

**THE IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION AND NEGOTIATION OF 1.5 GENERATION
CONGOLESE MIGRANT YOUTH IN CAPE TOWN, SOUTH AFRICA**

BY

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**A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Master of
Arts in the Department of Linguistics, University of the Western Cape,**

South Africa



**UNIVERSITY of the
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DECLARATION

I declare that *The Identity Construction and Negotiation of 1.5 Generation Congolese Migrant Youth in Cape Town, South Africa*, is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

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DEDICATION

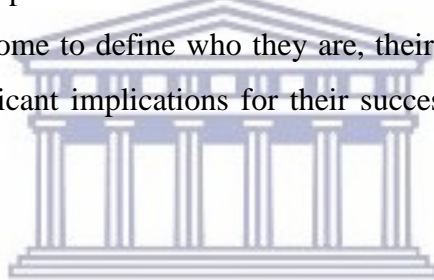
I dedicate this thesis to my late uncle, Mathurin Mayoma: your passing has left such a void in all our hearts. I thank you for the time you spent with us and even though you are not here to see the completion of this thesis, I know you would be happy to know that I did it! Rest in Peace, Papa.



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ABSTRACT

Globalization has evidently led to an increase in the flow of immigrants across the world, a fact that has and continues to play a significant role in the development of studies on immigration, immigration patterns and the psycho-social struggles that immigrants face; of which identity negotiation in the new context is included. A number of works have been done on the identity negotiation and identity-forming process of immigrant youth. This study attempts to highlight, rather specifically, the unique challenges that 1.5 generation immigrant youth have in forming their identities. Rumbaut coined the term “one-and-a-half generation” to describe “children of Cuban exiles who were born in Cuba but have come of age in the United States” (1976:8). Thus the 1.5 generation immigrant youth constitutes children who were born in their country of origin but was raised and received the education and important experiences in the host country. Hence, the issue of identity becomes important for adolescents such as the 1.5 generation growing up in Diasporic settings. How they come to define who they are, their place in the world and others’ perception of them have significant implications for their successful integration into their new societies (Ogbuagu, 2013).



This study takes a socio-cultural approach to investigating the identity negotiation and construction of 1.5 generation Congolese immigrant youth. Sociocultural linguistics refers to an interdisciplinary field which considers language as a sociocultural phenomenon; hence positioning identity as a phenomenon that is socially constructed through language and hence, performed within interaction and conversations.

The data for this study was collected in various parts of Cape Town, particularly within the Northern Suburbs of Goodwood and Parow. These are suburbs in which many Congolese nationals live, study and socialize, including the participants. These participants are youth from the Republic of Congo, who the researcher is well familiar with and that meet the definition of being 1.5 generation immigrants, ranging between 12-18 years old. The methodological approach to be employed within this study is the qualitative research approach which relies on the qualitative

researcher who is “interested in understanding the meaning that people have constructed, that is, how people make sense of their world and the experiences they have in the world” (Merriam, 2008: 13). As a result, the methods used were interviews, observations and focus groups discussions with the participants in order to obtain rich, deep data which thoroughly represent the ways in which these youth use languages to negotiate their identities as they navigate between different cultures.



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KEYWORDS

1-5 Generation

Immigrant youth

Identity

Negotiation

Language

Culture

Linguistic repertoire

Multilingual spaces

Congolese

Cape Town



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CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION

11. Background

Globalization has evidently led to an increase in the flow of immigrants across the world, a fact that has and continues to play a significant role in the development of studies on immigration, immigration patterns and the psycho-social struggles that immigrants face; of which identity negotiation in the new context is included. Identity negotiation and construction in the migrant context is and continues to be an important field of study, particularly regarding immigrant youth. Numerous works have been done on the identity negotiation and identity-forming process of immigrant youth (Suarez-Orozco, 2004; Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2001; Ngo, 2010; Awokoya, 2012). These studies highlight the unique experiences and challenges of immigrant youth who often have different and unique experiences compared to adult migrants, particularly with regard to establishing a stable identity and the ways in which they use language as a means of integrating into a host country.

Scholars such as Kim and Chao (2009), Meintel (2000) and Baffoe (2011) recognize the negotiation of youth migrant identities as a vital area of enquiry due to the likelihood of them developing, as part of their social identity, a sense of membership in an ethnic group, or an ethnic identity. According to Remennick (2003) and Espar (2016), this development stems from an inherent need to belong and assimilate into the new social environment, a factor which may not be as important for adult migrants. Thus, highlighting the substantial difference between migrants who arrive in a host country as adults and young children.

The assimilation and integration of these migrant youth are facilitated by the social capital that they are able to build, which often comes through language; that is, by adopting the language practices of those in the new space (Remennick, 2003). The taking up of new language practices not only add to their multilingual repertoires but also provide them with new ways of expressing and identifying themselves in various context (Espar, 2016). Linguistic, or ‘verbal repertoires’ as defined by Gumperz, is “the totality of linguistic forms regularly employed in the course of socially

significant interaction” (1964: 137, cited in Bristowe, Oostendorp and Anthonissen, 2014: 230). In other words, all the languages, varieties, dialects, and so forth, used by speakers in daily interaction constitutes their linguistic repertoires. Every single resource that is drawn on by a speaker, whether fully ‘competent’ or not, all collectively inform their repertoire.

As Hymes puts it, a repertoire consists of speech styles as well as ‘contexts of discourse’, together with specific rules of appropriateness “between styles and contexts” (Hymes 1996: 33, cited in Bristowe, Oostendorp and Anthonissen, 2014:230). In this way, speakers continuously use linguistic forms as a tool to communicate in different contexts, integrate into social groups and thereby construct and negotiat various identities within multilingual spaces (Rampton, 2006).

Despite a large number of studies on the identity construction and negotiation of migrant youth, many of these studies often categorize all immigrant children under one group, failing to realize the various distinctions within the group. This study places particular focus on 1.5 generation migrant youth. These are migrants who move to the host country as young children or adolescents, having spent part of their formative years in the country of origin (Bartley, 2010 & Rumbuart 1976). The group of migrant youth in the study evidently face unique challenges which will be discussed further in the thesis.

This study, therefore, takes a socio-cultural approach to studying the identity negotiation and construction of 1.5 generation Congolese immigrant youth in Cape Town, South Africa. It further considers their linguistic practices and how these play a role in identity construction, negotiation, and assimilation. In order to do this, it is vital to consider the context from which they come and how they come to find themselves within a multicultural and highly multilingual South Africa.

1.2 Context: Migration from Congo to South Africa

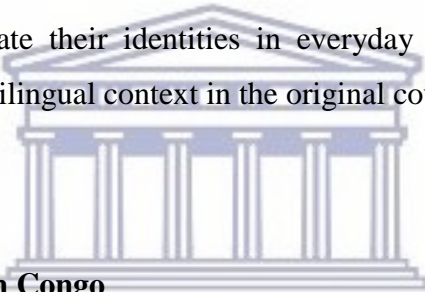
Recently, a large number of Congolese migrants have found themselves within the borders of South Africa; a task that was made easier with the abolishment of apartheid. According to Crush and McDonald (2002), the end of formal apartheid in 1994 allowed for new opportunities for migration into South Africa. It is no wonder then that migration to South Africa has increased almost tenfold since 1990 to over four million visitors per year, particularly from African countries (Crush & McDonald, 2002). And with the adoption of the new democracy and constitution, which boasts equal rights for all, many Africans view South Africa as the perfect escape from their unstable countries, making the country the best place for resettle for a number of African asylum seekers. And this is no less true for migrants from the Republic of Congo.

Unfortunately, the Republic of Congo has been plagued by civil wars and militia conflicts since its independence in 1960. The past three decades of unrest within the country came as a result of President Denise Sassou Nguesso rise to the presidency in 1997 (Encyclopedia, 2016). Sassou Nguesso has been the president of Congo for the past three decades, and as with many long-standing presidents in Africa his reign has been characterized by oppression and tyranny. As a result of the poor leadership experienced in Congo, nearly half of the population live below the poverty line; this despite the fact that Congo is one of the richest Oil producing counties in Africa (Encyclopedia, 2016). Living in such oppressive conditions, rife with civil wars and tensions has led to the migration of many Congolese out of the country, in search for financial security and safety.

Within such a group of migrants, are families seeking refuge and a better life for themselves and their extended families. The number of African immigrants increases every year with Statistic South Africa (2014) indicating over 36 390 new immigrants from Africa, receiving temporary permits within the 2014-2015 period. This figure of course only reflects the documented immigrants and does not include non-documented immigrants; a number that cannot at this point be estimated. Within the same period, approximately 4136 African immigrants received permanent

residency, with 26.9% being children under the age of 15 (Statistic South Africa, 2014). In terms of the immigrants receiving temporary permits (36 390), 12,8% are children under the age of 15. Of particular interest is the fact that the highest proportion of children come from Congo (45,4%) (Statistic South Africa, 2014). This clearly indicates that young immigrant children constitute a significant percentage of the immigrant population in South Africa, particularly those from Congo.

Countless immigrants are found in Cape Town, one of the most multicultural cities in the world, reflecting its role as a major destination for immigrants. Thus, because these children come to South Africa at such young ages, when they have yet to develop a relatively stable identity and in a context that is highly multiracial and multicultural with a number of identities and different languages available, it is vital to consider and understand their unique experiences and challenges. But more so, how they negotiate their identities in everyday interaction and conversations, particularly considering the multilingual context in the original country, Congo.



1.3 Context: Multilingualism in Congo

Although young upon entering the borders of South Africa, migrant youth from Congo are hardly new to the phenomenon of a multilingual environment, with Congo being both highly linguistically and ethnically divided. Congo boasts an astounding 62 individual languages which operate on three different levels namely the official, national and ethnic languages (Leitch, 2005). The official language of the country is French; which holds the highest prestige, followed by two national languages namely Lingala and Monokutuba. Finally, and often at the bottom of the linguistic hierarchy are the ethnic languages which include Aka, Bobangi, Doondo, Fang, Laari, Njembi, and Teke-Ibali among others (Leitch, 2005).

French serves as the official language of the country by governmental decree and consequently connects the south and north regions; thereby facilitating inter-regional communication (Massoumou, 2003; Massoumou, 2001). In this way, the use of French reduces ethnic and regional

tensions which are often rife in the Congolese community. Through French, people from different parts of the country are able to come together and communicate across differences in a common language. French also enables communication with the international community and provides an appropriate medium for the technical development of the country.

The legacy of French colonialism still impacts the Congolese people with the majority of important social and political institutions still conducted in French (Leitch, 2005). For example, French is used in: the military, civil service; government meetings; documents, the professions, education (basic and higher), print media, business, and banking. It further provides an established written medium for record keeping and documents (particularly official documents). As previously noted, there are definite associations of status, prestige, and sophistication attached to French usage in Congo (Massoumou, 2003). This use of French often speaks of an individual's education and ambition. In general, the Congolese are proud of their reputation for a superior level of French usage and their strong historical ties with France, which is ironic considering that exact history. However, due to its importance in the society, French is often introduced to children as soon as they start school and thus Congolese children as young as six years old would have already acquired the language as part of their linguistic repertoire in conjunction with a national and ethnic language.

Lingala is one of two “national” languages of the Republic of Congo and serves as an interethnic lingua franca throughout all of Northern Congo (Leitch, 2005). Despite being a national language, Lingala has almost no institutional component in the Congo. Institutions associated with Lingala are generally informal and popular. Examples include church and popular politics where Lingala is used to address large heterogeneous groups. There is some Lingala television and radio journalism originating in Brazzaville, but no print journalism and very little literature on the Congo side of the river. Despite lacking the institutional prestige that French holds, Lingala follows French closely in terms of its popularity (Leitch, 2005).

This popularity is a result of the fact that Lingala can be learned and spoken by anyone who needs to communicate beyond his ethnic group. There is high lexical, syntactic, and discourse resemblance between Lingala and the various ethnic languages—which makes Lingala easy to learn (Massoumou, 2001). The language which forms the basis of Lingala (Bobangui) is in the same linguistic subfamily as many of the languages in question, hence adding to its popularity. Lingala use has strong connotations of Africanism, nationalism, and loyalty to the state that are important to understand. To speak Lingala is to identify with the nation-building process and political development of the country. People consider it “their” language, even if it is not their mother tongue, and they do not have a high degree of fluency in it. Lingala use is also associated with the thriving popular culture centered in Kinshasa and Brazzaville (Massoumou, 2001). The Lingala music coming out of the twin cities is an entire genre unto itself and is widely influential across both countries. Together, these two associations of Lingala (Africanism/nationalism and popular culture) make it very attractive to young people and others who want to identify themselves as progressive and loyal to the state and Africa.

The Congolese government has thus wisely capitalized on the natural attractiveness and momentum of Lingala to create a symbol of national unity. Lingala’s official status as a national language is evidence of the political will that exists to have African languages used in the nation’s institutions (Leitch, 2005). The “Institut National de Recherche et d’Action Pédagogique” [National Institute of Pedagogical Research and Action] has a “Service des Langues Nationales,” [National Languages Service] which is charged with the promotion of Lingala and Munukutuba (Massoumou, 2001). The government, therefore, recognizes the need to support and promote these (largely oral) national languages, if they are to become literary and institutionalized. The other national language in Congo, Munukutuba, plays a similar lingua-franca role in the Kikongo southern half of Congo.

Kituba might best be described as a “Kikongo-based Pidgin dialect derived from a group of interconnected Bantu languages” (Jacquot, 1971:53). It is highly favoured by the provincial legislation in the South of Congo and is used in public domains such as primary school education, on local

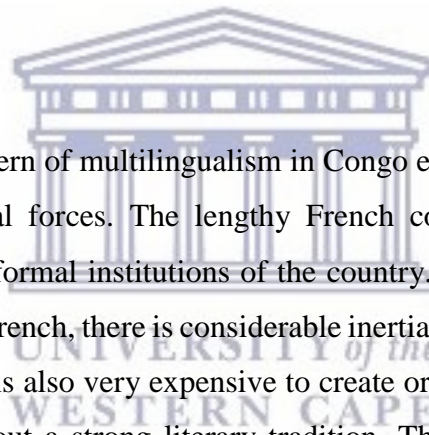
radio stations, as well as local television channels. It is considered as a rather informal language and can often be found being spoken in informal social spaces such as friend groups, places of worship and at the local market places. According to Samarin (2013), there are currently no known dialects of the language. However, a large number of terms and phrases are said to be borrowed from Lingala, French, English, and (Samarin, 2013). The borrowing of terms is a continued trend among speakers of the language, and although initially introduced for administrative purposes by missionaries in the 1800s, the locals quickly made the language their own by simplifying it into a more understandable vernacular (Samarin, 2013).

Following the national languages are the ethnic languages of various regions in the country. Each village language serves as the medium of communication for an ethnic group or subgroup, which may vary in size from several hundred in a few villages to tens of thousands throughout an entire region (Jacquot, 1971). There is no explicit policy on ethnic language usage in the Congo. At the linguistics department of Marien Ngouabi University in Brazzaville, there is a “Centre Pour l’Etude des Langues Congolaises” (CELCO) [Centre for the Study of Congolese Languages] whose charter is to document and study the Congolese languages; but not necessarily to promote them (Massoumou, 2001). The only institutions supporting ethnic language usage are the family and the traditional social structures and lifestyle of the language group. The stability of the traditional social structures and lifestyle, therefore, becomes a key indicator of the group’s likelihood to retain strong patterns of ethnic language usage, which is often threatened by migration.

Ethnic language usage for the current generation of Congolese has strong associations of identity, roots, belonging, intimacy, and ethnicity (Massoumou, 2001; Leitch, 2005). These associations continue despite declining ethnic language use in some contexts. In one ethnic community close to Brazzaville, Lingala usage extends even into the homes of younger married couples, while the ethnic language is increasingly reserved for ethnic cultural functions and visits to older family members. This illustrates that the current situation is changing—at least in the urban context. The

children of these young couples may have a passive knowledge of the ethnic tongue, but their first language will be Lingala.

A village language can have a slightly pejorative connotation in contexts where technical sophistication and education are in focus. For example, high school students in a regional center (who come from a language group we are familiar with) found the idea of reading and writing in their village language undesirable. Their comment was: “that would be good for our older mamas and papas.” (Leitch, 2005). They had a hard time seeing their village language as a vehicle for ideas and learning. That is the real function of French and the idealized function of Lingala in the current multilingual system. In addition, the association of ethnic language usage with tribalism is a possibility.



We can see that the current pattern of multilingualism in Congo exists in a network of functional, sociopolitical, and geographical forces. The lengthy French colonial presence in Congo has assured French a future in the formal institutions of the country. The fact that these institutions already function acceptably in French, there is considerable inertia to overcome in converting them to Lingala and Munukutuba. It is also very expensive to create or modify educational (and other) documents in a language without a strong literary tradition. There is not much available, and everything has to be done from scratch. Even a limited goal, such as implementing the national languages for the first few years of elementary education, can be very difficult. Thus, French usage continues to increase as education levels increase, since this is the primary mode of diffusion. However, children are still able to acquire at least three languages, leading to a rich multilingual repertoire at a young age.

