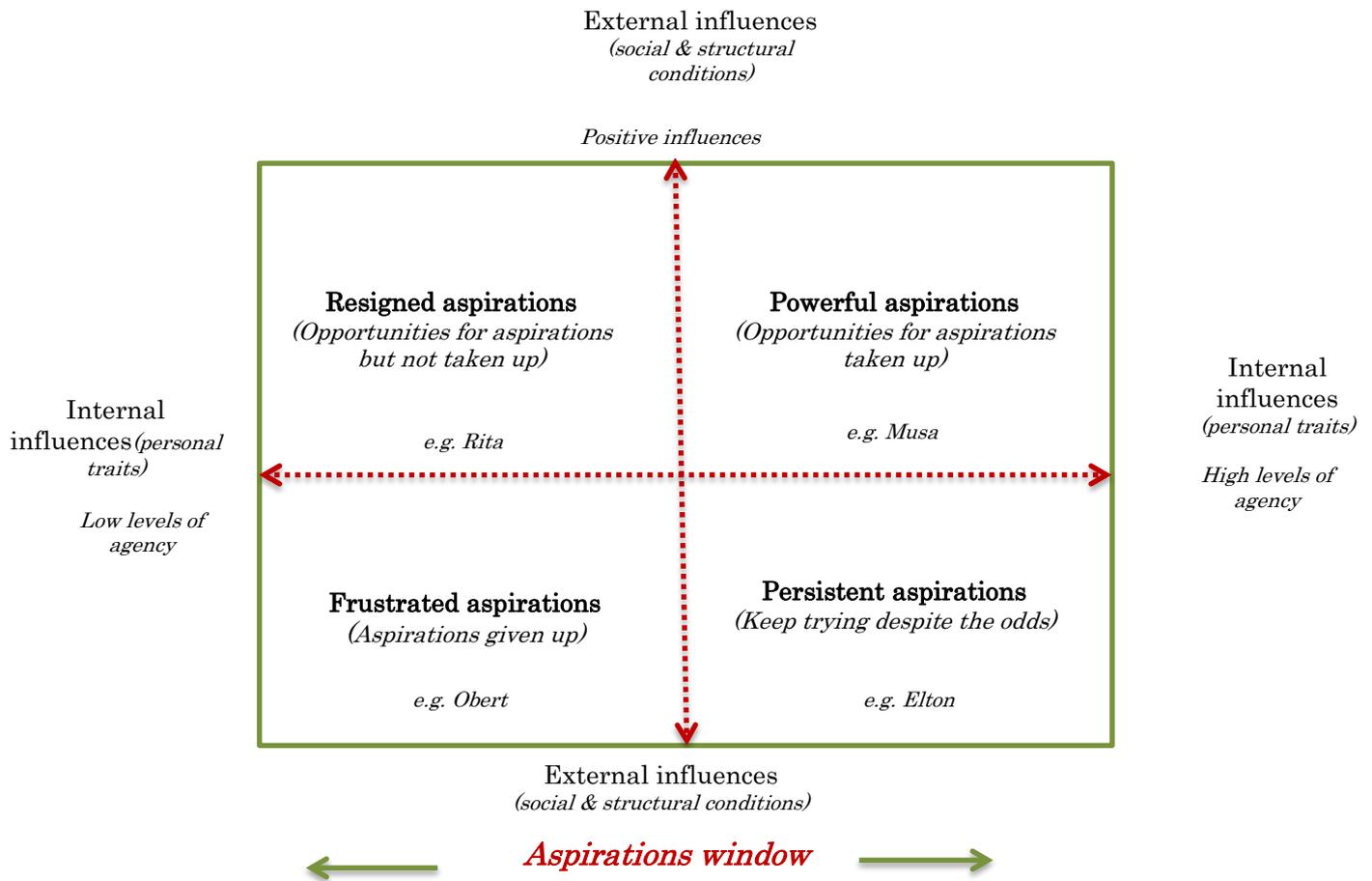


Figure 9.2: Interplay of conversion factors and agency

Linking the types of aspirations discussed in Chapter Eight with conversion factors and agency, Figure 9.2 illustrates the interconnectedness and interplay of factors influencing aspirations. As pointed out in Chapter Eight, in this study aspirations and agency are interwoven with both being influenced by personal and external factors. External factors relate to those conversion factors that are beyond the individuals' control, such as community, family background and structural conditions (Chiappero-Martinetti & Venkatapuram, 2014; Crocker, 2008; Robeyns, 2005). Personal factors represent those conditions that are individually determined (but always in a social and collective context), such as skills, motivation, age, sex and other personal traits. Elton's story in section 8.2.4 demonstrates the interaction of both internal and external influences as well as agency in impacting on his educational aspirations. Financial constraints relate to external factors that he has no control over, whereas there is also no indication of individual agency, which is often characterised by determination to pursue one's desired functionings and achievements (Keogh et al., 2012; Bandura, 2001).

Determination is an important factor, as it propels the migrant youth to achieve what is valuable to each of them. Rita's story also illustrates a similar interaction. While Rita is influenced by her husband to do a particular course, she has not made the effort to find out more about it, possibly because it is not a career she values. Her story exemplifies an internal influence that has to do with motivation and agency: although she has aspirations to enrol for a short course in the near future, she has not taken steps to enquire about the necessary requirements to do so. She has not made an individual initiative (exercised agency) to find out whether or not particular colleges that offer the desired course enrol migrants without official documentation, such as study visas. These external and internal conversion factors do not always have a 'either or' influence. The influence of specific conversion factors is also dependent on their interaction with other factors, such as agency, as we see in the migrants' narratives. For example, while absence of financial resources and structural factors such as migration policies may be broader aspirations constraints, the action that one takes as a result of motivation and determination may nonetheless possibly enhance the opportunities to realise one's aspirations.