Thus, when a child grows up in Congo, he not only learns one, two, or three languages, but also the functions, contexts, and meanings associated with each language learned. For the majority of children in the current generation, the number of languages to be learned is three: the village or ethnic language, Lingala, and French. No individual or social group has equal competence in all

three languages; rather, according to the characteristics of the individual or group, there is a distribution of usage and competencies in each language.

This ranges from near-unilingual ethnic-language speakers to individuals who can and do function at a high level in all three languages. To the extent that many functions and meanings are established at the national or regional level, multilingualism constitutes a system in which individuals and groups participate.

1.4 Context: Multilingualism in South Africa

As Congolese migrant youth enter South Africa, they find themselves within a highly multilingual and multicultural space once again. South Africa, with eleven official languages, is often commended for its promotion of multilingualism in the nation's Constitution. This section of the Constitution was drawn up by the post-Apartheid government in an attempt to promote and increase the use of previously marginalized languages in different domains of society (Makoe & Mckinney, 2014). During the years of apartheid (1948–1994), English and Afrikaans were the only two languages with an officially recognised nation-wide status, despite the wide variety of other languages that were (and are) spoken in the country. It was this assumption that led to the myth that South Africa was a bilingual country; a myth that persisted during the apartheid era.

The bilingual language policy adopted during this era was a direct reflection of the false belief of a two-language state. This language policy was strictly imposed, leading to the marginalization of over ninety percent of the indigenous languages within the country (Makoe & Mckinney, 2014). Having identified this and the many problems to address after the abolishment of the apartheid laws, the post-apartheid government set out to draft and adopted the new Constitution (1996). The Constitution, at least in writing, is said to be “probably more generous to multilingualism than any other Constitution in the world” (Broeder, Extra & Maartens, 2002: 4). In the Constitution, eleven official languages were formally adopted in the constitution. The official languages of the Republic

are Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, isiXhosa and isiZulu (Mesthrie, 2007). This places South Africa in a unique position in which it has more national official languages than any other country (Broeder, Extra & Maartens, 2002). The Constitution obliges the government to effect to this official status and use and the Pan South African Language Board (PANSALB) was set up in 1996 to promote respect for all languages as well as to promote multilingualism and the development of languages in general (Makoe & Mckinney, 2014).

Despite all the languages sharing equal status as official languages in policy, that is not always the case in practice (Mesthrie, 2007). For example, English has come to dominate the commercial domain in South Africa, as in much of the world, leaving small scope for equal deployment of the other ten languages in this one corner of the vastly complex global market. Education and other public domains (like the state media) are, however, different. Here choices are made from above, that is, at the political or local level, the School Governing Board, but constrained by available resources (Mesthrie, 2007). In the Western Cape particularly one finds that only three of the eleven official languages dominate; namely English, Afrikaans, and isiXhosa. Official documents, television and radio, education, health, and other government services are often communicated in these three languages, which often leaves speakers of the other eight languages marginalized.

Apart from the official languages, South Africa also hosts a number of additional languages resulting from the increase in migration. These languages include those of migrants from Africa, European and Eastern countries such as Kiswahili (Kenya, Tanzania, DRC), Yoruba (Nigeria), Lingala (Congo, DRC, Angola), Shona (Zimbabwe), French (France, Cameroon, Gabon, Congo, etc.), Portuguese (Portugal, Angola), Spanish (Spain), Mandarin (China), Arabic (Somalia, Sudan, Syria) and Urdu (India) among many others. Therefore, the Congolese migrant youth is bound to come across not only the South African languages but also a variety of other languages depending on the environment. These youths are almost always required to learn English as it is the medium of instruction in many schools in the Northern Suburbs of Cape Town, where they reside. In addition to English, many youths find themselves within friendship groups with both South

Africans and other migrants. Due to the fact that language plays a role in group belonging, the migrant youth would most like adopt one of the many languages, registers or dialects in the new space in order to assimilate into the group, if so desired.

1.5 The 1.5 generation youth and identity

Rumbaut (1976:8) coined the term “one-and-a-half generation” to describe “children of Cuban exiles who were born in Cuba but have come of age in the United States”. They are youth not part of the 'first generation' of their parents who take the decision to leave their home countries for whatever the reasons may be, neither are they part of the 'second generation' who are born and raised in the host country. The definition of the 1.5 generation tends to vary, with different theorists outlining who exactly constitutes the 1.5 generation.

Zhou (2004) provides a very basic definition by simply stating that the 1.5 generation refers to children who arrive into a new country before adolescence. There is no clear age given and thus by this definition one assumes that any child, as young as one-year-old could be a 1.5 generation. This is problematic, however, as a one-year-old has not had sufficient exposure to the home culture to identify any difference between the host and home culture. Chiang-Hom (2004) is more specific in his definition by defining the 1.5 generation group and young children who arrive in a foreign country during their primary school years.

Despite the minor variances in definitions, the core aspect of the 1.5 generation is the fact that it constitutes children who were born in their country of origin but was raised and received the education and important experiences in the host country. As a result of this, these young speakers live between two cultures, in that they are immersed in their native culture at home, where they often speak their home languages and behave in a manner that is socially acceptable in their home culture, yet they participate in their adoptive culture at school, and speak English at school and with their peer groups (Goldschmidt and Miller, 2005).

This can be illustrated by considering the population of this study, which comprises of adolescents between the ages of twelve and eighteen years old born in the Republic of Congo and migrated to Cape Town, South Africa with their parent(s). These young speakers have had a considerable amount of time in Congo (at least ten years), in which time they have been socialized into the Congolese culture and acquired the Congolese languages of KiLari, Swahili, Lingala, Munukutuba and/or French. In their time in Congo they were introduced to the general customs and traditional ceremonies such as the wine carrying ceremonies prior to weddings; they were made familiar with the expected responsibilities of children in the household and adopted the values and beliefs of Congolese culture.

Upon arriving in South Africa and attending school here, they were introduced to languages such as English, Afrikaans, and isiXhosa with their accompanying varieties such as Kaaps and Rural and Urban isiXhosa. The multiracial profile of Cape Town forces them to choose a social circle and in so doing, they are challenged to integrate as much as possible. This is often done through the learning of languages associated with their social group, while they are still expected to engage in and speak their home languages when at home or in the presence of Congolese elders. There is then a clear distinction between the home and host culture and its linguistic requirements and these adolescents are then tasked with navigating between these two worlds as they negotiate their identities. It is also vital to see that language and the ways in which these young multilingual speakers use it in their interactions with peers and family plays a role in indexing particular identities, a viewpoint explored by Bucholtz and Hall (2004 & 2005) (and which we will pick up later).

Hence, the issue of identity becomes important for adolescents such as the 1.5 generation growing up in Diasporic settings. How they come to define who they are, their place in the world, and others' perception of them, have significant implications for their successful integration into their new societies (Ogbuagu, 2013). According to Norton (1997: 410) identity refers to "how people understand their relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed and how people understand their possibilities for the future". Furthermore, while the 1.5 generation, in and of itself,

represents a diverse group of individuals with varied experiences, it can be argued that they generally face similar issues in regard to identity negotiation and construction.

In addressing these, it is important to consider that identity formation and construction does not occur in isolation, but through the instrument and sometimes deliberate or non-deliberate engineering of socialization agents: parents, family systems, peers, school and education institutions and the media (Ogbuagu, 2013; Vandeyar & Vandeyar, 2012; Awokoya, 2012). Thus, in order to truly understand the experiences and the ways in which 1.5 generation Congolese youth negotiate and construct certain identities, it is vital to address the role that the interaction with family, peers, and media play in this process. Oftentimes the 1.5 generation youth is confronted with conflicting values and influences from these settings, hence making the investigation of such a process interesting and eye-opening for study.

My focus was on the multilingual resources of these learners and how they make use of these in the daily life of their new space, the school, as well as at home. I also explored the ways in which immigrant children integrate new linguistic resources into their repertoires and the way in which the multilingualism of these children contributes to identity formation, integration, and academic success.

1.6 Rationale

The study of the 1.5 generation Congolese immigrant youth in Cape Town becomes important as these adolescents find themselves in a unique situation whereby, they are faced with the challenge of integrating into a new multilingual society and forming a sense of identity. At the same time, they are challenged to maintain their national identity which is also highly multilingual in nature. This pressure is increased as many Congolese parents insist their children not lose touch of the Congolese culture and languages as this plays a role in indexing their identity as Congolese nationals. The 1.5 generation youth thus find themselves at a crossroad, between two cultures; the

home culture which they grew up in and that their parents insist they maintain (often very conservative African culture); as well as the new culture that they encounter in South Africa, which is generally more liberal. It is important to note that these young multilingual speakers cannot escape integration into the new culture as they are bombarded with it at school, in their new social circles, and in the media. Thus, these factors; the home, friends and the media, play an important role in the development of the youth's identity. This study thus provides valuable insight into the ways in which these speakers navigate between various spaces and identities and contest certain identities imposed on them.

Although a number of studies has been done on these youth, the majority of studies done on the identity of immigrant youth, particularly 1.5 generation youth vary in terms of the immigrant youth groups studied, with it ranging from Asian, Latino and African youth. These studies are also generally based within European or American contexts, with very little insight into the experiences of African immigrant youth in Africa, particularly within South Africa. It is thus important to consider the experiences of this population as immigrant youth make up a large number of the total youth population in South Africa. Thus, this study will contribute to the theory of identity of immigrant youth in South Africa.



Furthermore, Kim (1999) argues that in many studies, the 1.5 generation is often grouped and categorized as second-generation immigrants, leading to the assumption that the experiences of these groups are same. This is problematic because the 1.5 generation is not simply about children of immigrants born in the country of origin who emigrate between a certain age, but about their unique multilingual and multicultural makeup and the fact that they are able to operate between two or more cultures (Pavlenko, 2011). This makes them a unique group and thus categorizing them with second-generation immigrant youth often results in the overshadowing of their unique characteristics and experiences. This study will then contribute to the theory by promoting the identification of the 1.5 generation as a distinct group with distinct experiences.

It cannot be overstated that the 1.5 generation play a great role in their host country as they grow up and join the workforce of their host country, thus they contribute significantly to the South African economy. It is then vital for welfare practitioners as well as those working in NGO's to understand the social needs of these youth in order to help them to successfully integrate and reach their full potential. I believe that this study will provide such an understanding.

1.7 Objectives

The main aim of the study was to investigate the identity construction and negotiation of 1.5 generation Congolese migrant youth in Cape Town, South Africa and the ways in which they use language to navigate between various identities. This was achieved by considering the following specific objectives which are:

- To investigate the ways in which 1.5 generation immigrant youth navigate between the various identities available to them in various spaces within the City of Cape Town.
- To identify their unique linguistic repertoires (languages, varieties, styles, registers) and how they use these to perform their identities.
- To determine the role that family values and peer contact have on their identity construction and negotiation.

1.8 Research questions

These specific objectives served as guidelines in answering the main research question: 'How do 1.5 generation Congolese migrant youth construct and negotiate identity?' The following sub-questions were used to answer the main research question:

1. What are the various identities that migrant youth are faced with and how do they navigate between these identities?

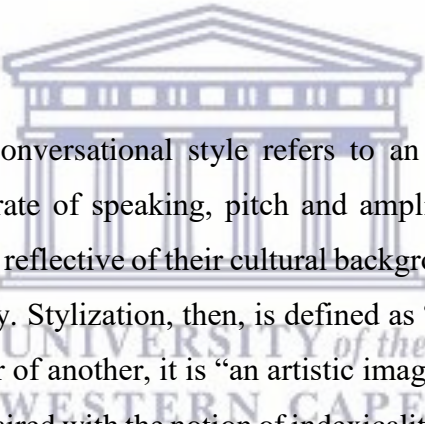
2. What are their unique linguistic repertoires- the languages, varieties, styles, and registers that they engage in?
3. How do they use their linguistic repertoires to perform various identities?
4. What roles do the family and peers play in the way in which these young multilingual speakers negotiate certain identities?

1.9 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework guiding this study is Interactional Sociolinguistics (IS). IS, developed through the work of John Gumperz, is an analytical and methodological approach that looks into the diversity of social interaction and how people signal and interpret meaning in these interactions (Gorden, 2003). Interactional Sociolinguistics, as a method of investigating how people communicate meaning in talk, generally holds that talk is incomplete on its own, meaning that people are not able to convey all that they mean explicitly with words. Interactional sociolinguists in principle tries to describe how meaningful contexts are implied via talk, how and if these are picked up by relevant others, and how the production and reception of talk influences subsequent interaction (Jaspers, 2011). According to Schiffrin (1994), interactional sociolinguistics offers theories and methods that enable researchers to explore not only how language works but also to gain insights into the social processes through which individuals build and maintain relationships, exercise power, project and negotiate identities, and create communities. For example, the data in the study was analyzed using the triangulation of the concepts of contextual cues and inferences (as tenets of IS), conversational style and stylization, and indexicality while employing a discourse analysis lens.

Contextual cues refer to the prosodic or paralinguistic strategies used by speakers to add context to their speech; with prosodic including strategies such as a change in intonation, register, pitch or stress; and paralinguistics including tempo, hesitation and pausing. These strategies aim to either add, repeat or supplement utterances in conversation. On-verbal cues such as gestures, posture,

and gaze may also serve to add context to speech, thereby adding another layer of meaning to speech (Jasper, 2011). On the other hand, the listener would make apply conversational inference to understand and interpret the message communicated, by considering the words spoken (or not spoken), and its accompanying contextual cues. The conversational inference is, therefore, the process by which the listener assesses the words spoken, the accompanying contextual cues and the context in which the conversation takes place to determine what the speaker means and how to best respond (Jaspers, 2011). This process is evident in daily conversation, as speakers and listeners continuously draw on these strategies for meaning making and effective communication. In the data analysis, these concepts were used to highlight the shared knowledge among participants and how certain conversations were only understood as a result of the ability of the speakers in communicating contextual cues, and the listeners making inferences based on shared and prior knowledge.



According to Gorden (2003), conversational style refers to an individual's way of speaking, “including decisions about the rate of speaking, pitch and amplitude, and the “countless other choices”. An individual’s style is reflective of their cultural background, gender, sexual orientation as well as their race and ethnicity. Stylization, then, is defined as “the borrowing by one voice of the recognizable style and timber of another, it is “an artistic image of another’s language” (Vice, 1997:62). This notion has been paired with the notion of indexicality to highlight the ways in which the participants, in their daily interactions, manipulate the speaking style to inform particular social identities. The notion of indexicality implies that language or a mere linguistic form or action can become an index or a marker to an individual’s social identity as well as to traditional activities of that individual (Johnstone, 2008). In this regard, Dyer (2007) states that indexicality implies an association of a language or a linguistic form with socially meaningful characteristics.

Discourse analysis was also used as an approach to analyze the data collected in the study. Although often defined as the study of “language in use”, discourse analysis does more than this. It considers language use relative to “social, political and cultural formations..., language reflecting social order but also language shaping social order and shaping individuals’ interaction with

society” (Jaworski & Coupland, 1999: 3). In this way, it focuses on both what happens within text and interactions (language use), as well as the wider social and cultural implications associated with the topic and/or participants. Discourse truly comes to life through interaction. It is through these interactions that researchers are able to analyse how “entrances are made, intentions are formed, topics are introduced, turns are taken, actions are performed, reactions are prompted and in turn reacted to; understandings are checked, contributions are acknowledged, breakdowns occur, repairs are contrived, and exits are negotiated” (Trappes-Lomax: 133). This aspect of discourse was useful in the data analysis, particularly in understanding how participants use their linguistic repertoires to advance certain versions of reality and certain relationships, and also how their beliefs, values, and social institutions are constructed through and supported by discourse.

1.10 Methodology

Qualitative research, as the methodological approach of this study, is an umbrella term for a wide variety of approaches to and methods for the study of natural social life. The information or data collected and analysed is primarily (but not exclusively) non-quantitative in character, consisting of textual materials such as interview transcripts, field notes, and documents, and or visual materials such as photographs, video recordings, and internet sites that document human experiences about others and/or one’s self in social action and reflexive states (Saldana, 2011).

For the purpose of this study, the researcher followed the qualitative research methods of observations, focus group interviews and semi-structured individual interviews. These methods were seen as appropriate for the study as it was able to provide meaningful data on the first-hand experiences of the Congolese migrant youth. These methods and the data obtained through them facilitated the understanding of the world of participants from their frame of reference. Qualitative data also give large volumes of quality data from a limited number of people, which was ideal as the sample size consisted of 12 participants (Walker, 1985). The methodology employed in the study will be discussed extensively in chapter four.

1.11 Ethical Considerations

In conducting any kind of social research, it is important that the researcher consider a number of ethical obligations. These obligations ensure that the participants are protected and not exploited or put in any danger as a result of their participation in the research study. An important consideration is that of informed consent. Informed consent means the knowing consent of individuals to participate as an exercise of their choice, free from any element of fraud, deceit, duress, or similar unfair enticement or manipulation (Berg, 2000). Therefore, participants should not be coerced into taking part in the study and have the right to decide whether to participate without incurring any penalty (Polit et al 2001:78). In most circumstances, researchers must provide potential participants with information about the purpose, methods, demands, risks, inconveniences, discomforts, and possible outcomes of the research, including whether and how the research results might be circulated (Given, 2008). This information then informed the decision of the potential participant in deciding whether they would participate in the research or not.

This means that the information provided by participants will not be shared without their will (Burns & Grove, 2003). Anonymity also implies that a research participant's identity and responses cannot be identified or linked to them in any ways. It is the researcher's responsibility to ensure that participants' privacy is protected through strategies that promote anonymity and confidentiality. (Given, 2008). This is a requirement from all ethical and professional codes of conduct in research space. The participants and their guardian/s were assured of confidentiality verbally and in the written consent form during all stages of data collection. The researcher further informed them that their identities and information given were kept in strict confidentiality; and as for evidence, it was explained that personal information would be treated with confidentiality and that participants would remain anonymous as pseudonyms would be used in the final research report. The process of how the ethical considerations were applied, and the steps that were taken to protect participants, will be discussed in detail in chapter four.

1.12 Chapter Outline

In terms of the organization of the thesis, the first chapter gives an overview of the study. It includes the background information that sets the context for the study by providing a brief historical account of immigration from Congo to South Africa and the multilingual aspects of both countries. It also introduces the concept of the 1.5 generation and their unique experiences. The chapter also provides the aim, specific objectives and the rationale of the study. The chapter closes with a general outline of the thesis.

The second chapter provides a review of the relevant literature on the concept of the 1.5 generation youth and the ways in which they negotiate their identities within various multilingual spaces. In particular, the chapter looks at studies on the complex relationship between identity and language and consider the socially constructive nature of identity and the various factors that play a role in the negotiation of identity for immigrant youth.

In the third chapter, the theoretical framework to be employed within the study is discussed, with a particular focus on the notion of Interactional sociolinguistics, and its tenets. The chapter covers important theoretical concepts such as indexicality and stylization, and how these are used in youth conversations.

The fourth chapter presents the research design and methodology used in the study. It discusses Interactional Sociolinguistics as the theoretical and analytical framework to be used in the study. It further outlines the research approach that the study has adopted, and the data collection process employed within the study, as well as the motivation for the methods, selected.

In the fifth chapter, the findings from the interviews, focus groups and observations are presented and examined. This highlights the differences and/or similarities across participant experiences as

1.5 generation youth. This analysis provides deeper insight into the experiences of the 1.5 generation Congolese youth, their unique linguistic repertoires, how they use these to perform and negotiate certain identities and how they navigate their identities within various social spaces.

Chapter six, the concluding chapter, then review the aims, objectives and research questions, summarize the findings, discuss the implications, limitations of the study and recommend future directions for research within this particular research area. In short, the chapter presents a summary and conclusion of the study.



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CHAPTER TWO - LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter involves a review of the literature on the 1.5 generation immigrant youth and their identity construction and negotiation in multilingual and multicultural spaces. It begins with a brief overview of the development of the concept of the 1.5 generation; investigating its theorization and the distinctiveness from the first- and second-generation migrant, as well as the unique challenges of the group. This will be followed by the unpacking of the concept of identity and how this relates particularly to the 1.5 generation and then the importance of language in the identity-making process. In addition to this, the chapter discusses various linguistic methods employed by multilingual speakers in negotiating in-group identities, with a particular focus on language indexicality and stylization (notions that will be more clearly defined in Chapter 3).

To this will be added the critical role that language plays in the identity negotiating process, particularly because many 1.5 generation youths are faced with two sets of words within their contexts; the home languages within the home and the host language/s within the peer group. It also covers the common theme of belonging in migrant studies and how this sense of belonging is desired and contested through othering. A brief discussion is also to be included of the influence that these contexts have in shaping the identity of the 1.5 generation adolescent. In this way, the review contextualizes the status of the 1.5 generation by discussing the factors that play a role in their identity process.

2.2 Migration and Transnationalism

This section deals broadly with the literature on transnationalism as a starting point for the examination of the participant's discursive negotiation of identity and belonging. This is an important place to begin as increased migration, transnationalism and globalization have changed understandings of social affiliation, the meaning of place, and how belonging is defined (Bhabha, 1996).

In the context of migration and transnationalism, the question of belonging is highlighted, as people navigate the host and home cultures. These complexities are central to the participants' understandings of belonging and identity as migrants. There will always be a constant negotiation of self here and there. Globalization, from a cultural perspective, has come to be understood in terms of flows, among other things, of people, information and commodities (Appadurai, 1996). This mobility affects the ways participants negotiate themselves and their social contexts.

In conceptualizing global cultural flows, Appadurai expands Anderson's (1991) notion of the imagined community. While Anderson focused on the ways print capitalism enabled people to imagine themselves as part of a shared national community, Appadurai broadens this to the global landscape where: the imagination has become an organized field of social practices, a form of work (in the sense of both labour and culturally organized practice), and a form of negotiation between sites of agency (individuals) and globally defined fields of possibility (Appadurai, 1996: 31). Appadurai's claim is that there is a relationship between global flows and how we are able to see and negotiate possible positions for ourselves in the world.

Embodied in the notion of transnationalism are the ways that the global and local are in dialogue, a dialogue which emerges in the utterances and discursive negotiations of participants. Transnationalism can be seen not only as physical movements across borders, but also the discursive construction of self as mobile, whether or not further migration actually takes place (Hornberger, 2007). Transnationalism, over globalization, provides a more appropriate encapsulation of contemporary migration (Ong, 1999), one that is able to hold both a sense of border crossing, whilst acknowledging that the borders remain, albeit some of them more porously. That being said, while transnationalism opens new ways of imagining belonging and self, national categories remain something that must be negotiated. Ong (1999) stresses the importance of hybridity in negotiations of national identity.

Although hybrid identities become more relevant in the face of transnationalism, it is relevant not to "fail to recognize the continued importance of the 'national' (in state terms) as a space that has to be negotiated and entry to which is still strongly influenced by state institutions" (Hornberger, 2007: 5). In examining the ways migrant youth have to rewrite themselves in new spaces, it is clear

that discourses of belonging, among others, are an important site of identity negotiation.

2.3 The 1.5 Generation Defined

The phenomenon of the 1.5 generation is a direct result of immigration and its effects on the lived experiences of migrant youth. According to Neale (2006), academics and social service agencies initially preferred the term "satellite kids" and only adopted 1.5 generation relatively recently. The term "satellite kids" originated in Canada in the 1980s to describe children who immigrated with their families but whose father [and sometimes both parents] returned to their country of origin for economic reasons (Neale, 2006). She contends that immigration is, in fact, a process rather than a category and so the term 1.5 generation is a far more accurate descriptor of the group.

The 1.5 Generation (or 1.5G) has increasingly been acknowledged as a unique class of migrants and is the term used to describe child migrants situated between the first and second generations (Rumbaut, 1976). The term "1.5 generation" was coined by Rumbaut (1976) in his study of children of Cuban exiles. These children were born in Cuba but came of age in the United States, lived within two cultures and were required to develop strategies to cope within the two cultures. Thus, according to Rumbaut, the 1.5 generations are neither part of the 'first' generation of their parents, nor part of the 'second' generation, who were born in the country in which their parents are immigrants. Since its conception, the definition of the 1.5 generation has developed significantly, with theorists' interpreting it differently, particularly regarding the age of those who constitute the 1.5 generation.

Chiang-Hom (2004) provides a vague definition of the 1.5 generation as those who arrived at the country during their primary school years, which can differ significantly depending on what constitutes primary school years in the host country. Gans, however, takes this definition of the 1.5 generation one step further, leading to a more specific definition. He does this by further dividing this group of migrant youth into three categories, namely "generation 1.25, generation 1.5 and generation 1, 75" (Gans, 2000). Although Gans does not specify the age groups under which the above groups would fall under, he does state that the 1.5 generation refers to those individuals

who receive formal education within the host country. This does not provide a substantial understanding of the term, as formal education ranges from primary to tertiary education.

Bartley (2010), however, narrows the definition of the term down by suggesting that the term '1.5 generation' refer to children, aged between six and eighteen years, who migrate as part of a family unit, but who have experienced at least some of their formative socialization in the country of origin. Bell (2010) contends with the general idea in his study of Asian migrant youth in New Zealand although he was decreasing the age of the 1.5 generation. He defines the 1.5 Generation as children who were brought to New Zealand by their parents between six and fifteen years of age and so had received some formative education in their country of origin. Similarly, Wang and Collins (2016) agree that 1.5 generation migrants refer to adolescents immigrating with their parents before or during their early teens, generally six to fifteen years old.

Zhou (1997), in comparison, moves slightly away from this by asserting that genuine 1.5 generations must arrive in the host country between the age of six and thirteen years. Adolescents who arrive between the ages of thirteen and seventeen years of age are usually treated as first generation immigrants because they struggle to adapt and learn the host country's languages as quickly as younger migrants. These definitions prove Bartley and Spoonley's (2008) point that agreement on a universal definition of who fits into the 1.5 generation has yet to be reached.

For Park (1999), the 1.5-generation is not simply about children of immigrants born in the country of origin who emigrate between the ages of eight and twelve. He proposes that the uniqueness of this group can be largely attributed to their bilingualism, bi-culturalism and the ability to function in two or more distinct cultural spaces. This ability, of course, is not without its conflicts and difficulties, but generally the 1.5 generation youth is able to adapt when necessary. Therefore, at the heart of this uniqueness lies the migrant group's understanding of the distinct "culturally-coded systems where logic and assumptions are different" (Park 1999:133), and the fact that they are able to make judgements accordingly.

Although the definitions differ around the precise parameters defining those who are 1.5; the core remnant remains that the 1.5 generation immigrant is an individual who has immigrated to another

country at a young age with the parents/guardians after being significantly exposed to the countries of origin with its languages and cultural practices. According to Zhou (1997), the sociological significance of the group of migrants mentioned lies in the most prominent difference between 1.5 generation migrants and their parents. This difference relates to the fact that migrant adolescents are immersed in the culture of the host society via the education system in ways their parents are not (Bartley, 2010).

It is their immersion into the school system and amongst their new peers that ensures that their integration into the host country is so markedly different from that of their parents. They are compelled to learn the languages of the host country, both formal and colloquial, they understand the cultural signs and symbols of the local culture, adapt to a new education system and survive the playground and sports field on a daily basis (Bell, 2010). They are often enrolled in a new school immediately upon arrival and stay until they have completed their formative school education. This is critical to understanding the 1.5 generation, even those from English speaking countries. Their immediate entry is what facilitates integration into the host country for these youth and which leads to hybrid identities.

Hybridity is a salient feature of identity and cultural orientation amongst these migrant youth (Ang 2001; Ngan and Chan 2012). The term hybridity, introduced by Bhabha (1994), examines how being 'in-between' can provide a space for elaborating new strategies of selfhood, collaboration, and contestation. Some scholars refer to this in-between, or hybrid space as a 'third space' (Moje et al., 2004:3). This term therefore effectively captures the dual living realities (two cultures, languages, and identities) of 1.5 generation migrants. On the one hand, 1.5 generation migrants often become familiar with or integrated into the sociocultural norms of the society they grow up in. They are also expected by their parents and communities, and often by wider society to have an affiliation with an ability to negotiate their parents' cultures (Min and Kim 2000; Ngan and Chan 2012). On the other hand, they occupy, then, a classically liminal position characterized by feelings of "in-betweenness" that infiltrate their sense of identity and everyday life.

In research on 1.5 generation migrants, terms like hybridity, in-betweenness, and liminality have come to be understood as one of the key characteristics of this population group. While scholars

vary in their reading of these attributes – from positive celebration (Chan 2010) to more ambivalent positions (Ang, 2001) – it is largely agreed that these experiences play a critical role in the ability to move between different cultures and build intercultural relations.

The intercultural competency of 1.5 generation migrants has resulted in their tendency to be more mobile, differing from both their parents and earlier migrants who were more socially and culturally rooted within their homeland (Chiang 2011). Due to the fact that the 1.5 generation in the family achieves fluency in English far quicker than their parents, they often have to undertake high-level tasks such as bank transactions and translating legal documents on behalf of their parents. These are tasks that their new peers within the host country would never encounter until much later in life. Such experiences can build resiliency and further develop cultural fluidity as they move from one to the other seamlessly giving them a distinct advantage over their peers (Bell, 2010).

Bell (2010) argues that despite this fluidity they tend to realize that complete assimilation is impossible and will be comfortable with an increasingly original identity. It is likely that they will begin to adopt cultural influences from their country of origin during adolescence such as fashion and accessory trends. It is even possible that they will introduce trends to their new peers. Thus, they form a third cultural grouping accommodating a complex mix of influences and world-views which is a similar process that gives rise to youth gangs which provide identity and strength. It is likely that their cultural origins will provide a strong cultural bond along with music, sport, and academic pursuits. However, they are still able to develop group membership.

For these youth, having group membership in both the home and host cultures becomes an important part of how they view themselves as they are embedded in two different and often conflicting cultures. This unique challenge not only impacts the youth's identity and the way they perceive themselves but also how they interact with their social world (Awokoya, 2012). This challenge is further emphasized by Rumbaut and Ima (1988), when they state that the experiences of the 1.5 generation are such that they are neither fully part of their new or old world; new world being their new country of residence, and the old world being their country of origin. Hence, because they are not fully part of any of these worlds, as a result of the various disconnections,

they fall somewhere 'in the middle' and are required to find a space of belonging within the new culture, without losing their home culture. It then becomes interesting to examine how they navigate between these two worlds, taking into consideration the challenges that they already face as adolescents, one of the biggest being constructing a relatively stable sense of self.

The issue of identity is therefore even more complex for the 1.5 generation as Kasinitz (2009:163) points out, coming of age for the 1.5 generation is complicated by the need to “master new languages, new geographies, new ways of seeing and behaving”. The immersion of these adolescents within two cultures results in multiple identities being offered to them, which they then have to employ and deploy according to the context they find themselves in. It is thus clear to see the complex nature of their identity as they struggle to create new lives and form new identities, they are caught between two cultures, multiple languages, and, most importantly, multiple identities (Oudenhoven, 2006:13). We now consider the various factors that further play a role in the establishment of migrant youth identities.

As previously mentioned, the 1.5 generation youth is embedded in two different social settings with various values and cultural expectations. A common occurrence in the migrant household, is that the parents would continue to practice the cultural and linguistic practices of the country of origin. This is done both unconsciously and consciously. When done consciously, it is as an attempt to promote the practices of the country of origin so that the migrant youth do not lose touch of it. Phinney, Romero, Nava, and Huang (2001) assert that the parents of migrant youth often want the children to uphold the values, traditions, languages and cultural values of their origin. This shows that the home/family environment plays a key role in which identity is formed and reinforced (Awokoya, 2012). Often, the parents of the 1.5 generation youth teach their children the cultural values, practices, and languages of their native country. There is, therefore, pressure on the 1.5 generation to maintain these values and languages, despite being heavily embedded in the mainstream culture which has different sets of values, practices, and languages (Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2001). This often results in concerns from parents about losing cultural influences and parental control over the children. However, according to McCoy (1992), despite receiving most of their education, and being heavily embedded in the host country with its various cultural practices and influences, the likelihood that the migrant youth would maintain the cultural

values and practices remains high. This speaks to the strong influence of the family, and the fact that the socialization into these practices continue through their parents, who have strong ties to the culture of origin. It is important to note, however, that if the parents of these migrant youth persist (forcefully) that the children hold onto the culture of origin, tension may arise in the family. This is primarily because the children are often on a quest to assimilate into the new cultures in the host country, and the pressure from their parents to uphold the 'old' culture may lead to frustration (Rosenthal, 1987).

As can be gathered from the discussion thus far, the 1.5 generation migrant youth is quickly exposed to the differences between the culture of origin and that of the new culture. These differences provide them with new choices regarding who and how they want to portray themselves as, which friends to have, which linguistic forms to use, and how they present themselves (Phinney et al., 2001). These choices are particularly salient in peer groups in schools, which serve as sociocultural entry points for many immigrant youth (Awokoya, 2012). These groups are central to shaping how the 1.5 generation negotiate and reinvent their identities and interact with others. Considering a number of time children spend at school and outside of school with friends, it is vital to consider the role that the peer group has on the 1.5 generation youth.

According to Awokoya (2012), immigrant children have three interrelated challenges within a youth group: firstly, as representatives of an underrepresented immigrant group which is often marginalized and discriminated against; secondly, in trying to avoid discrimination, they often have to adopt particular beliefs, behaviors and languages/varieties to display solidarity with their peer group and this also touches on their desire to belong to their peer group (Ogbuagu, 2013). These beliefs and behavior may conflict with the expectations of their parents, and lead to conflict within the home; and thirdly, the westernization process that African immigrant youth go through places them in a conflicting situation as they seek to relate more to the western world. Thus, their ethnic identity is threatened (Awokoya, 2012). However, as Ogbuagu (2013) states, these factors do not necessarily lead to the loss of a particular identity aspect but rather the development of transnational identities which young migrants can use to their advantage in a highly globalized world. In the next section, the concept of identity will be discussed in further detail.