9.5 Conclusion

In this Chapter and Chapter Eight, I have attempted to make theoretical meaning of how the problem statement, argument, reviewed literature and evidence gathered speak to each other. The profiling of migrant youth using the CA was valuable in understanding the experiences, conversion factors and agency of migrant youth while they navigate their everyday survival and work towards a better life. I have provided a conceptualisation of aspirations using the human development and capability lens, where I theorised aspirations formation and analysed the contextual factors influencing the lives and educational aspirations of marginalised migrant youth. Although most of the valued capabilities remain constrained, the migrant youth possessed essential capabilities such as resilience and hope, which are instrumental in helping them survive. Sen's (1999) five instrumental freedoms have laid down the context in which migrant youth live, and point to structural changes that are needed for these young people to be able to achieve some sense of wellbeing.

The interaction of capabilities, conversion factors and aspirations has shown the complexity and multi-level nature of the intersectionality of these concepts. For the freedom of migrant youth to be enhanced, there is a need to understand this complex intersectionality at both individual and structural levels. At the individual level, factors such as voice and agency require attention and support. At the structural level, power relations in the form of policies need to be deconstructed to fit the present-day challenges of migration in South Africa. The deconstruction of these power relations needs to start by promoting the freedom of voice so that marginalised migrant youth express what is valuable to them, as well as voice and naming the injustices they face. In the next Chapter, I draw conclusions from the reviewed literature and the evidence gathered for this study.

Chapter Ten: Reflections and Conclusions

10.1 Introduction

In Chapter One, I presented the problem statement formulated for this research: that in the midst of the challenges experienced by marginalised migrant youth in navigating their way in a foreign land, little is known about their educational aspirations. Emanating from this problem and the gap in the field of study, the argument is based on the human development conceptualisation that education is both intrinsically and instrumentally important, as it can enhance other capabilities and widen opportunities that may be valued by individuals. This study and its focus on youth is important, as most migration literature shows youth to be the most mobile group, yet literature on their educational aspirations is limited in the Global South, especially South Africa. Thus, based on the research problem and argument, the study set out to document the lives and educational aspirations of marginalised migrant youth living in Johannesburg, and has identified different factors that impact on their lives and the formation of their educational aspirations. Four questions guided this study:

1. *What are the everyday experiences of marginalised migrant youth in Johannesburg?*
2. *What educational aspirations do the migrant youth have?*
3. *Which capabilities and functionings do they value?*
4. *Based on the findings, what advocacy strategies can be put in place to support their educational aspirations?*

Reflecting the thesis objectives and evidence gathered, this Chapter seeks to: *synthesize the various issues highlighted in the discussion Chapters; summarise the answers to the research questions; identify theoretical and policy implications of the study; and provide directions for future research.* In doing so, the Chapter presents conclusions on what this means for broader human development, particularly individuals in marginalised and disadvantaged settings.

The Chapter is in five sections. I start by reflecting on the empirical findings based on the research questions. I then provide theoretical and general reflections, discussing the contribution of this study to human development and the methodological field of qualitative research. Thereafter, I provide a synthesis of how the key findings are relevant to policy; this is where I provide recommendations on how to address key issues that emerged from the data. This is followed by recommendations for areas of future research, after which I provide a conclusion to this Chapter.

10.2. Reflections on empirical findings

The aim of the discussion under this section is to provide a synthesis of the empirical findings with respect to individual questions.

10.2.1 What are the everyday experiences of marginalised migrant youth in Johannesburg?

Although the narratives captured different experiences of the migrant youth, the experiences presented in this thesis relate to educational aspirations. For all the migrant youth who participated in this study, pre-migration experiences of disadvantage and marginalisation indicated that educational aspirations were influenced at an early age.

While post- migration experiences encompassed constrained opportunities, these were nonetheless valued by migrant youth as they compared them to their experiences in Zimbabwe, generally reported to have been worse. As such, based on an individual's experiences and opportunities, the judgement here is that degrees of wellbeing vary, even though from a human development viewpoint an individual may still be living in multidimensional poverty. Migrants' experience in both settings influenced their views on aspiring towards higher education. Extracts from the narratives of the migrant youth shown in previous Chapters have emphasised how it is almost impossible to focus on schooling without basic necessities for survival, thereby emphasising the significance of threshold levels of resources and capabilities in order for an individual to at least be in a position to live a decent life and utilise opportunities that may be present to expand other capabilities. For example, while an opportunity for schooling may be present, a

hungry student may not fully utilise this opportunity in a way that will enhance other dimensions of his/her life. As such a constraint, on a particular capability may infringe many other capabilities and opportunities.

For many, however, their experiences in South Africa influenced the value they placed on education. They believed the instrumental role of education would help them escape poverty and equip them with resources necessary to live decent lives. This view held by the migrant youth is in line with the argument of the study on the potential benefits of education. This value placed on education, however, was influenced by experiences of gender socialisation, as some of the women in the study believed education was more important for equipping men, as providers. This view provided a gender dimension to the experiences of migrant youth and is crucial when identifying strategies related to both educational aspirations and broader development interventions. This is important as needs and aspirations between men and women may vary, despite them being in the same group of marginalised migrants, as shown in the next research question.

10.2.2 What educational aspirations do the migrant youth have?

Highlighted in research question one, the educational aspirations of migrant youth varied and were a result of their pre- and post-migration experiences, as well as their educational functionings presented in Chapters Five and Six. As migrant youth shared their educational aspirations, these differed among the youth based on various conversion factors and individual agency. One of the notable conversion factors discussed in research question one as a socialisation experience is that of gender. In addition to educational aspirations, long-term aspirations and valued functionings differed strongly between migrant men and women. From the migrants' background and experience, different values were placed on education. While both groups believe education is important for achieving their long-term aspirations, both have different ways to approach the realisation of these aspirations, as shown in Chapter Six. Thus, following Appadurai's assertion, this study has also shown that the formation of aspirations, including educational aspirations, to a large extent relies on the interaction of various factors in the social environment. Within this social environment, I have also

highlighted how the aspirations window and the aspirations gap can influence the formation of educational aspirations. The view held by some of the migrant youth that education can bring them social recognition, respect and a sense of achievement identified as important by most of the youth may be used to understand how educational attainment can be used as a tool for upward social mobility by gaining a social position/status in society.

While earning an income was the top priority for both migrant men and women as a necessary resource for survival, most young men believed education was achievable if they could access bursaries, and would be able to gain more income after their schooling. Despite this view, their socio-economic reality called for them to find ways of earning an income concurrently with pursuing their higher educational aspirations, as seen in Rusu, Henry and Musa's cases. For women, however, income earning was concurrent with providing for family, as it emerged that the income they made was channelled to the upkeep of other family members. Again, these views and priorities reinforced the persistent gendered views that are influenced by our social surroundings.

Foregrounding these aspirations, resources to achieve these remain constrained in all essential dimensions, politically, social, and economically. With such constraints, opportunities for accessing higher education also become limited. As such, the documentation of these narratives on educational aspirations has also shown that a gap in literature on marginalised migrants and education extends to other dimensions, including access, experiences in higher education institutions and achievement in higher education for the few that have opportunities to progress further in education.

10.2.3 Which capabilities and functionings do they value?

Although constrained, opportunities for education and employment were valued capabilities, viewed as essential for the realisation of valued functionings. The identification of education and employment as the most valued capabilities was based on the intrinsic and instrumental roles that these two capabilities have. Thus, education and employment are capabilities that need to be supported among marginalised groups.

If these capabilities remain constrained, migrant youth may not be able to achieve their desired functioning and enjoy the wellbeing that they desire. This may lead to continued inter-generational corrosive disadvantage and poverty. Therefore, research question four discussed below sought to formulate advocacy strategies to address limitations to these valued capabilities, specifically the capability for education, as it is the core of this study. However, as it emerged that the capability for education and the capability for employment and the aspirations to these two capabilities are to a certain degree synonymous with each other, they should be viewed in a similar vein. This is because opportunities for employment enhance the opportunities for ability to access (in terms of costs related to learning) higher education; at the same time opportunities for education can enhance employment opportunities (including paid internships, as in Terry's case).

10.2.4 What advocacy strategies do the participants suggest be put in place to support their educational aspirations?

The three research questions presented above have identified the experiences, aspirations, and the capabilities and functionings valued by marginalised migrant youth. In doing so, challenges and opportunities have been identified that are experienced by these youth and what this means for human development. Research question four's objective was to identify possible strategies that could be employed to address migrant youth concerns raised during individual interviews reported in Chapters Five and Six. This information was to be gathered through the group discussion that had been initially planned. I have noted in Chapter Four that only seven of the migrant youth interviewed participated in the focus group discussion because the shelter was due to shut down seven days after the group discussion.

The data gathered was insufficient to be reported in Chapter format as the group discussion was short because of time limitations on the migrant youths' side; hence there was little in-depth information gathered. As a result, the discussion was about the challenges that the youth faced and what they thought should be done to address these problems and by whom. I have decided to include these in this concluding Chapter as they summarise the contributions I identified as significant in summing up the migrant youth experiences, challenges and aspirations. This was the importance of voice, which I

have also touched on in the previous Chapter. The migrant youth contribution on what we need to know and do about considering their educational aspirations is presented in Table 10.1.

Table 10.1: Migrant youth voices: What we need to know and do about migrants' educational aspirations

What (What are the challenges?)	Who (Who could address these?)	How (How could these be addressed?)
Lack of support and basics for daily survival	NGOs	Support with integration into the communities Help with resources for basic survival Provide important information to marginalised migrant youth regarding educational opportunities
Difficult and long documentation process	Government (policy-makers)	Having politicians who are concerned about migrant issues
Lack of support related to schooling resources such as books, access to computers	Well-wishers	Support migrants who want to study with resources
Constrained access to institutions of choices without recognised documentation	Higher education institutions	Identify excelling students and work with government to support such students Provide funding for marginalised migrants
	Affected individuals	Form coalitions and voice their views (collective agency) through social platforms such as theatre arts, debates, doing own research
Lack of funding	Corporate organisations	Educate people to know their rights, open platforms for funding, jobs and scholarships; help bridge gap between locals and foreigners
Lack of shelter and support	Churches NGOs	Help marginalised migrants in need through support such as counselling and shelter
Integration into society and experiences of discrimination and xenophobia	Local citizens	Engage foreigners in community activities Understand the push and pull factors of migrants in dealing with xenophobia and segregation

Although a number of organisations and groups that could help the youth realise their aspirations were identified, the migrant youth felt it was important for them as the affected individuals to get together and have their voice heard as a group. Youth were well aware of how their challenges could be addressed and the potential stakeholders, yet there has not been anything done so far to have their views heard by any of the

identified stakeholders. This indicates the restricted environment for exercising their voice. The importance of voice must be emphasised, and this can be realised through public deliberations and discussion as was attempted, albeit in a limited manner, to answer this research question.

While the data gathered related to the migrant youths' educational aspirations, the analysis of their experiences is applicable to their broader experience as disadvantaged individuals and thus strategies that can be put in place should encompass their total wellbeing, not only educational aspirations. This is also a result of the CA's view that considers the diverse areas of an individual's life. We have also see this in Chapter Eight where various intersecting factors influence individuals simultaneously and at multiple levels. If the voices of those living the experiences of marginalisation and disadvantage remain suppressed, it will be difficult for 'all-encompassing' development to take place, as the marginalised will likely remain marginalised. If some are able to break through to advanced wellbeing, these will likely be a few with powerful aspirations, which were not significantly represented in this study. With financial and time resources in place, in-depth information can be gathered from broader marginalised communities, who may be identified as living on the edge of society. Given the opportunity and proper assistance, disadvantaged individuals have the capacity for intellectual and critical reflection based on what they need to advance their lives. Despite the limitation that the focus group discussion did not turn out as planned, the information gathered from the seven youth who participated provides an indication and a starting point of ideas of what an advocacy strategy would potentially look like, as discussed in the following section.

10.3 Reflections

10.3.1 Theoretical reflections

10.3.1.1 Formulation of the four types of aspirations

The first theoretical contribution of this research is the formulation of the four types of aspirations. All four types (*resigned, powerful, persistent* and *frustrated*) can be placed at

different points along the intersection of conversion factors and agency. Conversion factors, in form of social and structural conditions could have positive or negative effects. Within these social and structural conditions, an individual may exercise more or less agency depending on internal factors such as motivation. Such an intersection between agency and conversion factors provides an essential foundation in understanding both the formation and realisation of migrant youths' educational aspirations.