2.4 The concept of Identity

When discussing the idea of identity, it is important to note that the idea of a stable, secure and complete identity does not exist. Instead, as Hall points out, “as the systems of meaning and cultural representation multiply, we are confronted by a bewildering, fleeting multiplicity of possible identities, any one with which we could identify ourselves – at least temporarily” (Hall, 2006:251). By this, we see that the current understanding of the term "identity" is relatively socially constructed and hence quite complicated.

According to Pavlenko & Blackledge (2004: 19), identity is the "social, discursive, and narrative options offered by particular society in a specific time and place to which individual and groups appeal in an attempt to self-name, to self-characterize, and claim social spaces and social prerogatives." Similarly, Kasinitz (2009) defines it as the mutually constructed and evolving images of self and other. Norton presents identity as the ways in which “people understand their relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how people understand their possibilities for the future” (1997: 410). Therefore, it is important to view identity as an ever-changing construct that differs in some form or shape in accordance to a particular time, place and situation (Agnew 2005; Everett and Wagstaff, 2004; Hall 2006; Howard 2000; Kumsa 2006; Park 1994). These definitions thus highlight that identity does not occur in isolation but is embedded in social interaction and its constructive nature.

Thus, just as every social interaction is different, so does one employ a different identity depending on context. Identity can then be said to be a fluid entity, which is constructed and co-constructed in interaction and thus always changing. Hall further asserts that identities “actually come from outside, they are the way in which we are recognized and then come to step into the place of the recognition which others give us” (1995:8). Therefore, how we are perceived by others not only contribute to the positioning of self, but it also lies at the core of self-recognition in context (Kebede, 2010). Furthermore, the above definitions point to the fact that an individual may have multiple identities, which may differ according to context and that people navigate through these identities using the resources available to them in the particular context. In this way, identity can never be studied in isolation; the social context is essential in predicting which identity is

constructed at a particular time and place (Suarez-Orozco, 2000). This makes the issue of context, or space, an important one to consider in youth multilingualism (Williams, 2016).

2.5 Multilingualism and Youth multilingualism

Multilingualism has been a key area of research within linguistics for over decades and has thus seen a radical shift in the way that it is defined and conceptualized by theorists. The contemporary definition of multilingualism describes the different social, institutional, and individual ways that people go about using more than one language. The languages that are used may include varieties such as national languages, regional languages, minority languages, migrant languages, sign languages, and, even, dialects (Franceschini, 2011: 344). These different languages and/or varieties are often used differently within different contexts and do not particularly require the individual to have full knowledge of the language (Franceschini, 2011: 346). This is confirmed by Blommaert (2010) who argues that in many globalized spaces the linguistic repertoires of people are derived from a number of linguistic forms, each with varying levels of competency, which is then strategically used in context (2010). The notion of "polylingualism" (Jorgensen 2008, Moller and Jorgensen 2009) has been useful in emphasizing how people use whatever language features their disposal to achieve their communicative aims, regardless of how well they know these languages (Tamtomo, 2012).

Youth multilingualism, which this study focuses on more, refers to how “young multilingual speaker practices are involved in the playful and didactic intermixing of everyday multilingual practices and events as a way to (re)invent identities and alternative futures in both online and offline spaces” (Williams, 2016: 4, cited in Cornelissen, 2017: 10). It is, therefore, the creativity involved in the mixing of linguistic repertoires that make youth multilingualism a particularly insightful site of study. The results of this intermixing of multilingual practices and re-invention of identities does not only happen in relation context but is also influenced by language attitudes, as Williams notes, regarding youth multilingualism: “it is not just about the practices and events, it is also about how young multilingual speakers talk about multilingualism and language; about how established forms of speech permeate their lives amidst ideological tensions, both in urban and rural spaces” (2016: 4, cited in Cornelissen, 2017: 10).

Youth multilingualism lends itself to presenting dynamic finding due to the nature of young people's use of language. Young multilingual speakers are often the first to establish new speaking norms, slangs, and have a high instance of creating hybrid language forms (Rampton 2005). They are also most likely to mix and manipulate all linguistic forms at their disposal in constructing identities and developing new youth speaking norms (Bucholtz 1999, Bailey 2000a, 2001, Eckert 2000). An example of this can be seen in the emergence of words and phrases such as 'slay', used to describe something done very well and 'clout chasing'; a term used to describe the act of bad mouthing a popular person in the hopes of creating tension that would increase one's own popularity (The Urban Dictionary), among many others. The constant mixing also leads them to drawing on language forms which are not traditionally associated with their social category or linguistic background (Rampton 2005). This makes the study of youth multilingualism especially insightful (Tamtomo, 2012).

As mentioned before multilingualism has often simply being considered as the ability of an individual to speak more than one language. This essentialist and reduction view of multilingualism has been challenged by the more contemporary definition which includes the social influence on the use of different languages. In this definition, an individual is not expected to have full fluency or competence in all the languages that he/she know, but merely to have the ability to communicate effectively using whichever linguistic resources available at their disposal (Tamtomo, 2012). This has been conceptualised as languaging. Languaging is an important term as it clearly highlights the fluidity of multilingualism and the use thereof. Thus, we can safely assume that multilingualism can be considered as a practice of languaging in context-specific situations. This form of multilingualism allows an individual to use various forms of linguistic resources, irrespective of competence, in order to bring across a message; a process that is very space/context specific.

In the field of language and communication, space refers to the way in which the complexities of a particular context influences language use. In this regard, space is not considered as a passive agent, but rather an active agent that 'does something' to people when they are communicating (Blommaert, Collins & Slembrouck, 2005). The 'something' can be seen in the way that people use different languages and/or varieties in accordance to setting and with the different people found

in those settings (Hudson, 1996). This definition can further be understood by considering Fishman's question of "who speaks what language, to whom and when?" (1965: 67). It is thus quite remarkable to observe how people draw on different linguistic resources in order to communicate with different people, within the different contexts or situations that they may find themselves in. Thus space, according to Blommaert and colleagues (2005) has an effect on people in terms of what they can and cannot do in it, the value of their linguistic repertoires and with the construction of identities, whether individual or group. For example, it is quite common to see someone speaking an informal variety of a language and mixing it with another language, often called code-switching (Mesthrie, 2009) and using slang in an informal discussion with friends but then switch to perhaps the standard form of English when they are in the classroom and communicating with the lecturer or tutor.

This illustrates the contemporary term of languaging which is described by Lytra and Jørgensen (2008) as 'poly-lingual behaviour' in which speakers use all the linguistic resources at their disposal in order to reach effective communication in their particular space. This significantly ties in with truncated multilingualism which Blommaert and colleagues (2005: 119) refer to as the linguistic competencies of an individual which are "topically organised on the basis of domains or specific activities". Thus, despite having limited proficiency in a particular dialect or language, a language is still able to ensure that they are understood by using their limited knowledge of a particular feature or language found in a particular space.

2.6 Discourse as Social practice

Another aspect of discourse has to do with its role as a social practice. In this way, discourse is seen not just as a system for making meaning, but as part of larger systems through which people construct various social identities and realities. Different people use language in different ways, for example, a lawyer would speak differently in court to a grade 1 English teacher in class. These different ways of talking help to position us in the world, not only by reflecting various social positions but also providing insights into different beliefs, and different values (Norris & Jone, 2005).

This view of discourse probably owes the most to the French philosopher Michel Foucault, who argued that discourse is the main tool through which we construct ‘knowledge’ and exert power over other people. Different kinds of discourse (or ‘discourses’) are associated with different kinds of people and different ‘systems of knowledge’. Foucault spoke, for example, of ‘clinical discourse, economic discourse, the discourse of natural history, (and) psychiatric discourse’ (1972: 121). James Gee uses a capital ‘D’ to distinguish this view of discourse from the others by stating, ‘Discourses’ are ‘ways of being in the world, or forms of life which integrate words, acts, values, beliefs, attitudes, and social identities’ (1996: 127). He goes on to explain that this type of discourse, that is, “Discourse with a big D”, sets the context and facilitates the analysis of “discourse” with a small ‘d’, the analysis of language in use (Gee, 1996). Therefore, Little “d” discourse analysis studies how the flow of language-in-use, across time and space make sense and guide in interpretation.

This aspect of discourse leads us to explore how people use language to advance certain versions of reality and certain relationships of power, and also how our beliefs, values and social institutions are constructed through and supported by discourse. A central principle of this view of discourse is that discourse is always ‘ideological’, meaning that discourse always has ‘an agenda’, that it always ends up serving the interests of certain people over those of others (Norris & Jone, 2005). Importantly, discourse cannot be removed from speech, as people continuously draw on wider societal discourses in making meaning in everyday interactions.

2.7 Language and Identity

Due to the fact that migrant youth, and more especially, the 1.5 generation adolescents live between two worlds, with different languages, it is vital to consider the role that language plays within the identity-making process of these individuals. As we use language, we simultaneously present particular identities, whether consciously or unconsciously, as summarized by Liang who states that not only does language construct our identities, it, itself, is constructed by identities (2006). So, although the language choices we make inform and index particular aspects of our identity, the language forms we use are choices made based on our previous knowledge, lived experiences,

and ultimately our identity in the space we find ourselves. Heller also explains that through language “a person negotiates a sense of self within and across situations at different points in time” (1987: 211). This is important when considering how people self-represent but, more importantly, for how someone is perceived and identified by others. Bucholtz and Hall further emphasize this with their view of identity as an emergent product of linguistic practices (2005).

It is therefore not a pre-existing, stable phenomenon but one that is ‘done’ and performed in human interaction. In this way, an individual can ‘do’ various kinds of identity about the context that they find themselves (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). Through the use of certain word choices, accents, languages and dialects, an individual can construct a particular identity that they deem fit to that specific situation or about the person/people they interact with. This for the 1.5 generation to be seen favorably by their peers, they are required to speak the languages or dialects that the group speaks. In this way, they construct the identity of a local youth who can engage accordingly. This brings about a sense of belonging. Similarly, the 1.5 generation youth is expected to speak their native language at home and in so doing, their native identity as a Congolese, for example, is brought to the fore (Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2001).

Anchimbe (2005) states that the validity of language in-group identification exists at four levels namely as “an attribute of group membership, an imported cue for ethnic categorization, an emotional dimension of identity and means of facilitating in-group cohesion.” These to Anchimbe (2005) are the four levels, which make the group a complete entity. We thus have control over the aspects of our identities which we wish to reveal to others, through language. In this way, the 1.5 generation can reveal his identity as a Congolese for example, by speaking Kari, or Lingala. Alternatively, he/she can hide this aspect of his identity by only speaking English. Thus, individual identity is always in production, it is fluid and ever-changing, an outcome of agentive moves rather than a given.

According to Anchimbe (2005) as people enter communicative events, they do so as individuals with established social identities, which they are able to negotiate depending on the context of the event. The linguistic choice that the 1.5 generation chooses to make within a particular space thus indicates the kind of identity they wish to communicate. Therefore, communicative event provides

participants the opportunity to take up different stances, to highlight different parts of themselves and those of others, and to use “language in unexpected ways towards unexpected goals and hence performing unexpected identities” (Tamtomo, 2012:36).

2.8 The struggle to belong

An important factor that continues to come up in studies of migrant youth and identity is that of belonging. According to Kebede (2010), the idea of belonging is a human need that is not merely for protection but also a desire to be among one’s own. Although this is a general human desire, we consider how the concept of belonging relates particularly to the 1.5 generation youth. In defining ‘belonging’, Anthias (2006) articulate it as ‘the sense of being accepted or being a full member’ (2006: 19). In this way, belonging relates to an individual’s search for group membership. Another way of understanding belonging is to conceive of it as ‘a sense of intimacy with the world’ (Boym, 2001: 251), relating to the desired closeness. Yuval Davis (2006) defines belonging as being “about feeling ‘at home’ and ...about feeling safe” (2006: 2). From these definitions, it is clear to see that belonging is closely related to the feeling of acceptance within a social group. This acceptance becomes especially vital for migrants as they form groups on the basis of common ethnicity and settlement experience, but also according to the place of origin, spiritual adherence, cultural and social differentiation and enhanced social capital (Lalich, 2008: 52).

As young people in the diaspora, the 1.5 generation youth are bound to go through a period (or periods) of immense struggle to ‘belong’. Kebede (2010) notes that although young people, in general, have similar experiences at some point in their lives, the need to belong and establish a sense of community, while negotiating identity is increased for young migrants (Danico, 2004). This struggle for belonging for the 1.5-generation is unique because of the in-betweenness that can result from their group’s early socialisation in the country of origin, followed by their formative adolescent years taking place in the country of asylum. This struggle can take a variety of forms, namely the “retention and/or rejection of the distinctive identities of the country of origin” and the extent to which one accepts the relatively new identity that can develop in the host country (Kebede, 2010: 6). Belonging also “involves an important affective dimension relating to social bonds and ties” (Anthias, 2006: 21). This generally relates to social networks. Marsh et al (2007)

assert that ‘social identity’ (2007: 4) is important since it provides an indicator of social change, that is, of different aspects of belonging. What people feel to be a sense of belonging at a particular time says something about how they see themselves in relation to the contexts in which they are placed in the world. Migrants, therefore, strive to achieve this sense of belonging as they integrate into new spaces, and reduce the experiences of being ‘othered’ by members of the host society.

The implications of this for multilingualism lies in the ways in which migrants attempt to attain belonging or a sense of in-group identity in the host communities. Language has a big role to play in this instance as it allows them to “create deep bonds, to communicate with diverse groups and to express differences in their everyday life” (Čeginskas, 2015: 18). It can be argued that the need to belong plays a role in motivating migrants, especially migrant youth, to assimilate and learn the linguistic forms of the host society. The assumption is that one’s ability to engage in the linguistic forms of the new space is a form of social capital that facilitates social identity construction (Čeginskas, 2015), thereby making multilingualism, the ability to communicate in a number of linguistic forms, vital in the discussion of belonging, language, and identity.

2.9 Conclusion

In conclusion, the above discussion has highlighted the increase in interest around migrant youth and their language practices in multilingual contexts. It discussed the various understandings and definitions of what constitutes the 1.5 generation, which is the focus group within this study. However, despite the different definitions, the general understanding is that the 1.5 generation are those who were born in their home country and migrated to a host country where they received most of their education and upbringing. The discussion highlighted the challenges that they have in constructing their identities, and theorists agree that the identity negotiation of these youth are relatively complex as they face various and sometimes opposing worldviews from the different cultures that they are exposed to. I also highlighted the role of language in negotiating and constructing identity, as well as a few strategies often used by multilingual youth in framing interactions and meaning-making. In addition to this, belonging, as a common theme in studies of migration was discussed. Furthermore, the review considered the various factors that play a role

in the negotiation of 1.5 generation identities. This review thus increased the understanding of the challenges faced by migrant youth and the unique role of language in mediating those challenges.

CHAPTER THREE - THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an outline of Interactional Sociolinguistics, the theoretical framework employed within this study. It begins by highlighting the main points of the framework and then moves on to a discussion of the various components that encompass interactional sociolinguistics. These components include contextual cues, conversational inferences and conversational styles and involvement. All of these components seek to describe the ways in which meaning is communicated and interpreted within casual conversation. Following this, is a brief discussion on discourse analysis as a tool for analysing certain themes arising from the data.

3.2 Interactional Sociolinguistics

Interactional Sociolinguistics, developed through the work of John Gumperz, is an analytical and methodological approach that looks into the diversity of social interaction and how people signal and interpret meaning in these interactions (Gorden, 2003). It is a multidisciplinary, qualitative approach that encompasses elements of linguistics, sociology, micro ethnography, pragmatics and anthropology to highlight the different ways in which meaning is communicated and interpreted in casual conversation, primarily considering the co-construction of meaning in interaction. By co-construction, the approach holds that in order for a conversation to work, all interactants are required to draw on contextual and cultural knowledge to communicate and interpret messages.

Interactional Sociolinguistics, as a method of investigating how people communicate meaning in talk, generally holds that talk is incomplete on its own, meaning that people are not able to convey all that they mean explicitly with words. The speaker would therefore use contextual cues or prosodic strategies, such as tone, gestures and styles, to fill in the gaps in their speech. These cues, paired with the contextual knowledge that the listener is assumed to have, would then convey a complete message with its intended meaning (Jaspers, 2011).

In order for a listener to fully grasp and understand the speaker's message, they therefore need to have some sort of background knowledge on the topic, cultural awareness around the meaning of certain words and an understanding of the prosodic strategies used by the speaker. This background knowledge, which is referred to as conversational inferences, allows the listener to correctly interpret what the speaker means, in relation to the context of the conversation (Bailey, 2008). The main theoretical contribution of IS, according to Bailey (2008), is in how it highlights the role that social background knowledge has in the communication and meaning.