While an individual may have positive social and structural conditions in place, through the exercise of agency, s/he may decide not take up the available opportunity for a number of reasons. Another individual may make use of available positive social and structural factors, thereby exhibiting clear and powerful aspirations. These clear and powerful aspirations illustrate a positive relationship between one's high agency and available structural conditions. Where unfavourable conversion factors exist, an individual can still exercise high levels of agency to break through. However, in an unfavourable context, one may also decide not to take any action and so resign his/her aspirations, which is an agency-based decision. As such, within the agency and conversion factor interaction, an individual's aspirations window is also important in determining the degree of motivation, support and mentorship.

In the context of this formulation, the CA therefore provides a multifaceted understanding of disadvantage that goes beyond the economic view by providing an individualistic and nuanced understanding of disadvantage (Gasper, 2002). As the thesis has shown, personal, social and structural factors that influenced the capabilities (and capability acquisition) necessary for young people to advance educational aspirations are important for consideration. This people-centred understanding of disadvantage provides an understanding of the context in which migrant youth make choices. The conceptualisation of disadvantage and poverty as solely the (non-)utilisation of income must be accompanied by consideration of other capabilities, such as social and political (Sen, 1999). The study has therefore shown for migrant youth that individual agency and context work together in influencing the choices of individuals.

10.3.1.2 Intersectionality of conversion factors

The second contribution is the intersectionality of conversion factors for migrant youth in the South African context. The analysis of the intersectionality of different structural factors influencing marginalised migrants potentially provides a broader representation of what marginalised migrant youth experience, and the daily experiences of other groups living on the margins of society. This intersectional contribution provides an in-depth understanding of the lived experiences of disadvantaged groups, which would otherwise run the risk of being simplified if not looked at through the lens of the CA, which allows for comprehensive, multi-level analysis of different factors. The methodological intersectional analysis of these conversion factors is a significant contribution to human development scholarship, particularly when identifying ways of addressing disadvantage and marginalisation. Thus, importantly, such an approach may direct the facilitation and implementation of strategies and policies seeking to address social inequalities within society.

Within these intersectionalities, an important contribution to the fields of migration and human development also emerged: that of the gendered impact on the educational aspirations of migrant youth. The difference in educational aspirations between migrant men and women is therefore fundamental when considering developmental initiatives (see section 2.3.2), as these need to be structured based on what is valued by each group of migrants. Theoretically, these differences in educational aspirations and values held by migrant men and women provide reason to question underlying social factors. This may, therefore, be used as a stepping stone in identifying policy considerations in development initiatives directed at migration and human development.

10.3.1.3 Sen's five instrumental freedoms

The use of Sen's (2009) five instrumental freedoms helped to understand the capability context in which the migrant youth form their aspirations. Data has shown that, although important for initiatives that seek to advance human development, these freedoms remain constrained. As such, macro level institutions need to identify ways to contribute to the enhancement of migrant freedoms. The expansion of these

instrumental freedoms can potentially expand migrant youth's individual capabilities and in turn advance their development. Although the youth may exercise agency and utilise opportunities and capabilities within their immediate reach, their effort may produce little results (and potentially for only a few migrants), unless structural institutions step in with proactive intentions directed at promoting marginalised migrants' development. This can be done by addressing the gap between instrumental freedoms and the unfreedoms experienced by the youth (section 9.1.1.1). As these freedoms are interconnected, initiatives should be multidimensional, for example by addressing political, economic, and social freedoms simultaneously. Such an approach would enhance multiple capabilities concurrently, as asserted by Wells (2013).

10.3.1.4 Identifying a gap in foregrounding migrants voices

The final contribution is in identifying the gap that exists in foregrounding marginalised migrant youth's voices using the CA in the South African context. This therefore calls for rethinking the need to promote the capability for voice among marginalised migrants. As shown in Chapter Eight, such a capability is important not only as an opportunity in itself, but as a platform to exercise agency, which, as seen in the theorisation of aspirations, is an essential factor for migrant youth to realise their aspirations. Unless this capability is formed and promoted, marginalised migrant youth remain deprived of other capabilities and freedoms, resulting in continued marginalisation (corrosive disadvantage). The expansion of freedoms for marginalised migrant youth, both as the primary end and as the principal means of development, may be used as a milestone of success in contexts with vulnerable groups. Overall, the CA framework demonstrated its strength in analysing and assessing diverse groups within society.

10.4 Key findings

As a result of these reflections on empirical findings, theoretical framing and the methodology, a number of key conclusions have been drawn:

- (i) Unless challenges experienced by marginalised migrant youth are taken into account and addressed from a human development perspective, which

includes the youth being a part of the decisions that involve them, a majority of migrant youth and those around them will remain at the margins of society. These individuals will continue to experience economic and human poverty, which defeats the purpose of the 2015 Sustainable Development goals (ending poverty and reducing inequalities, among other things (UN, 2016)).

- (ii) A deeper examination of the underlying factors influencing the difference in educational aspirations among marginalised migrant men and women generally is required. As Heward (1999) notes, educating girls and women is not an alternative to poverty reduction, but it is crucial in achieving it. Societal change, that gives girls and women great control over their own lives regarding what they have reason to value, maybe be a necessary step (Rose & Tembon, 1999).
- (iii) The findings highlight that the instrumental importance of education overrides its intrinsic importance for a number of marginalised communities. If the intrinsic importance was held in high regard, the gap between men and women's educational aspirations would have been significantly narrower. This also reinforces the notion of the differences of aspirations formation between rich and the poor; that is, an individual from a wealthy background may pursue higher education for its intrinsic value, while an individual from a poorer background may pursue higher education for its instrumental value.
- (iv) The findings demonstrate the complex interaction and relationship within and between the fields of migration, gender, youth and development research.
- (v) Considering the very high youth unemployment in South Africa as highlighted in Chapter Two, it would be too simplistic to believe that South Africa can address the complexity of economic migration by incorporating all economic migrants into the labour market. As such, one of the ways to address economic migration into South Africa is for African governments to put political pressure on each other to put in place programmes and initiatives to promote en-

trepreneurship in their respective countries in order to discourage youth from emigrating.

- (vi) While higher education referred to college and/or university education, some of the stories shared by migrant youth highlight the importance of consider vocational education and training (VET) as an alternative to university. The promotion of skills such as dressmaking may be strategies to advance employment creation among marginalised youth in general.

Based on the above discussions and conclusions, I have identified possible policy implications, discussed in the next section.

10.4.1 Returning to the SDG's

With the above key findings, I now return to the SDGs highlighted in section 2.3.1. Hanushek & Woessman (2015) emphasise that education, in the form of knowledge capital, is necessary to achieve the SDGs, and therefore may be applicable in the realisation of all the goals. Knowledge capital may be beneficial in different ways; for example, access to quality education has the potential to address goals of zero hunger, advancing good health and wellbeing, promoting gender equality, decent work and economic growth, reducing inequalities and ultimately contributing to the development of sustainable cities and communities, as well as upholding peace, justice and strong institutions. As such, knowledge capital should be available to as many individuals as need it, including marginalised migrant youth. However, as highlighted earlier, for these goals to be achieved, governments, civil society and individuals need to play their part. Unless there are partnership efforts in working toward the SDGs, future generations may not experience sustainable development. In essence, just as the SDGs are interconnected, their achievement among different states provides interconnected country development. The development of one country affects other countries; similarly, the lagging behind of one country affects others. Hence, the call for regional partnership in tackling developmental issues cannot be emphasised enough if the region is to achieve these goals. Finally, considering not only the above, but the importance of education that this thesis has argued for, for both social and economic

development, there need to be ways of innovatively thinking about including marginalised migrant youth already in the host country in educational training, rather than excluding and deporting them. Marginalised migrant youth may possess the capabilities necessary for critical skills needed for development, but these can only be realised if and when they are provided with the opportunity to pursue their aspirations.

10.5 Policy implications and possible plans of action

Addressing the subject of marginalised migrants cannot be done without considering poverty and marginalisation, and cannot be seen as a task to be carried out by the South African state only. Addressing these challenges requires regional effort, including the migrant-sending countries, in this case Zimbabwe. The engagement of multiple actors is important since the social construction of society incorporates a number of dimensions outside state institutions (civil society, cooperate organisations, and others). In the host country, the complexity of the categorisation of marginalised migrants and separation of asylum seekers, refugees and economic migrants also calls for multi-stakeholder interventions⁴³ to steer a human development project that includes every individual. Thus, the recommendations below can be adapted by any individual(s), organisation(s) or state department(s) with an interest in the human development and migration project.

10.5.1 Policy recommendations

10.5.1.1 Regional efforts and public deliberation

Unless the real experiences, needs and aspirations of marginalised migrant youth are known to decision-makers, it is difficult to channel any interventions yielding to meaningful development. As such, regional attempts to end war, corruption and promote good governance are important. Public deliberation platforms are also essential in every country where socio-economic challenges are discussed and youth

⁴³ These would include possible employers of marginalised migrant youth such as local businesses, NGOs and others.

express their concerns and desired developmental needs. Such participatory platforms can help identify areas in which they seek interventions.

10.5.1.2 *Education & training opportunities (including HE)*

How wide are opportunities for migrant youth to access higher education? This is one of the questions that can be posed going forward in relation to migrant youths' opportunities to pursue their educational aspirations. As educational research and research on HEIs shows an increase in access to higher education institutions for previously disadvantaged groups in South Africa (Council on Higher Education, 2013), access for marginalised migrants may be constrained as a result of documentation, a challenge for many young people in study. Another challenge for migrant youth in the study is finance, yet South Africa's NFSAS is limited and constrained, even in catering for all the South African students who are eligible. Hence, funding continues to be a challenge for many young people aspiring to further their education. Migrant youth who want to attend university should be given an opportunity based on academic merit and potential to pursue what is valuable to them. As discussed earlier, more opportunities may be made available at VET colleges. Although financing this education may remain a challenge, what is important is that the opportunity to access a form of higher education is available. As the study specifically focused on the daily experiences, educational aspirations, valued capabilities and functionings of the marginalised migrant youth, further small-scale and major research is necessary to expand the findings of this study.

10.5.1.3 *Promoting individual freedom and expansion of opportunities*

While the current Minister of Home Affairs Malusi Gigaba acknowledges (section 2.5.2.1) the difficulties of economic migrants and how the government is considering legislation to address this challenge, the presence of marginalised migrants will always be a socio-economic concern from a human development and human rights point of view. Regardless of the status of an individual, freedom to do what one values is one of the human development dimensions that must not be overlooked. Constrained voice, opportunities and choice all are an infringement on individual freedom. As such, although the government may have limited resources to afford marginalised migrants opportunities to pursue what they value, these may not necessarily always be tangible

resources, but opening channels, such as access to public institutions and colleges by lessening access requirements such as documentation. While matters of numbers and registration statistics remain important for institutions of higher learning, it may be necessary for government to work hand-in-hand with these institutions in supporting marginalised migrants who excel in their studies.

10.5.1.4 *Build social cohesion*

Although not part of this thesis, social cohesion, as identified by the migrant youth, emerged as a matter that could be looked at. The youth highlighted that it is essential for different stakeholders to identify strategies that support the self-settlement policy as stipulated in the Refugee Act. These strategies have to come up with ways in which marginalised migrants may be peacefully integrated into society. This is important for the migrants, the community, and the government. Xenophobic attacks are an example of a strained relationship between marginalised migrants and some communities. In an environment where there is unity and acceptance, migrant youth may be in a position to freely express their aspirations to others and so find ways in which these aspirations can be achieved.