IS is often criticized for being just another version of ethnography of communication, which theorized how talk is contextually and culturally embedded. This is not the case, however, as IS goes one step further in specifying "how sociocultural and linguistic knowledge are systematically linked in the communication of meaning" (Bailey, 2008: 231). By doing this, Gumperz showed that socio-cultural knowledge is not external to interaction, but rather is embedded within talk and frames the conversation itself. It also illustrates the parallel relationship between talk and culture, in that culture influences talk but that talk also influences and frames the context. This viewpoint is supported by Hall and Bucholtz, who state that "identity is best viewed as the emergent product rather than the pre-existing source of linguistic and other semiotic practices and therefore as fundamentally a social and cultural phenomenon" (2005: 588). Identity therefore is seen as a product emerging from linguistic interactions.

Interactional sociolinguists in principle try to describe how meaningful contexts are implied via talk, how and if these are picked up by relevant others, and how the production and reception of talk influences subsequent interaction (Jaspers, 2011). According to Schiffrin (1994), interactional sociolinguistics therefore offers theories and methods that enable researchers to explore not only how language works but also to gain insights into the social processes through which individuals build and maintain relationships, exercise power, project and negotiate identities, and create communities. To understand how people are able to do this, we consider the notions of Contextual Cues and Conversational inferences, in relation to Interactional Sociolinguistics:

3.2.1 Contextual Cues

As briefly mentioned above, one of the main contributions of IS is in its explanation of how speakers use contextual cues or signaling mechanisms to supplement their words in creating meaning. Through contextual cues, the speaker provides additional information to speech, thus allowing the listener to adequately interpret the message in context. These contextual cues can either be prosodic or paralinguistic; with prosodic including strategies such as change in intonation, register, pitch or stress; and paralinguistics, including tempo, hesitation and pausing. Non-verbal cues such as gestures, posture and gaze may also serve to add context to speech, thereby adding another layer of meaning to speech (Jasper, 2011).

It is important to note that contextual cues can be contrastive to the words spoken, which generally frames the speech as either sarcasm, irony or playful banter. For example, a student that comments of a fellow classmate, “She is so smart” but rolls her eyes and shakes her head while saying this would evidently be communicating that she believes the opposite of the fellow classmate. These contextual cues may also be accompanied by a different accent, an unusual pitch level or a particular intonation pattern. Contextual cues, however, can also work in harmony with speech, often emphasizing a point. An example of this would be the shaking of the head while saying “No”. In this way, cues create a redundancy of meaning and so facilitate interpretation by putting the talk in context, or ‘steering’ the interpretation of the words they accompany’ (Auer 1992: 3).

This is done by the listener’s ability to draw on the socio-cultural knowledge and interpret what was said and how the utterance is situated and relates to what comes before and after it (Bailey, 2008). Tannen (2005) argues that, through contextualization cues, participants send what Bateson (1972) calls ‘metamessages’, or messages about how to interpret messages. Therefore, by drawing on these socio-cultural norms, the speaker expects the listener to retrieve the frames that channel the interpretative process and understand the message accordingly. In other words, using a speaker’s contextualization cues as guidelines, the listener imagines themselves to be in a particular kind of situation or to recall certain experiences or knowledge; this enables a listener to

assess what the speaker intends. Thus, contextualization cues are a means of collaboratively accomplishing framing in discourse (Gorden, 2003)

3.2.2 Conversational Inferences (Framing)

As mentioned above, speakers use contextual cues with the assumption that the listener is able to interpret them, alongside the speech. In order to do this, the listener, through a context-bound process called conversational inference, is able to identify the meaning of these contextual cues and understand what the speaker intends to convey. Conversational inference can then be said to be the process by which the listener assesses the words spoken, the accompanying contextual cues and the context in which the conversation takes place to determine what the speaker means and how to best respond (Jaspers, 2011). The listener may also draw on prior interaction experiences and cultural norms to identify the meaning of a message that may otherwise be ambiguous. This, according to Bailey (2003), is ultimately what makes conversations work.

Using the above example to illustrate this, the listener of the “She is so smart” comment is able to correctly decipher that the speaker is actually being sarcastic and does not consider the fellow classmate to be smart at all. The listener is able to do this by drawing on the sociocultural norm, particularly in Western societies, where the rolling of the eyes generally represents annoyance or frustration and the shaking of the head indicating disagreement. So, although the utterance seems to be positive, the contextual cues allow the listener to interpret the message as negative and sarcastic. The listener also takes into account the context in which the conversation takes place and what may have occurred prior to the speaker’s comment. Therefore, it is the accumulation of contextual cues, the socio-cultural norms that govern them and the conversational context that determines how the listener is able to interpret the speaker's intended message. It is important to note that the listener is only able to make these interpretations and draw on sociocultural knowledge from having been acculturated in a community. Therefore, a listener who does not share the same cultural background with the speaker may have difficulty interpreting the contextual cues accompanying the speakers’ words. Thus, as Wodak, Johnstone and Kerswil proclaim, “knowledge about how to use language in culturally apt ways—how to use pitch,

intonation, and other contextualization cues, including those that are nonverbal—comes from a speaker’s collection of cultural experiences” (2010: 74).

In this way we see how the of notions of contextualization cues and conversational inferencing make interactional sociolinguistics a useful and appropriate approach in exploring how conversation and culture combine to create meaning in context.

3.3 Conversational Style and Involvement

Further concepts in the Interactional Sociolinguistics approach that contribute to the flow of conversation are conversational style and conversational involvement. According to Gorden (2003), conversational style refers to an individual’s way of speaking, “including decisions about rate of speaking, pitch and amplitude, and the “countless other choices”. An individual’s style is reflective of their cultural background, gender, sexual orientation as well as their race and ethnicity. Therefore, it can be seen as a result of linguistic and paralinguistic cues based on previous interaction in a speech community (Tannen, 2005). Due to the fact that an individual’s style develops through previous interactions, it can encompass how they decide to use contextual cues, knowingly or unknowingly. In turn, this would then affect the ways in which the particular speaker’s utterance is interpreted.

For example, a young man growing up in a community influenced by American hip hop culture when asked how he is, replies with “I’m good, dog”. The listener, with a similar cultural background, is then able to interpret the use of the word “dog” as “friend”. The listener understands that the term is popular in Hip Hop culture to referring to fellow male friends and does not mean that the speaker considers him to be a four-legged domestic animal, dog. Therefore, the listener is able to make inferences based on shared experience and the knowledge of the particular style adopted by the speaker. The ability to do this further allows for the facilitation of meaning making in context. Considering the style of a speaker, which may seem to be automatic, also allows researchers to understand the broad strategies that motivate stylistic choice, thus providing further insight into the analysis of social interaction (Tannen, 2005).

In the above example, it was easy for the listener to interpret the speaker's utterance and therefore continue with the conversation accordingly, due to the shared knowledge of the meaning and style of the speaker's utterance. This points to a concept within IS, that was further developed by Tannen, called Conversational Involvement. Simply speaking, conversational involvement refers to the sustenance of a conversation through verbal exchanges. In other words, it considers the ability of a speaker and listener to continue a conversation, encompassing all of the above, and making the conversation work.

According to Tannen, although contextual cues, conversational inferences, shared knowledge and conversational style play a role in the sustenance of a conversation, they do not work in isolation. It is the combination of all these factors that allow effective conversational flow through the development of “emotional connection individuals feel which binds them to other people as well as to places, things, activities, ideas, memories and words” (Tannen, 2007: 13). Therefore, as people interact, with shared background knowledge and shared or familiar styles, they are able to build coherence and unity. In this way, as the conversation progresses, interactants develop an increased sense of social belonging, thereby building stronger social links which facilitates interpretation and meaning making. We now look at other theories used to explain the different ways in which people often use language to position themselves and construct particular identities.

3.4 Speech Accommodation Theory

The speech accommodation theory is vital when considering the way in which identity is performed through language. This theory holds the idea that speakers are active in changing their identities within interactions in order to associate or distance themselves from interlocutors (Giles, 1977). Thus, it acknowledges that neither of speakers' voices nor their social position in society is passive, but that they sometimes consciously decide as how to speak (Pennycook, 2007). This may be done for various reasons; however, the result would be a change in an individual's normal speaking. In this regard, García (2012:524) contends that multilingual speakers “...decide who they want to be and choose their language practices accordingly”. Thus, according to Dyer (2007: 104), speakers in this model are seen as “actively exploiting linguistic resources available to them

in order to project differing identities for different contexts”. This type of a choice represents an act of identity (Johnstone 2008)

This model with an emphasis on the individual agency in social identity construction has been carried forward in most recent models on language and identity (Hall, 2011). Thus, it acknowledges that by exploiting the linguistic resources in their repertoire, speakers are not simply products of a social structure reproducing the same social structure, but rather they can create the identity they wish to project in an interaction. In this case, identities are regarded as dynamic and not as fixed phenomenon (Johnstone 2008). Although not a primary theory to be used in the analysis of the data, the speech accommodation theory is briefly drawn on to illustrate and expand on aspects in which the participants in the study clearly and consciously change their language use to accommodate to their surroundings. This is especially evident in cases whereby participants engaged with South African peers.

3.5 Language and Indexicality

As previously alluded, language is used as a tool to consciously or unconsciously index particular identities. This notion of indexicality of language, according to Dyer, simply refers to the process by which language comes to be linked to “specific locally or contextually significant social characteristics” (2007: 102). Indexicality is important in discussing language and identity as language or a mere linguistic form or action can become an index or a marker to an individual’s social identity as well as to traditional activities of that individual (Johnstone, 2008). In this regard Dyer (2007) states that indexicality implies an association of a language or a linguistic form with some kind of socially meaningful characteristics. Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouk (2005: 199) argue that “indexicality forces us to look at social processes as culturalized, that is, as turned into complexes of meaningful and understandable items that offer semiotic potential to people”.

Additionally, Johnstone (2008) and Dyer (2007) state respectively that social identities can be indexed by styles of speech. For example, a migrant individual would adopt a certain way of talking associated with a particular group such as a particular South African Bantu group (such as

the Xhosas) or Coloureds¹, if he or she wants to identify with that category within a particular context. Johnstone (2008) argues that people can adopt certain characteristics associated with groups with which others would likely associate them and that people may also adopt features associated with identities with which others may not normally associate them. Dyer (2007) argues that the indexicality of language may however work against an individual where the speaker's dialect is perceived and evaluated negatively by interlocutors. For example, a listener may ascribe certain social characteristics that the speaker might want to resist. She contends that where speakers have access to different languages or dialects, language can also be used to resist other imposed identities. On this account, she argues, identity can be seen as a function of both "self and other ascriptions" (Dyer, 2007: 102). Similarly, to the speech accommodation theory, language indexing will be drawn on in the analysis of the data, as a tool repeatedly used by the participants in negotiating identities. Another way in which people index their identities through language is through stylization.

3.6 Style and Stylization

Before uncovering the meaning of stylization, it is important to consider its root form, style. According to Coupland, style refers to the variation or change within an individual's speech with a speech interaction (Coupland 2007: 7). During this process, a speaker would draw on a number of available linguistic resources to create and communicate meaning (Coupland, 2007: 3 in Hurst 2008: 195). Eckert defines style as the use of linguistic structures to index social positioning (2000). As an indexical process, style both creates and exploits sociolinguistic stereotypes as speakers creatively draw on the existing resources of other social groups for their own identity construction (Bucholtz, 2004).

It is important to note that the decision to enact a particular style is rarely ambiguous but is often connected to a particular social symbol with which the speaker wishes to associate with. The act of styling therefore holds social symbols and can be argued to be reflective of particular social

¹ A term developed in the apartheid era to identify individuals of mixed European ("white") and African ("black") or Asian ancestry, as officially defined by the South African government from 1950 to 1991. (Cornelissen, 2017)

identities (Hurst 2008, 197). Therefore, as Coupland argues, “We need to understand how people use or enact or perform social styles for a range of symbolic purposes” (Coupland 2007: 3). This understanding is useful for the study of language and identity, as it seeks to unpack the ways in which speakers creatively use language to make and achieve social meaning (Hurst, 2008). Hence styling is a “performed discursive practice” (Coupland 2007, 145).

According to Staehr, 2014, different styles of speaking communicate more than just referential meaning. They also communicate meta-messages which indicate speakers’/writers’ intentions about what they say and what they are trying to do when using certain ways of speaking, words, intonation patterns, et cetera, in a certain context (Tannen 2013). This can be beneficial because, as Coupland (2007: 154) agrees, “stylized utterances also project personas, identities and genres other than those that are presumably current in the speech event”. In this way, stylization contributes to the context and framing of an interaction.

Stylization, then, is defined as “the borrowing by one voice of the recognizable style and timber of another, it is “an artistic image of another’s language” (Vice, 1997: 62). The stylized performance of personas often derives from well-established and well-known identity repertoires even though they may not be represented in full. Therefore, the use of stylized language also, according to Rampton (2009: 149) involves reflexivity:

“Stylization involves reflexive communicative action in which speakers produce specially marked and often exaggerated representations of languages, dialects, and styles that lie outside their own habitual repertoire (at least as this is perceived within the situation at hand)”.

Thus, “Stylization accounts for how speakers in interaction tend to embellish performances with accents, registers and varieties of languages that they identify with other voices and subjectivities embedded in conditions of power structures and spaces” (Williams, 2012: 46). This phenomenon is popular within youth interactions as they draw on various social discourses to create meaning, emphasize points and establish various identities. Importantly, stylization can only be effectively interpreted in a context in which both speaker and listener are aware of the meanings associated with the use of particular styles. The notion that interaction, and particularly, youth interaction is

filled with creativity can be usefully analyzed with the application of stylization. Thus, it is important to consider the various ways in which migrant youth adopt various styles in creating meaning. This will be illustrated in the analysis of the data focusing on the instances in which participants employ a wide range of styles in a single interactional event. Another way in which we analyse how language is used to achieve communication goals in interaction, and that was used to analyse the data is Discourse Analysis.

3.7 Discourse Analysis

Broadly speaking discourse analysis refers to the study of language, particularly the ways in which people use language in everyday conversations to do things such as asking, joking, arguing and communicating their identities. This view of language is based on four main assumptions, namely, that language is ambiguous, embedded in context, informs identity and is accompanied by a number of prosodic cues.

Although often defined as the study of “language in use”, discourse analysis does more than this. It considers language use relative to “social, political and cultural formations..., language reflecting social order but also language shaping social order and shaping individuals’ interaction with society” (Jaworski & Coupland, 1999: 3). In this way it focuses on both what happens within text and interactions (language use), as well as the wider social and cultural implications associated with the topic and/or participants. Strubs (1983) and Gee (1999) provide further insights into the definition of discourse analysis as seen below:

- “Roughly speaking, it refers to attempts to study the organization of language above the sentence or above the clause and therefore, to study larger linguistic units, such as conversational exchanges or written texts. It follows that discourse analysis is also concerned with language in use in social contexts and in particular with interaction or dialogue between speakers” Stubbs (1983: 1). From this definition, Strubs uses the term discourse analysis to refer to how naturally occurring interactional data is analyzed to derive meaning beyond face value.

- Gee (1999) argues that discourse analysis involves asking questions around the use of language at a given time, place and situation and how these factors work simultaneously to give meaning to that language. A discourse analysis involves, then, asking questions about the six building tasks. The tasks through which one uses language to construct meaning, at a given time and place, in a certain way, are: semiotic building; word building; activity building; socioculturally-situated identity and relationship building; political building and connection building.

Discourse truly comes to life through interaction. It is through these interactions that researchers are able to analyse how “entrances are made, intentions are formed, topics are introduced, turns are taken, actions are performed, reactions are prompted and in turn reacted to; understandings are checked, contributions are acknowledged, breakdowns occur, repairs are contrived, and exits are negotiated” (Trappes-Lomax: 133). This view posits that people in interactions are always at work in creating, interpreting and interpreting meaning. This process is not one-sided, as all people within an interaction, whether they speak or not, play a role in co-creating meaning throughout the interaction. This is discourse is, therefore, seen not as product or output but as process. It is then this process, more than the output, that discourse analysts focus on, in an attempt to fully capture the complexities of the co-construction of meaning.

When analysing discourse in interaction, the challenge then comes in highlighting the interplay between reproduction and creativity in small-scale interaction and relating it to the “higher-order social processes” which influence them (Heller, 2001; Meeuwis, 1994; Rampton, 2001). In this way, and in this study, discourse analysis seeks to explore how local interactions are linked to and influenced by broader social discourses.

3.8 Triangulation

The data in this study was analysed using the triangulation of the theoretical concepts mentioned above, namely, conversational style and involvement, speech accommodation theory, indexicality, style and stylization, and discourse analysis. These were applied against the general assumptions

of interactional sociolinguistics and its tenets, while also taking a discourse analysis approach to the analysis of interactional data.

3.9 Conclusion

The discussion above has highlighted the importance of interactional sociolinguistics and discourse analysis in analysing how meaning is created and interpreted in everyday interactions. It considered the various components of interactional sociolinguistics which explain the process by which speakers and listeners negotiate and construct meaning in casual conversations. From the discussion on discourse analysis that followed, it is clear that both these approaches are effective tools in understanding what people do with language and how this relates to broader social discourses and cultural norms. By this, we see that talk cannot and does not exist in isolation but continually interacts with contextual aspects of time, place, situation and participants, to bring about a holistic meaning-filled interaction as seen in the analysis of the short extract above.

The analysis of casual conversation and interactions therefore help us to understand how the societies in which we live are put together and how they are maintained through our day to day activities of speaking, writing and making use of other modes of communication. It can help us to understand why people interact with one another the way they do, how they exert power and influence over one another. Furthermore, it can help us to understand how people view reality differently, why they view it in a certain way and how identities are negotiated and constructed in the process.

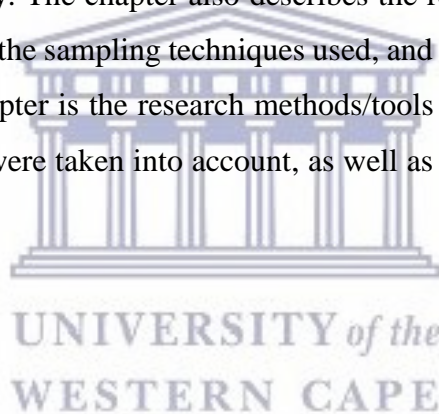
CHAPTER FOUR - RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

The research project is often described as a journey embarked on by the researcher. As with every journey, one is required to adequately plan the road ahead to ensure the successful completion of the journey. Considering the research project as a journey, therefore, implies that there is a need

for strategic and detailed planning which ensures that the researcher not only understands the objectives of the journey but also develops a clear idea of how to get there in the most effective manner. In research, this planning stage is often highlighted in the methodology chapter, which here follows.

The following methodology chapter describes the approaches and methods employed within the study to achieve the research objectives. As previously mentioned, the study sought to investigate the ways in which 1.5 generation Congolese youth negotiate their identities within a widely multicultural setting such as Cape Town. In order to effectively investigate this phenomenon, it was essential to employ appropriate data collection methods to obtain the relevant data. Included within this chapter is a description of the research design and methodology employed, and how it contributed to the broader study. The chapter also describes the research site and provides some contextual information thereof, the sampling techniques used, and an overview of the participants. Further covered within this chapter is the research methods/tools used for the collection of data, the ethical considerations that were taken into account, as well as the strengths and limitations of the study.



4.2 Research Design

When commencing a research project, it is vital to determine a plan of action which guides the structure of the research. This plan of action, which is commonly known as a research design, refers to the way in which a research idea is transformed into a research project or plan that can then be carried out in practice by a researcher. Crotty (1998:142) describes a research design as “a plan that describes how, when and where data is to be collected and analysed”. However, research design is more than just the selection of methods or techniques to be used in collecting data for a particular study. Rather, the term refers to and encompasses decisions about how the research itself is conceptualized, the subsequent conduct of a specific research project, and ultimately the type of contribution the research is intended to make to the development of knowledge in a particular area (Kothari, 2004). In this way, the research design influences all parts of the research, from the way in which the aims and objectives of the research are thought about and articulated, the methods, techniques or approaches used in collecting the data, to the theoretical and analytical lens applied

to the data collected (Given, 2008). It, therefore, simplifies the research process, making it as efficient as possible, and ensuring that the most relevant information is collected, using the least amount of effort, money and time (Kothari, 2004)

Ultimately, the research design plays a vital role in the study by serving as a blueprint for the it, dictating the direction of the research, with the research question as a general guideline. In this instance, the research question seeks to explore the ways in which 1.5 generation migrant youth negotiate and construct their identities; meaning there is a need to understand the phenomenon of identity negotiation and construction. As a result, an appropriate research design based on the research question and objectives would be an exploratory study.

According to Polit et al (2001: 19), an exploratory study is used to investigate the full nature of a phenomenon and other factors related to it. Exploratory studies are valuable means of finding out what is happening, to seek new insight, to ask questions and to assess phenomena in a new light (Polit et al., 2001). These studies consider complex social issues. Therefore, the research design employed needs to be flexible enough to allow for variety in the ways in which the problem under investigation can be studied. Flexibility in the research design is vital because the research problem, which is initially stated rather broadly, is transferred into more specific research questions, which may require different methods of data collection and analysis (Kothari, 2004).

There are three principal ways of conducting exploratory research: a search of the concerning literature, talking to the people who experience the particular phenomenon (participants), and the analysis which stimulates relevant insight on the topic (see Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2003; Kothari, 2004, & Given, 2008), all of which was used in this study. With the current study being exploratory in nature, the researcher adopted the case study design as an appropriate design for the study.

According to Hartley (2004: 15), case study research "consists of a detailed investigation, often with data collected over a period of time, of phenomena, within their context,". In this regard, the aim is to explore and present an analysis of the data and processes, while demonstrating its

implications to theoretical concepts being studied. Similarly, Glene (2005) observes that case studies are in-depth in nature, studying a phenomenon qualitatively rather than conducting statistical studies. Yin (2003:315) further adds that "the distinctive need for case studies arises out of the desire to understand complex social phenomena". For this reason, the case study method ensures that researchers retain the holistic and genuine characteristics of real-life interactions and events. Therefore, case studies are useful for extensive descriptions and analysis of phenomena in their natural contexts, thereby leading to a comprehensive understating of the phenomena in question (Yin, 1984). As the current study sought to determine how 1.5 generation Congolese migrant youth negotiate and construct their identities, the research found the case study design to be the most appropriate and effective for the investigation.

4.3 Methodology

Research methodology refers to the techniques and instruments that are used in collecting data (Bryman, 2001). Mouton (2001) asserts that research methodology is important in social science research as it is used to collect, condense, organize and analyse data. The two major research methodologies in the social sciences are qualitative and quantitative methods (Mouton, 2001; Neuman, 2000). Researchers using quantitative methods are believed to be independent of the phenomena that are being investigated. Much emphasis is placed on measuring variables and testing hypotheses that are linked to general cause-effect explanations (Babbie and Mouton, 2001: 49). Therefore, this approach requires the study of phenomena that can be directly measured.

However, researchers applying qualitative methods focus on aspects such as meaning making, in-depth understanding, and experiences from the research participant's viewpoint. Qualitative researchers are concerned with human beings, interpersonal relationships, personal values, meanings, beliefs, thoughts, and feelings. Qualitative research is inductive in approach and attempts to attain rich, deep data. Key (1997) postulates that this paradigm emphasizes the importance of looking at variables in the natural setting in which they are found, and of considering the interaction between variables. Therefore, qualitative research considers the lived experiences of people, in their natural environments, and how they make sense of it. The data collected from this type of study often manifests in the form of interview transcripts, audio or video recordings,

photographs, and field notes, among many others (Saldana, 2011).

Qualitative researchers are also interested in the context in which the action takes place, and often conduct the research in participants' natural contexts. In so doing, qualitative researchers try to observe human behaviour and actions by interacting with people so as to understand their world (Mouton, 2001). The focus then is on exploring and understanding phenomena in natural contexts or real-world settings and investigating how participants make sense of their worlds, both consciously and unconsciously. This is often done through ethnography.

Ethnographic studies focus on describing the social setting, or more broadly a group of people in a particular environment. It is a description that includes, people, language, behaviour, customs, beliefs, physical environment and other aspects of the setting that is studied. It involves long-term investigation of a group (often a culture) that is based on immersion and, ideally, participation in that group (Key, 1997). Ethnography thus provides a detailed exploration of group activity: it is an approach which employs multiple methodologies (interviews, both individual and focus group) and observation. The issue for the observer is how the particulars in a given situation are connected. In other words, ethnography attempts to explain the web of interdependence of group behaviours and interactions.

This is important to note of qualitative research because it provides the researcher the opportunity to become somewhat immersed, and part of the group under study. The general understanding is that the researcher is to enter the space with a hypothesis, and then form questions throughout the research process, as they are exposed more and more to the participants' realities (Patton, 2002). This process can significantly alter the theories that the researcher decides to draw on. A "holistic approach assumes that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts" (Patton, 2002: 40). In other words, every action or communication must be viewed as part of a communicative event, with influences from the broader speech community. The quality of the findings from such research is, therefore "directly dependent upon the skills, experience, and sensitiveness of the interviewer or group moderators" (Patton, 2002: 40).

For the purpose of this study, the researcher followed the qualitative research methods of observations, focus group interviews and semi-structured individual interviews as discussed later in the chapter. These methods were seen as appropriate for the study as it was able to provide meaningful data on the first-hand experiences of the Congolese migrant youth. The observation and recording of interactional data provided unique insights into the lived experiences of the participants. This insight shed light on the daily navigation from the school and peer space into their home space and the shifts that occurred in them. By observing the participants for a number of days, the researcher was able to experience and understand all the other contextual factors that contribute to the ways in which the participants construct and negotiate identities on a daily basis. The audio recorded interactions, accompanied by visual observations, provided insight into the participant's daily interactions and the language choices they make when navigating through various spaces, in a way that reported data would not have been able to. Recording the verbal interactions also facilitated the analysis process in providing the opportunity for replay.

Following this, the individual and group interviews provided the reported data on the participants' navigation and daily language use that would complement or provide explanations to some of the findings from the previous methods. It was important to discuss the issues that arose during observation, and gauge the participants' understanding of them and understand how they reason and under their lived experiences. As a result, the data was able to demonstrate the raw, daily experiences of the participants, as well as the thought processes underpinning these. These methods and the data obtained through them facilitated the understanding of the world of participants from their frame of reference. Qualitative data also provides large volumes of quality data from a limited number of people, which was ideal as the sample size consisted of twelve participants (Walker, 1985)

4.4 Research Site

The selection of the research site or the place in which the study was conducted, and the data collected was informed by the research question. The study sought to investigate the experiences of immigrant youth in Cape Town, South Africa; making it only fitting to conduct the study in Cape Town. The data was collected in the Cape Town suburbs of Parow and surrounding suburb of Goodwood as many of the participants attend schools in the two areas. The focus of the study,

however, was more on Parow as that is where the majority of participants live and socialise.

Parow is a suburb in which many Congolese nationals live, study and socialize. The increase of Congolese nationals in this particular suburb has been attributed to the factors of security, solidarity, and convenience. When migrating to South Africa, many Congolese (and other foreign) nationals' first concern is in finding accommodation. This is often easier to find in Parow as the apartments are affordable and the landlords are generally less complicated in renting out properties to immigrants. As a result, it has become a 'go-to' suburb for many Congolese nationals. This increase also contributes to providing a sense of security and solidarity as Congolese nationals find themselves among their country-men who are then able to assist them in adjusting to the new space and learning English as well as the local Cape Town 'slang'.

Despite their learning of the languages and registers of the new space, many of them still maintain and speak their home languages of KiLari, Lingala, Swahili, Monokuthuba and French, as the environment, filled with their country-men, allows for this. This is clearly evident as one walks through the streets of Parow, particularly central Parow which is close to the train station. One can almost always hear the conversations in Lingala of the women braiding hair in a salon, of young men engaged in heated soccer discussions in Lari from the barbershop or internet café's or of university students complaining about their workload in French as they make their way home after a day of classes. As a result of the bustling Congolese presence in Parow, the suburb has often been nicknamed "Little Congo", a term that, although not widely known, would easily be confirmed by the majority of dwellers in the central Parow vicinity.

In keeping up with the convenience factor, many Congolese parents then send their children to schools in their respective areas which then leads to an increase in immigrant children in those particular schools. It is then at school where many immigrant children are exposed to a higher degree of South African languages and varieties such as Afrikaans, Kaapse², Xhosa, and English among others. Thus, there is a clear difference in the linguistic characteristics and culture of their homes versus that of their schools, making the ways in which they navigate between these

² A variety of Afrikaans, spoken by the Coloured community in the Western Cape, most notably on the Cape Flats, Bo-Kaap, Boland and West Coast.

contexts, interesting to investigate. Therefore, in investigating the experiences of 1.5 generation Congolese youth, the researcher collected data within the homes of the participants and well as within their social settings which were often-times with friends from school.

4.5 Sampling Techniques

The population of a research study consists of the whole set of values, or individuals, the researcher is interested in. In this case, the population would then be all the 1.5 generation Congolese migrant youth in Cape Town. This is undoubtedly a large number and thus it would be extremely time-consuming and nearly impossible to collect data from every single 1.5 generation Congolese migrant youth in the city. In order to reduce this number and make the study feasible, only a sample (that is, a subset) of the population is selected for any given study.

According to Givens (2008), a sample is the set of actual data sources that are drawn from a larger population of potential data sources. Approaches to selecting samples are typically divided between probability sampling and nonprobability sampling, where the former uses a group's size in the population as the sole influence on how many of its members will be included in the sample, while the later concentrates on selecting sample members according to their ability to meet specific criteria (Givens, 2008). The researcher was therefore guided by the research question in determining the criteria of participants for the study, ensuring that they adequately represented the population group of the study, namely 1.5 generation Congolese youth.

In studies such as the current project, one cannot select the kinds of probability samples used in large-scale surveys, and which conform to the restricted needs of a probability sample. In these situations, researchers rely on nonprobability samples. Nonprobability sampling is concerned with selecting (usually fewer) cases that will best enable the researcher to explore the research questions in depth and to work with the data collected to identify and explore theoretical ideas (Ross & Matthews, 2010). In this type of sampling, the criteria for the sample is deliberately selected by the researcher, who is guided by the research questions and objectives of the study. As a result, nonprobability sampling tends to be the norm in qualitative research, as was the case in the current

study. There are various types of nonprobability sampling techniques available to the researcher and he/she generally has the freedom to select the technique which will best suit the study. The sampling techniques employed within the current study include purposive sampling and snowball sampling.

Purposive sampling, which is sometimes referred to as judgmental sampling, is used to deliberately obtain study participants or objects in such a manner that the sample selected is considered to be representative and hence in alignment with the objectives of the study (Palys, 2008). Within this sampling technique lies sub-categories of various purpose sampling techniques. For the purpose of this study, criterion sampling was used. This sampling technique involves searching for and recruiting people who meet certain criteria as determined by the researcher (Palys, 2008).

Despite some serious limitations (for instance, the lack of wide generalizability), purposive samples are occasionally used by social science researchers. In the current study, the researcher therefore specifically identified and approached Congolese youth, who had moved to South Africa at a young age, with either one or both parents; who were currently between the ages of fifteen and twenty; enrolled in a public high school in the northern suburbs and lived in and around the Parow area. The researcher used her membership within the Congolese community as a point of gaining entry into the spaces of the participants. The first group of participants of the study were young people in the community whom the researcher had previously interacted in either religious or social settings.

Another nonprobability sampling strategy, used within the study, is known as snowball sampling. Snowballing is sometimes the best way to locate participants with certain attributes or characteristics necessary in a study. The basic strategy of snowballing involves first identifying several people with relevant characteristics, and who meet the criteria of the study. These subjects are then asked for the names of other people who possess the same attributes as they do and who may be interested in participating in the study (Berg, 2000). Snowball samples are particularly popular among researchers interested in studying various classes of deviance, sensitive topics, or difficult to reach populations (Berg, 2000).

After identifying participants who met the criteria of the current study, the researcher had not attained the desired number of participants to ensure an effective study. The researcher, therefore, proceeded to ask the participants to refer friends of theirs who possessed the same background and met the criteria of the study. This approach yielded more participants, many of whom attended the same schools and lived in the same area as the first group of participants. The researcher was then satisfied with the number of participants and was able to proceed with the data collection process.

4.6 Participants

As previously mentioned, for the purpose of this study, a volunteer sample from a population defined by the researcher was selected to participate in the study after being personally asked to do so. These participants were youth from the Republic of Congo, who the researcher is well familiar with and that meet the definition of being 1.5 generation immigrants, ranging between fifteen and twenty years old. For the purpose of capturing both the family and peer influences on the identity negotiation of these youth, the participants selected were those who migrated to South Africa with at least one parent/guardian, who have lived in South Africa for at least five years and currently attending a public high school.

Due to the depth required in qualitative research, the researcher intended on approaching ten Congolese youth as participants in the study, to effectively capture their unique experiences within the available time frame. However, as a result of the unavailability of some of the participants, the researcher was left with a sample size of eight participants. The researcher, therefore, conducted observations (with recordings of interactional data) and the focus groups with the eight participants.

Considering the need for a more representative sample, the researcher approached four new participants who were uncomfortable with the observations but willing to conduct an interview and met the requirements of the study. The researcher, therefore, conducted an additional four individual interviews, thus bringing the total sample size to twelve participants. With this sample size, the researcher was able to collect ample data from the participating youth to produce a comprehensive analysis of the experiences of the target group.