10.5.1.5 *Embrace modern day migration challenges*

Similar to building social cohesion, embracing modern migration challenges is somewhat beyond the scope of my research. National structures need to admit to the challenge of migration as a modern phenomenon experienced globally, and hence should include the challenges that come with this in their development plans, such that all individuals participate in development initiatives. Of significance in this regard is the understanding that any development directed at individuals benefits wider society in the long run. Broadly, such a stance would require regional cooperation. With such an establishment, it is essential to ensure that those marginalised migrants with asylum seekers' permits desiring to pursue education have access equal to that of refugees, including access to funding based on merit. Such opportunities would encourage marginalised migrant youth to maintain clean records of their asylum permits. This will

also help track the number of migrants in the country and address the concern of undocumented migrants in the country.

10.6 Recommendations for future research

On a small scale, this research may be expanded in the following dimensions:

- (i) Challenges of access to higher education by marginalised migrant youth. This can be carried out within institutions of higher learning through accessing available records of these youth. Such action would provide data on whether or not marginalised migrant youth actually access HE. Absence of such records would provide necessary empirical evidence that such youth are excluded.
- (ii) University experiences of marginalised migrant youth (youth already within HE learning environments) and the impact these youth have on their communities after graduating.
- (iii) What role mentorship and life coaching could potentially play in the development of youths' professional and skills development. This may be done with marginalised youth already enrolled at various colleges or universities, or those who have graduated.

On a broader scale, there are a number of considerations of future research in order to expand the literature on migration, education, and development.

10.6.1 The role of distance learning and vocational education in migration contexts

The migrant youths enrolled at an HE institution demonstrated how access to higher learning for the disadvantaged can be made possible through various channels outside mainstream university. From this study, we also learn that, although viewed as prestigious by the youth, it is not only HE that should be regarded as important in the development of an individual's life, but also vocational courses such dressmaking, baking, and decorating. Such learning channels are important for individuals who

cannot afford residence fees and other expenses associated with HE. Distance learning and access to IT resources (online learning) maybe be considered for marginalised migrant youth, although the potential contribution of these needs to be researched further.

10.6.2 Child migration: Unaccompanied minors

In South Africa the intensity of child migration has not been captured extensively in academic research, which is needed to help decision-makers identify how to deal with this. Although most of the male migrants in this study migrated as minors, the role played by various NGOs mentioned and the refugee shelter at the church made them an exception to the potential challenges of unmonitored child migration. Unless there are mechanisms identified to deal with child migrants, who, realistically, may not be expected to assimilate in the self-settling policy, there are potential risks of child labour, child trafficking and child abuse. Educational opportunity must be central to any initiative in this area.

10.6.3 Gender and migration

As issues of gender and their impact on educational aspirations emerged strongly, there needs to be comprehensive and dedicated research in understanding the impact of gendered migration on educational aspirations and achievement. As Birchall (2016) notes, there is still a need to bring the challenges faced by migrant women and girls, including unaccompanied minors, to the forefront of the development agenda. Until strategies addressing migration move from a 'gender neutral' (Birchall, 2016: 3) approach, there will be a continued failure in addressing fundamental rights of this group. There still needs to be more work to address the gaps between policy and practice (Birchall, 2016), and these gaps can be shown by further research.

10.6.4 Role of NGOs

The role of Non-governmental and Civil Society Organisations emerged as having a very strong impact on the lives of marginalised migrant youth. The study shows that the role of non-state entities in social and human development has the potential to take human

development forward, as seen in other studies (Boon et al., 2013; Fernandez-Baldor et al., 2013; Mitoma & Bystrom, 2013). The roles played by the refugee shelter and ASS were pivotal for the migrant youths' wellbeing. Further research may be carried out to explore the contribution of these organisations to development.

10.8 Conclusion

Throughout the thesis, I have not only presented how migration contributes to human development in relation to individual lives, but I also highlighted the challenges, risks and threats that many marginalised migrants go through in order to experience their perceived wellbeing. For the migrant youth in the study, threats and risks discussed in Chapter Two are an indication of the experiences of most of the migrant youth, yet they still insist that the lives they live in South Africa are better than their experiences in their country of origin. As I presented in Chapter One, that in the midst of the challenges that may limit migrant youths' potential or considerations of pursuing higher education, we still know very little about their ambitions to pursue education. This is despite the fact that education is important for instrumental and intrinsic purposes, both for marginalised migrants and individuals in general. For migrants, education can equip them for the multiple possible futures they face, both economic and personal, as highlighted by Walker (2010).

In answering the research questions, the youths' narratives have enlightened us about the realities that migrant youth face in their everyday lives and how these realities influence their educational ambitions. While long-term aspirations are attached to the pursuit of education, the challenges that most experience in realising these aspirations is a call for human development intervention. The resilience expressed by most of the youth has potential to yield tangible results and expressions of agency if structural conditions are proactively set to help the migrant youth. As such, unless there are deliberate structural interventions directed at the educational progression of marginalised migrant youth, the condition of many of these youth may remain the same, exhibiting resilience, yet still faced with structural barriers, which, even though mediated by one's agency, may be difficult to break through. The proportion of migrant youth registered at a college/university compared to those still aspiring to do so is an indication of how these structural barriers may be difficult to break through for some. This is echoed by

the conceptualisation of the four types of aspirations, illustrating that aspirations are complex, as is the environment in which they are formed. Their multi-dimensionality influences their formation. Such interaction and formation of aspirations poses a challenge in categorising aspirations according to importance, as all aspirations may be of significance at certain points in one's life. Therefore, aspirations require in-depth and comprehensive analysis.

Overall, the thesis has highlighted the complexity in analysing educational aspirations, capabilities, conversion factors and agency in disadvantaged settings. Furthermore, the thesis has shown that HE can potentially enhance opportunities for employment and is therefore critical for migrant youth's well-being and the realisation of their intrinsic and instrumental aspirations. While such benefits of HE are significant to disadvantaged youth in general, there are constraints that are specific to marginalised migrant youth. For example, one such constraint is the work visa that is required for one to access certain jobs. This poses a challenge to the wellbeing of marginalised migrants even in situations where one has attained a higher level of education. As such the wellbeing of marginalised migrants in relation to the role that HE can play in their lives goes beyond aspirations, access or attainment of HE, and encompasses other structural factors that require a shift in policy. Thus, a shift in the sphere of educational access and attainment requires that there is also a shift in labor laws for migrants to access employment, in so doing education would be seen to enhance other areas of marginalised migrant's wellbeing. That is, as highlighted by the use of Sen's (1999) five instrumental freedoms, structural conversion factors are interrelated; as such an amendment in one policy may require amendments in other policies such that they correlate in achieving the same goal.

There's a story in my life
There's a story in my pain
There's a story in my tears
There's a story in me

Because I got your Attention
And you got me Writing
And you took my Time
And I appreciate this Journey and Research

And lemme close
Benediction

(Lesley, 25, male, diary extract)

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Letter of consent

Appendix 2: Sample interview questions for migrant youth

Appendix 3: Sample interview questions for refugee centre representative

Appendix 4: Focus group discussion questions

Appendix 5: Map of South Africa

Appendix 1: Letter of consent

Researcher: Faith Mkwanzani
Centre for Research on Higher Education and Development
Room 114 Benito Khotseng Building
University of the Free State
Telephone: 082 9786 351
Email: faithmkwananzi@gmail.com

18 September 2014

INFORMED CONSENT

Dear Participant

I would like to invite you to take part in this research project: *'Exploring the lives and educational aspirations of marginalised migrant youth: A case study in Johannesburg, South Africa.'*

The reason of this study is to explore your daily experiences as well as understand your ambitions for college or university as a migrant youth. Your views will help raise awareness on educational ambitions that you and other migrant youth have.

Participation is voluntary; this means that you are not forced to take part in the study. If you choose to participate in the study please know that all information you share will be between you and the researcher. When the researcher writes about the study she will not use your real name so no one will find out what you tell the researcher.

You will be interviewed by the researcher, and after the interview the researcher will ask you to keep a diary in which you will write some of your experiences or thoughts as a migrant youth in South Africa. You can write in the diary in your own spare time. The diaries will be collected after one month. When the researcher comes to collect the diaries, she will arrange that you and other migrant youth meet together to share ideas of how the issues faced by migrant youth can be addressed.

After your interview with the researcher, you will get a R200 voucher for Shoprite. After a month, when you take part in the group discussion, you will get R100. You will also get transport fare of R50 when you come for the interview. You will get another R50 for transport when you come for the

group discussion. Small meals will be provided during the individual interview and during the group meeting.

If during the interview you feel that you do not want to continue with the interview anymore, you may stop your participation at any time without giving reasons.

While your participation in this study has been facilitated by the refugee centre this project is not related to the work of the refugee centre in any way and will not affect your relationship with the refugee centre.

If you become unhappy with the way the research is being conducted, you are welcome to contact and discuss it with my supervisor, Dr. Merridy Wilson-Strydom on 051 401 7566 or email her on WilsonStrydomMG@ufs.ac.za. Should any personal issues arise during the research, I will try by all means to refer you to someone who is qualified to help you.

Yours sincerely,

Researcher: Faith Mkwanzani

Please fill in and return this page. Keep the letter above for future reference.

Study: Exploring the lives and educational aspirations of marginalised migrant youth: A case study in Johannesburg, South Africa.

Researcher: Faith Mkwanzani

Name and Surname: _____

Age: _____

Contact Number: _____

By signing this form:

- I understand what the study is about and I agree to participate in the study.
- I give the researcher permission to use the information I share with her, on condition that she does not use my name or other identifying information.
- I give the researcher permission to audio record the interviews and meetings that I will have with her.

Signature: _____

Remember: Only sign this form if you agree to participate in the study.

Date: _____

Appendix 2: Sample interview questions for migrant youth

INTERVIEW GUIDE – MIGRANT YOUTH		
Study: Exploring the lives and educational aspirations of marginalised migrant youth: A case study in Johannesburg, South Africa.		
Aim: To explore the lives and educational aspirations of marginalised migrant youth in Johannesburg, South Africa, and based on the findings, deliberate with the migrant youth on strategies that can be put in place to advance social justice.		
Researcher:	Date:	Venue:
BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION		
Name:	Age:	Gender:
Country of Origin:	Highest Level of Education:	Year of arrival in South Africa:
INTERVIEW QUESTIONS		
Research Questions	Lead in Questions	Probes
WHAT ARE THE EVERYDAY EXPERIENCES OF MIGRANT YOUTH IN JOHANNESBURG?	Please tell me about yourself	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Home country experience, decision of coming to South Africa, journey to South Africa, first place they went to South Africa ▪ Can you describe an average day in your life here in SA ▪ Are your daily experiences here in South Africa any different from your home experiences?
WHAT EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS DO MIGRANT YOUTH HAVE?	What were your educational goals when you were at home?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ What are your educational goals now? (<i>If they have changed, why?</i>) ▪ Do you think higher education is important? (<i>Why?</i>) ▪ Do you attach any value to higher education? (<i>Explain</i>) ▪ Is it something that ever wanted to pursue or do you ever think about pursuing it now or in the future? ▪ How have your daily experiences influenced your future goals?

		<p><i>(Challenges-conversion factors)</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ What have you done (or are doing) as an individual to achieve your aspirations?
WHICH CAPABILITIES AND FUNCTIONINGS DO THEY VALUE?	What are the things that you valued most for your quality of life before you came to South Africa?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ What are the things you value now? ▪ Why are these things valuable to you? ▪ What do you want to accomplish? <i>(short term and long term)</i> ▪ What opportunities do you have in South Africa that you did not have at home? ▪ What opportunities did you have at home that you do not have in South Africa? ▪ What sources of support do you have in South Africa that enable (or constrain) your potential to achieve your goals? ▪ What sources of support did you have at home that enabled (or constrained) your potential to achieve your goals.
ANY OTHER COMMENTS		