In addition to the interactional data collected from observations, individual interviews, and the focus group interview, the researcher collected statistical data from the participants; believing that this data will provide further insight by adding to the contextual information of participants within the study. In this regard, the researcher was further interested in discovering how these participants identify and position themselves, particularly in terms of their language use.

An overview of the participants' details as reported by them, can be found in Table 1:

Table 1: Participants of the study

Participant	Gender	Age	Years in SA	Language Biography
Rebecca	Female	17	5-10 years	French, English, Lari, Lingala, KiCongo
Patrick	Male	18	10 or more years	French, English
Vanessa	Female	17	10 or more years	English, French
Gloria	Female	15	5 – 10 years	French, English
Marco	Male	17	5 – 10 years	Swahili, Lingala, French, English
Naomi	Female	19	5 – 10 years	French, English
Prisca	Female	17	5 – 10 years	French

Sophie	Female	18	10 or more years	English, Lingala, Afrikaans
Eunice	Female	19	10 or more years	French English Afrikaans Xhosa Swahili
Serge	Male	19	10 or more years	Afrikaans English French Kicongo (Lari) Lingala
Joseph	Male	18	10 or more years	French English
Lisa	Female	17	5 – 10 years	English Lingala

NB: pseudonyms have been used to protect the participants' identities.

4.7 Research Methods

This section describes the methods used for data collection within the study. The researcher saw it fit to use three methods of data collection in an attempt to obtain enough data to lead an accurate analysis of the language practices and identity negotiation practices of the 1.5 generation Congolese migrant youth. Thus, triangulation was used. Although this method generally refers to the use and mix of qualitative and quantitative methods within one study (Flick, 2007), it was used in this case to mix the three qualitative methods of observations, focus group discussions and semi-

structured individual interviews.

4.7.1 Observations

According to Abercrombie, Hill, and Turner, observation refers to “a research technique in which the researcher observes a social collective by spending time in their environment” (1988: 179). Observations served as a vital role in the researchers’ entry into the research site as it attempts to capture life as experienced by the research participants rather than through categories that have been predetermined by the researcher (Given, 2008). It gives the researcher a deeper insight into the lived experiences of participants and what they say, the words they use, accounts and explanations they give of their behaviour, and the personal and social meanings and the attitudes and beliefs that are revealed through their talk (Matthews & Ross, 2010).

Greg, Namey, and Mitchell describe this research method as one of the most challenging and natural ways of data collection because “it connects the researcher to the most basic human experiences, discovering first-hand the how’s and whys of human behaviour in a particular context” (2013: 75). It usually involves direct contact between the researcher and participants though indirect data collection methods such as audio (or video) recordings. Conducting observations in the participants’ natural settings for a period of time provides the researcher with the insight of how participants attach meanings to certain activities and events.

Bless Higson-Smith (1995: 104) argues that becoming an insider allows a deeper understanding into the research problem, as it gives the researcher the confidence of the participants while sharing their experiences, without disturbing their behaviour (Bless Higson-Smith, 1995: 104; Bless Higson-Smith, 2000). It is further argued by Jorgensen (1989) that more accurate data can be collected as the researcher gets involved in the daily life of the participants. Therefore, using observation assists the researcher to integrate the observed behaviour into its physical context and in this way make sense of the behaviour in a relative way (Greg, Namey & Mitchell, 2013).

In conducting observations of the youth, the researcher sought to build on the existing rapport with the youth before starting with observation. The researcher was already familiar with the participants through friends and family and had thus had a number of interactions with them in the past. This facilitated the process of observation and possibly generated as naturally occurring data as possible. Similarly, participants being familiar with the researcher decreased the level of anxiety of having the researcher in their social spaces as they got used to her presence. A similar case is seen in Goodwin's (1990) research with the Maple children where she established such great rapport with the children that they became accustomed to her presences and the presence of her recording equipment. This was as a result of spending two months with the children in which she observed them and subsequently only started recording them after the two months at which point, she could capture the most naturally occurring interactions between the children (Goodwin, 1990).

The researcher attempted to do this by observing each of the initial eight participants in their social settings for one week each. This was done from after school, as the participants travelled home with their schoolmates until they reached home. Consent was requested and given by the parent/guardian of the participants, which allowed the researcher to continue the observations for approximately 2 hours at the participants' homes. As participants moved from school to home, their engagements shifted from interacting with friends to interacting with parents/guardians. Through this, the researcher was able to observe any interesting change of language practices, behaviours and identity shifts. The participants were given an audio recorder daily, which they carried with them for the duration of their time with the researcher. The audio recorder assisted in capturing the interactions between the participants and friends or family and eased the pressure on the researcher who could then focus on noting the non-verbal communication and description of contexts.

4.7.2 Focus Groups

Following the observation period, the researcher conducted two focus group discussions with the participants. According to Flick (2009), a focus group interview is an interview with a small group of participants on a topic which they all have knowledge and/or experience on. These groups typically consist of six to eight people who participate in the discussion-type interview for one-half to two hours. This discussion is often guided, monitored and recorded by a researcher

(sometimes called a moderator or facilitator) (Merriam, 2008).

The focus or object of analysis is not only the answers of participants but the interaction inside the group. The participants influence each other through their answers to the ideas and contributions during the discussion (Flick, 2009). Pollock prefers the focus group interviews as opposed to single (individual) interviews because "studying the attitudes, opinions, and practices of human beings in artificial isolation from the contexts in which they occur should be avoided" (1955: 34). The starting point here is that opinions, which are presented to the interviewer in interviews and surveys, are detached from everyday forms of communication and relations.

Group discussions, on the other hand, correspond to the way in which opinions are produced, expressed, and exchanged in everyday life. The context of the focus group, therefore, acts as a microcosm of the everyday interactions encountered by participants, particularly a semi-formal focus group, which was conducted in the study. The semi-formal atmosphere of the focus group interview structure is intended to encourage participants to speak freely and completely about behaviours, attitudes, and opinions they possess. According to Berg (2000), this makes focus groups an excellent method of collecting information from young children and teenagers.

After all the observations had been completed, the researcher conducted two focus group interviews with the participants. These focus group interviews were held at the University of the Western Cape, a central meeting place for the participants and researcher. This discussion provided the participants an opportunity to reflect on their identity and what it means to be a 1.5 generation migrant in Cape Town, to share their experiences with one another and to engage as they normally would in their friendship groups. An advantage was the fact that some of the participants were well acquainted with each other and others had interacted in the WhatsApp group created by the researcher. Although created largely as a means of central communication for the planning of the focus group interviews, the WhatsApp group became a platform where participants got to know each other. This familiarity with one another and the researcher contributed to the comfort and ease which participants felt during the focus group interview.

For the focus group interview, the researcher prepared a set of questions, similar to those prepared for the individual interviews. These questions were designed to obtain the following information:

- The experiences of the participants as migrant youth in their communities.
- The experiences of the participants with local peers, at school and in their neighborhoods.
- The experiences of participants with fellow Congolese.
- The language use of participants in the school and home contexts.
- The participants' language attitudes and need to belong.
- And how the participants identified and positioned themselves.

When all the participants had gathered in the room, the researcher began by introducing herself thanking the participants for their attendance, explaining the objectives of the study and reminding them that the interview would be audio recorded. Consent for the researcher to audio record participants was granted by both the parent/guardians of the participants, as well as the participants themselves, prior to the data collection process. This ethical consideration, as well as others, will be discussed later in the chapter. The participants were asked to fill in a data form, to provide statistical data of the participants (as seen in 4.6 above). Once all the logistics had been taken care of, the researcher began asking the questions.

Although one of the objectives of the focus group interview was to facilitate discussion among participants, it seemed that participants did not fully engage with one another, except for when someone said something seemingly controversial. These instances led to rich discussions, in which the researcher could note, not only what they engaged about, but also how they engaged with one another. During those instances, the researcher remained quiet so as to allow the natural flow of conversation to continue, until such time that the researcher deemed it sufficient. After approximately forty-five minutes, the researcher concluded the focus group interview, thanked the participants again and noted down any final observations from the interview. Following the focus group interview, the recorded audio was transcribed to facilitate data analysis. The fundamental data produced by this technique were the transcripts of the group discussions, which were analysed for recurring themes, and nuanced language use.

4.7.3 Individual interviews

Semi-structured interviews, which were conducted after the focus group interviews, are useful tools for finding out how respondents feel about certain things and how they make meaning of their worlds. These interviews do not have predetermined, structured choices, rather, the questions are open-ended yet specific in intent, allowing for a wide of range of responses (McMillan, 2009). Interviews allow for greater depth and richness of information and also are used to explain the participant's point of view, how they think and how they interpret and explain their behaviour within a given setting (McMillan, 2009).

The researcher conducted four semi-structured interviews with the additional participants. These interviews were conducted at the participants' homes and covered similar topics to the focus group discussion. The semi-structured nature of the interviews allowed the researcher to get a rather detailed set of data as she was able to really probe certain aspects of the participants' responses.

Unstructured interviews can enable the interviewer to come in at certain levels of the interview with particular cues that allows for more information to emerge that was not foreseen at the beginning. The researcher can also elicit additional data if initial answers are vague, incomplete, off-topic, or not specific enough. It, therefore, follows a particular structure with question, but also involves a number of probes, transitions, and follow-ups which are often not anticipated prior to the interview (Vanderstoep & Johnson, 2009). This type of interview, therefore, involves the posing of a set of prearranged questions and/or special topics. Generally, the questions are typically asked in a systematic and consistent order, however, the interviewer is allowed, and often encouraged, to digress from the pre-set structure and probe for answers to gauge a deeper understanding of the respondents' reasoning (Berg, 2000). This often leads to information that the researcher had not anticipated, but that add significant value to the study. The interviewees on their part also have the opportunity to ask questions on what they have not understood.

Interviews can help the researcher gain the other person's experience of their reality- how they view and interpret what happened or is happening. Jacob (1988,) as cited by Key, (1997) quotes the interviewer as an integral part of the investigation (qualitative). In analysing the interviews then what is needed is structuring the large and complex material for analysis. This is done nowadays by transcription and by qualitative material which is then clarified and coded, making it amenable for analysis.

Interviews can, however, have limitations as they are sometimes biased in answers and accuracy. This can happen when the interviewer and the interviewee are familiar with each other or when the issue under research is very sensitive. In such cases, the interviewee will fail to give the right information for fear of the unknown.

On the other hand, there is always the risk of the interviewer being biased whilst analysing the data collected from participants. The interviewer with a particular impression about an interviewee or certain information can carry this impression into the analysis of the data collected. The interviewee, on the other hand, can also give biased responses based on the researcher's attitude or the issue under research. Therefore, the development of rich, relevant data rests not only on the interviewer's ability to understand, interpret, and respond to the verbal and nonverbal information provided by the informant but also his/her ability to recognize any biases that may be at play (Givens, 2008).

As previously mentioned, four individual interviews were conducted with participants, who had been referred to the researcher by the initial group of participants. These four participants equally meet the criteria for the research objectives, however, they were uncomfortable with the prospect of the observation process and thus preferred to be interviewed instead. The researcher then sought consent from the parent/guardians of the participants before scheduling the interview dates. These interviews were conducted at various places, according to the request of the participants who requested to be in familiar settings. The researcher, therefore, met with the participants after school, on the agreed time and day, and in their respective spaces.

The researcher had not previously been familiar with these particular participants; therefore, it was important to first establish rapport, which was done by having an informal conversation with the participant before starting the interview. By asking questions about their school day and telling them about herself, the researcher was able to facilitate a comfortable space for the interview. As the interview commenced, the researcher introduced the study and asked the participant to fill in the statistical data form as with the focus group interview. The questions asked, similar to those in the focus interview, were meant to provide deeper insight into the experiences, challenges, language use and identity positioning of the participants.

It was interesting to note that these interviews elicited deeper responses than the focus group interviews, a factor that could be attributed to the fact that the individual interview makes it easier for researcher to really probe participant responses, ask for clarity and ask follow up questions; something that was not extensively possible in the focus group interview.

4.8 Ethical Considerations

The increase in interest in adolescents growing up in multilingual settings (and youth experiences in general) creates a need for researchers to carefully observe the ethical implications of conducting research with children. Ethical considerations relate to the moral standards that the researcher should consider in all research methods and in all stages of the research design. Research ethics deals primarily with the interaction between researchers and the people they study. Agreed-upon standards for research ethics help ensure that as researchers we explicitly consider the needs and concerns of the people we study, that appropriate oversight for the conduct of research takes place and that a basis for trust is established between researchers and study participants (McMillan, 2009). In complying with research ethics, the researcher ensured that the principles of research ethics were considered, particularly the right to informed consent and anonymity.

4.8.1 Informed consent

Informed consent means the knowing consent of individuals to participate as an exercise of their choice, free from any element of fraud, deceit, duress, or similar unfair enticement or manipulation (Berg, 2000). Therefore, participants should not be coerced into taking part in the study and have the right to decide whether to participate without incurring any penalty (Polit et al., 2001: 78). In most circumstances, researchers must provide potential participants with information about the purpose, methods, demands, risks, inconveniences, discomforts, and possible outcomes of the research, including whether and how the research results might be circulated (Given, 2008). This information will then inform the decision of the potential participant in deciding whether they will participate in the research or not.

Generally, consent must be ensured in writing, in the form of an “informed consent form”. Typically, informed consent forms contain a written statement of potential risk and benefit and some phrase to the effect that these risks and benefits have been explained. As a rule, these forms are dated and signed by both the potential participant (or their designated representative) and the researchers (Berg, 2000). Obtaining written consent serves as proof that potential participants are knowingly participating in a study and are doing so of their own choice.

In the case of minors or mentally impaired persons, whose exercise of choice is legally governed, consent must be obtained from the person or agency legally authorized to represent the interests of the individual. . This is often the parent(s), guardian(s), community leader(s) or teacher(s) if the research is to be conducted at school as in the case of the studies conducted by Kerfoot and Bello-Nonjengele (2014), Nkadimeng and Makalela (2015) and Espar (2016).

In keeping up with the ethical principles, the researcher first approached the potential participants and introduced them to the research topic, taking into consideration the need for age-appropriate language and ensuring that they completely understood the project. Following the verbal consent from the children, the researcher then scheduled appointments with the parent/guardians of the youth, to seek consent as some of the youth in question are under the age of 18. This appointment provided the researcher an opportunity to fully explain the research project and its objectives, the process to be undertaken and the rationale behind it all to both the participant and parent/guardian.

The researcher also provided the parent with an information sheet outlining the same, including the rights of the participants, as well as the consent form. The participant and parent/guardian were able to ask questions and clarify anything that was unclear with regard to the participant's participation. Once all the questions had been answered and the parent was satisfied, the parent/guardian, the participating youth and the researcher signed the consent form which proved the parents' agreement in having their child participate in the research.

4.8.2 Anonymity and Confidentiality

This means that the information provided by participants will not be shared without their will (Burns & Grove, 2003). Anonymity also implies that a research participant's identity and responses cannot be identified or linked to them in any ways. It is the researcher's responsibility to ensure that participants' privacy is protected through strategies that promote anonymity and confidentiality. (Given, 2008). This is a requirement from all ethical and professional codes of conduct in research space. In qualitative research, anonymity can facilitate candid disclosure of sensitive information while also protecting the privacy and safety interests of participants. Confidentiality, as an extension, means that information shared with researchers will not be disclosed in a way that can publicly identify a participant or source. There are many reasons for respecting confidentiality. It can protect people from embarrassment or save them from harm or stigma. Without confidentiality, many people either would refuse to take part in sensitive research or would be less forthcoming with the information that they share with researchers. Therefore, confidentiality helps to enhance both the quality and validity of data (Givens, 2008).

The participants and their guardian/s were assured of confidentiality verbally and in the written consent form during all stages of data collection. The researcher further informed them that their identities and information given were kept in strict confidentiality; and as for evidence, it was explained that personal information would be treated with confidentiality and that participants would remain anonymous as pseudonyms would be used in the final research report.

4.9 Locating the researcher within the study

As a member of the target group, the researcher had the added advantage of being relatable to the research participants. Not only is the researcher familiar with the participants through friends' and family, but the researcher also shares the experience of being a 1.5 generation Congolese migrant. Born in Congo, the researcher, along with her family, migrated to South Africa at a tender age and began her schooling career in Cape Town. Living between two worlds, she acquired and spoke English and Afrikaans at school, meanwhile attempting to maintain the home languages of KiLari and French at home, although this proved difficult. Upon reaching university and studying in the field of linguistics, the researcher became particularly interested in the study of language and identity. This interest was further fueled by interactions with fellow Congolese who, upon discovering her lack of proficiency in French, considered her an "invalid Congolese". This highlighted the view that language is intrinsically connected to one's identity. These interactions further placed her in a position of having to explain her linguistic background to peers, who then pitied her for her lack of 'Congolese-ness'.

Having read on the 1.5 generation and identity crises that they face, motivated the researcher to pursue this study as a reflection on her life and the difficulties in trying to maintain an identity that is essentially a hybrid of two nationalities, two cultural ideals, and multiple languages. Recognising her position within the research (as a member of the target group) and the need for objectivity in the study to an extent, the researcher tried to be as impartial as possible in her analysis and reporting of the data. This involves understanding oneself, acknowledging preconceptions and being honest about the effects one's own social identity might have on the interpretation of the data. Recognising this assisted the researcher in identifying the interferences of her bias and strived to minimise them.