Appendix 3: Sample interview questions for refugee centre representative

INTERVIEW GUIDE – CENTRE REPRESENTATIVE		
Study: Exploring the lives and educational aspirations of marginalised migrant youth: A case study in Johannesburg, South Africa.		
Aim: To explore the lives and educational aspirations of marginalised migrant youth in Johannesburg, South Africa, and based on the findings, deliberate with the migrant youth on strategies that can be put in place to advance social justice.		
Researcher:	Date:	Venue:
ORGANISATION INFORMATION		
Name of centre:	Years in practice:	Services provided:
Number of province/countries the centre is active in:	Service centre or migrant shelter?	Number of migrant clients:
INTERVIEW QUESTIONS		
Research Questions	Lead in Questions	Probes
WHAT ARE THE EVERYDAY EXPERIENCES OF MIGRANT YOUTH IN JOHANNESBURG?	In your interaction with migrant youth, what are their everyday experiences?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Do you think the migrant experiences in Johannesburg are different from other provinces in South Africa? <i>Why? / Please explain</i> ▪ From your experience, how does policy address migrant youth issues in South Africa?
WHAT EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS DO MIGRANT YOUTH HAVE?	From your interactions with migrant youth, how would you describe their educational aspirations?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ What value do migrant youth attach to higher education? ▪ How important do you think higher education aspirations are for migrant youth ▪ Would you say higher education is something attainable for the migrant youth?

WHICH CAPABILITIES AND FUNCTIONINGS ARE VALUED BY MIGRANTS?	From your experience, what are the things that you think migrants value while they are here in South Africa.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Do migrant youth discuss what they value and hope to achieve with you? (<i>If they do, what are they?</i>)▪ What is the role of your organisation in helping them achieve what they value?▪ What can be done differently at community and national level to address migrant youth issues?▪ What is the role of the centre in helping migrant youth?
ANY OTHER COMMENTS		

Appendix 4: Focus group discussion questions

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION

Discussion with migrant youth at the Central Methodist Church, Johannesburg

Date: Monday 22 December 2014

2 ACTIVITIES

Activity 1: River of life Activity: The educational tributary

Activity 2: Group Discussion

Engagement question:

From the river of life activity, what have you identified as the greatest challenges in realising your educational aspirations? (*List them according to order of importance*).

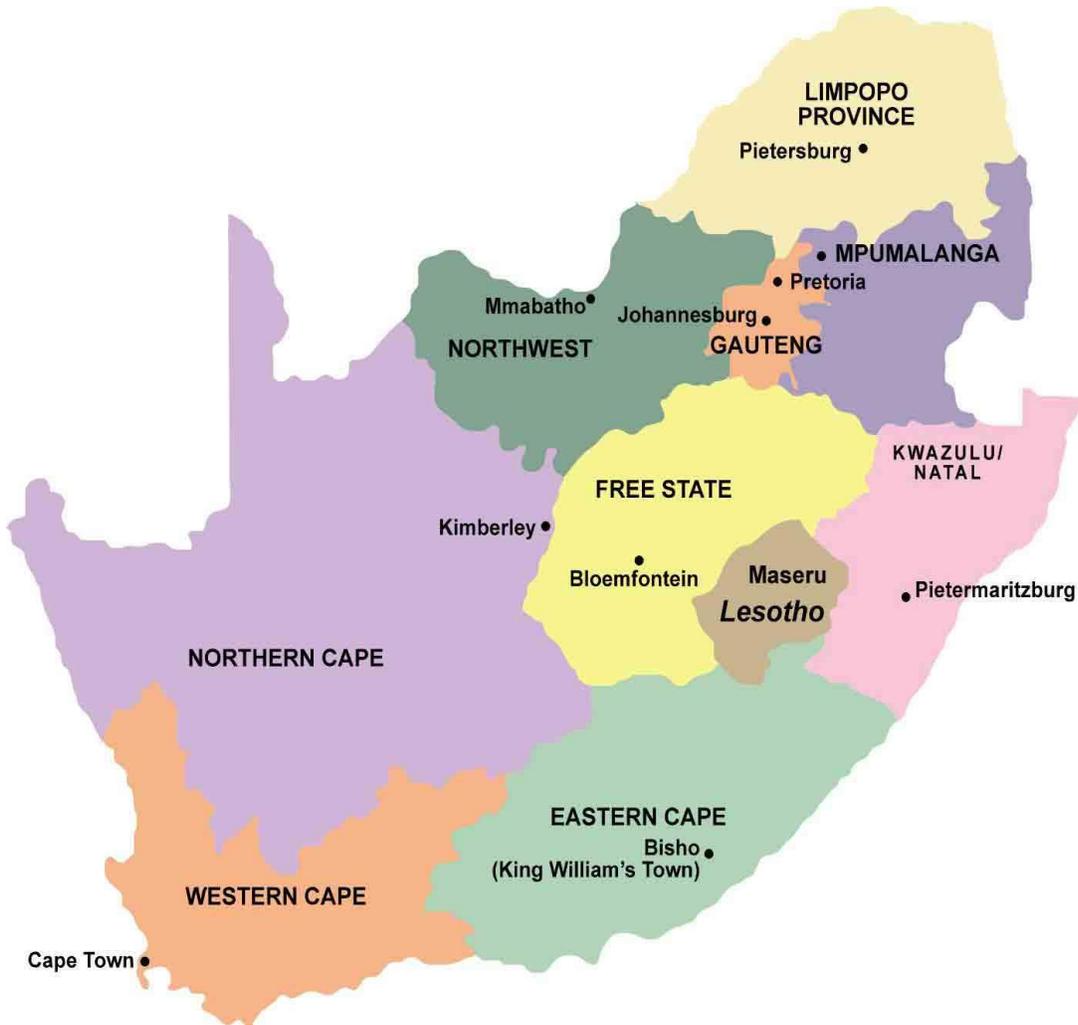
Exploration Questions:

1. Who in particular is responsible to help us address those challenges? (*Identify and categorise stakeholders identified as responsible and their roles*).
2. What do you think are the pros and cons (challenges) of these stakeholders (*why haven't they taken action so far?*)
3. How can the identified stakeholders be made aware of what has been discussed? (*By whom?*)
4. If the above is achieved, how will your life, with your educational aspirations realised, look like?
5. Why are these things important in your life? (*capture valued beings and doings*)

Exit question:

Is there anything else you would like to say about what could be done to enhance or help you realise your educational aspirations?

Appendix 5: Map of South Africa



Source: Google maps