4.10 Strengths of the study

One of the biggest strengths of the study, which greatly facilitated the data collection process, was the fact that the researcher is a part of the Congolese community. This made her entry into the research site easier as many of the participants and their parents were well aware of her. There was

therefore already a sense of familiarity and trust from the parents of the participants, hence their willingness to allow the researcher into their home. The participants, some of whom consider the researcher as a big sister figure, were also at ease with her presence in their social groups. Although considered a 'big sister' to some of the participants, the age gap between the researcher and the participants is not too large that participants would feel uncomfortable to be themselves in her presence. The relationship between the researcher and some of the participants thus facilitated communication and ensured that participants honoured their commitment to the data collection process, particularly with regard to the observations and focus group interviews.

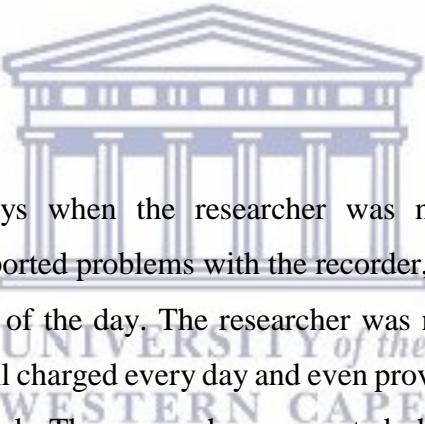
Another advantage of the researcher being a member of the research population was that she is able to understand all languages and dialects spoken by the participants. As participant's moved from one social space (school) to the next (home), their language use sometimes changes and the researcher who is able to understand all the languages and dialects used by the participants was able to adequately follow this shift. Even when participants used instances of a language that is not generally part of their language use, such as Xhosa or Afrikaans, the researcher was able to understand and interpret the utterances accordingly. This holistic immersion of the researcher within the research site allowed her to bring a somewhat 'in group' perspective of the ways in which the 1.5 generation Congolese youth construct and negotiate certain identities in their various contexts.

4.11 Limitations of the study

As with all studies working with people, the study faced a number of challenges during the data collection period. The first challenge as previously noted was that the researcher was unable to find an adequate number of participants and had to settle with conducting observations and the focus group interview with only eight participants. Some of the participants had been recruited by the others and thus they were not as familiar with the researcher as the initial participants. The researcher, therefore, struggled with obtaining consent from the parents of those participants as they did not know the researcher and were not completely comfortable with inviting a stranger in

their homes for a week. After discussing the matter, the researcher and the parents came to the agreement that the researcher would observe the participants after school with their friends but not at home.

The researcher thus only managed to observe those participants in their friend settings and left the recorder with the participants when they went home. This allowed the researcher to obtain the interactional data from participants in their home, without the researcher being physically present. In certain instances, those participants were not even comfortable with the researcher's presence in their friend groups and requested the researcher leave them with the recorder and not physically conduct the observation on certain days. This posed a challenge for the study as the researcher received the audio recordings of the interactional data but lacked the contextual information surrounding those interactions.



Secondly, on some of the days when the researcher was not physically conducting the observations, the participants reported problems with the recorder, stating that the recorder would simply switch off in the middle of the day. The researcher was not sure if this was true as she ensured that the recorder was well charged every day and even provided the participants with spare batteries should they be needed. The researcher suspected, however, that the participants intentionally stopped the recording at certain times to ensure that some (perhaps private) conversation was not captured in the recording. This left a number of gaps in the recorded audio and hence, in the data collected from those participants.

Finally, the rapport between the researcher and the participants, although a great contributor to the success of the data collection process, also hindered progress in some instances. Due to their familiarity with the researcher, participants began asking the researcher for personal favours and for the researcher to buy them food and airtime. There was, therefore, a need for the researcher to re-establish her role as a researcher and partially disconnect from her role as a 'big sister' to the participants. At times, the participants would behave nonchalantly towards the research process,

not inform the researcher when they were not attending school and arriving late for the focus group discussions. However, the researcher exercised patience, understanding the phase that the participants are currently in. Despite the difficulties, the data collection processed was successful and the researcher obtained a large corpus of rich data from the participants.

4.12 Conclusion

This section provided an overview of the research design, methodology and methods the researcher wishes to employ within this study. It also highlighted the motivation for the methods chosen and the ways in which the data collected from such methods would serve to fulfil the objectives of the study. Included within this section is also the ethical considerations which are vital to any study and the steps taken by the researcher to protect the participants.



CHAPTER FIVE - FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

As discussed in chapter four, the study is qualitative and uses the ethnographic tools of individual and focus group interviews with participants, as well as observations and audio recordings of interactions. The data is analysed using two complementary analytical frames, Interactional sociolinguistics, and Discourse Analysis, which enable a focus on the meanings created at both micro- and macro-level.

Discourse analysts employ the tools of grammarians to identify the role of wordings in passages of text and employ the tools of social theorists to explain why they make the meanings they do (Martin & Rose, 2003: 4). In order to uncover different kinds of relationships and social patterns interactants are constructing with each other, our focus should not only be on what and who, but on how participants talked to each other, and how they interacted. In order to this, the data used from the interviews was used to analyse how the 1.5 generation immigrant youth give accounts of their experiences as migrants in South Africa and how the introduction of new cultures and language varieties play a role in their identity construction and negotiation, as well as their reflections on the differences between their home and host communities. The interactional data was used to analyse how they enact these experiences in their daily lives and conversations with peers. It is through these interactions that we are able to understand the daily decisions they make in drawing on various linguistics and sociocultural resources for meaning-making, identity construction, and social positioning.

In this chapter, I discuss and analyse the themes arising from the data and then use these as a basis to answer the research questions. which seeks to investigate the ways in which these youth use languages and linguistic forms to negotiate their identities as they navigate between two different cultures.

5.2 Vulnerable reality: experiences as the ‘other’

As previously mentioned in the description of the 1.5 generation a key factor that distinguishes the migrant youth within this study, from their parents or older migrants, is the compulsory immersion into the South African schooling system. As minors, they were required to attend school, with very little to no competence in the medium of instruction, which is primarily English in the Western Cape.

The first day of school plays a vital role in their experiences as migrants, where they are confronted with the truth of their new reality: that they are outsiders. The participant in the study recount very similar experiences of their first days in the South African school system – indicating a clear sense of vulnerability within the new space as can be seen in the extracts below

Extract 5.1

English: Times New Roman; French: Courier New; Lingala: Calibri; isiXhosa: Roboto Light; **Kaaps: Oswald**

1. **Marco:** My first experience was not really good, but mostly the way I was treated it wasn't very nice in terms of friends, because they tried like to underestimate my knowledge because I couldn't speak English at that time. So they tried like you know, like poke me you know, like do this – you can't do this, they underestimate me - you can't speak English, you won't be that, you're gonna fail the grade but luckily I was ...(unclear) myself that's why I made it this long, that's why I excelled.
2. **Interviewer:** So, who were mostly the ones that ... (unclear – heavy background noise)
3. **Marco:** Friends, South Africans. Yeah, South Africans basically because they were the people who could speak English, I couldn't speak it. So basically, I was with Congolese friends, they are the ones who tried to encourage me like “you will do it”, “if you focus you will do it” but they tried to discourage me, yeah!

Semi-structured interview (after school at the participant's home)

Extract 5.2

English: Times New Roman; French: Courier New; Lingala: Calibri; isiXhosa: Roboto Light; **Kaaps: Oswald**

1. **Sophie:** Ok. Well, my first day at school was in Grade 3. It was quite scary because I was discriminated as – it was quite scary. The discrimination was very strong on the first day. They had this so-called name Kweri Kweri which I later discovered that it described foreigners. So, it was quite panicky I would say.

Focus Group Interview (after school at UWC, with other research participants)

Extract 5.3

English: Times New Roman; French: Courier New; Lingala: Calibri; isiXhosa: Roboto Light; **Kaaps: Oswald**

1. **Prisca:** my first day at school was a bit tricky because I didn't have any friends, so I was just sitting in the corner like, I don't have, I didn't know. and at that time, I didn't used to like understand English or what they were saying in class so I would, I wouldn't like ask any questions, I would just sit down there, and whatever the teacher say I would just say yes, yes,... [laugh] you know, I don't even know what to say, even if you say something do this, I'm like, yes! It's like, what is yes... like ... but likely I found friends that I connected with, that also was like in the same case as me, they could not also speak English, so we made a group and then worked together, so the first day at school was ugg... I don't know, it was just hectic. (laughs).

Semi-structured interview (after school at the local park)

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WESTERN CAPE

Extract 5.4

English: Times New Roman; French: Courier New; Lingala: Calibri; isiXhosa: Roboto Light; **Kaaps: Oswald**

1. Lisa: okay, when I got here in South Africa in 2012, I immediately went to school, and I was a bit lost and I had to repeat the class because I couldn't speak the language. I had my friends, South African friends I didn't have, only my friend who was from Congo who was helping me explaining things in French because I couldn't understand anything in class. The year went, I started learning a little so I had to fail the class because I couldn't do anything. And the next year, I understood much better and I passed the grade. And now I'm okay.

Focus Group Interview (after school at UWC, with other research participants)

The extracts above come from the focus group and individual interview transcripts, in which participants were asked to recount the experiences of their first day in South African schools. The responses represent clear, and perhaps common, fears and vulnerabilities of migrant youth. The inability to speak and understand the common language, English, made it extremely difficult for them not only to participate in the social capital that comes with being in the school setting but also in their ability to do well academically. Many Congolese and other migrant youth often have to repeat their first year of school in South Africa due to the language barrier, something that increases their feelings of vulnerability and shame.

Not surprisingly, however, is the fact that for most of the participants, entry into a peer group often came as a result of shared vulnerabilities. Due to their shared experiences, they were able to easily connect with fellow Congolese – who facilitated their entry into the school system, as noted by Lisa when she states: “... I had my friends, South African friends I didn’t have, only my friend who was from Congo who was helping me explaining things in French because I couldn’t understand anything in class.”

It is important to note that, although it is common practice for people to unite due to shared experiences, the fact that their first friends were fellow Congolese paved the way for the emergence of an unexpected identity negotiation process; one in which, although primarily engrossed in the South African culture, they continue to maintain a strong connection to the Congolese culture, with its languages (French, Lingala, kiLari and so forth) and practices. Therefore, although these young multilingual speakers engage in primarily South African and at times, global, youth practices – there remains a strong sense of Congolese-ness, that not only stems from the parent’s influence but primarily from the friend group influence. This influence not only facilitates, social capital, but also language learning as will be seen in the next section. As their multilingual repertoires develop in the new space, the youth find themselves continuously switching to various codes, in adaptation to their surroundings. In this regard, García (2012:524) contends that multilingual speakers “...decide who they want to be and choose their language practices accordingly”. Thus, according to Dyer (2007:104), speakers in this model are seen as “actively exploiting linguistic resources available to them in order to project differing identities for different

contexts”. This further explains how, according to context, they decide to switch the linguistic forms.

5.3 The expansion of a multilingual profile

5.3.1 Linguistic repertoires

As previously mentioned in chapter one, the participants within this study comes from a highly multilingual society, with Congo boasting over 60 languages and many more dialects. As a result of the rich multilingualism in Congo, they already enter South Africa highly multilingual, with the ability to speak at least three Congolese languages. When they first arrive to South Africa, the immediate linguistic need is for them to learn English so that they would be able to function in the new society. As time went by, these migrant youths began to learn other languages found in their new local space. This led to an increase in their linguistic repertoires and ultimately, a wide variety of linguistic resource from which they can draw on in various interactive events. In the extracts below, the participants were asked about their language use in their peer groups:

Extract 5.5

English: Times New Roman; French: Courier New; Lingala: Calibri; isiXhosa: Roboto Light; **Kaaps: Oswald**

1. **Joseph:** In class we speak English... Hmm Lingala and French is basically during breaks, at lunch. That’s when we speak Lingala and French. It’s the best way of communication because English, we can communicate. But some people are there, they are French speaking. When you come with English, they don’t understand it well. So sometimes we prefer speaking the language we know best so that everyone feels comfortable and relaxed in that language.

Semi-structured interview (after school at the local library)

Extract 5.6

English: Times New Roman; French: Courier New; Lingala: Calibri; isiXhosa: Roboto Light; **Kaaps: Oswald**

1. **Prisca:** Yes, sometimes if we're alone we speak Lingala because you want to understand each other exactly what you are saying because sometimes English can be hard sometimes, like what's that word in English like, what's that word? No, let's just speak Lingala because we want to understand each other.

Semi-structured interview (after school at the local park)

Extract 5.7

English: Times New Roman; French: Courier New; Lingala: Calibri; isiXhosa: Roboto Light; **Kaaps: Oswald**

1. **Joseph:** Most of my friends are from Brazzaville which I met in bar work, we make jokes in Kikongo but we communicate in English.
2. **Interviewer:** why is that?
3. **Joseph:** Because we all grew up in South Africa. When it comes to the new friends I am making now, Congolese also but from the DRC, then they start bringing back the nature of Lingala in me. I start communicating with them in Lingala. But when we all come together it's a mixture of all those 3 languages, so that's it.

Semi-structured interview (after school at the local library)

Extract 5.8

English: Times New Roman; French: Courier New; Lingala: Calibri; isiXhosa: Roboto Light; **Kaaps: Oswald**

1. **Joseph:** But me and my brother and sisters we mostly communicate in Afrikaans. That's when we want to trick the parents, but we mostly communicate in Afrikaans and my mom them English.
2. **Interviewer:** So, your parents don't understand Afrikaans?
3. **Joseph:** They're starting to, yeah [*giggles*]
4. **Interviewer:** So, what do they say when they hear you guys speak Afrikaans?
5. **Joseph:** They used to yell at us, they used to tell us to stop but now they just don't mind.

Semi-structured interview (after school at the local library)

The responses from the participants in these extracts are interesting as many of them state that they speak mostly French, Lingala and Kikongo among their friends. Yet, they primarily cling to their original linguistic resources even in the new space. This of course can be attributed to the fact that their friends are fellow Congolese and therefore, they maintain a level of in-group identity by speaking French, Lingala and Kikongo, languages which they are most comfortable in. Furthermore, although they all have an advanced proficiency of English, it is interesting to note that it is still a language that they would not automatically speak as stated by Prisca in Extract 6 “English can be hard sometimes, like what’s that word in English like, what’s that word?”. Therefore, because of the difficulties sometimes faced in speaking English, she still considers it a foreign language. This however does not exactly complement the data in which the majority of the recorded interaction between her friends and herself were in English, with them occasionally drawing on Lingala and French as fillers. Thus, what the migrant youth recount regarding their language use sometimes contradicts what happens in their daily interaction - something that can be attributed to the unconscious process by which they sometimes use language in their daily conversations.

In extract 5, Joseph explains that he and his friends would speak English in class, as it is the medium of instruction, but then would shift to French and Lingala during break down. His reasoning for this is interesting as seen in that particular extract “But some people are there, they are French speaking. When you come with English, they don’t understand it well”. Here Joseph declares that it would be difficult for the “French speaking” people in the peer group to understand if they all spoke English, hence their attempt to include everyone by speaking their home languages.

This highlights notion of stylization in which people shift styles primarily in response to their audience (Bucholtz, 2009). They, thus, adjust their speech towards their listeners if they wish to express or achieve solidarity, as Joseph does when interacting with fellow Congolese peers. This approach, according to Giles (1973), is based on the social psychological approach to stylistic variation which was primarily known as the speech accommodation theory, as explained in chapter two (Giles, 1973). This explains some of the cognitive reasons for code choice, code switching,

style shifting and other changes in speech, as individuals seek to adjust their speech to the needs of the addressee, which occurs a lot in the data.

It is interesting that he considers the other Congolese peers, who I assume have been in South Africa for a shorter time than he, as French speakers, considering that he is French speaking as well as2. Although he's intention is to include the newer Congolese friends, it is interesting that through his wording, he actually excludes himself from them, thereby positioning himself as an English speaker and "them" as French speakers. In this way we see how multilingualism, although a tool for social integration, can also be a tool for social exclusion, consciously or unconsciously. His ability to speak English, which the other peers do not possess has seemingly created social distance between them, something that may not be explicitly evident.

Another way in which these young multilingual speakers employ their increased multilingual repertoire is in their interactions with their parents. In extract 8, John reveals that he and his siblings would often speak Afrikaans to trick their parents. Thus, by speaking a language that their parents don't understand, they position themselves and local youth who are able to employ linguistic resources that Congolese traditionally do not. This is another way in which multilingualism is used as tool of exclusion (strategically this time), as they use this to maintain an in-group identity as siblings. This emphasizes the boundaries between generations, known as the intra- and intergenerational boundary as explained by Deppermann and Schmidt (2003). On the intra-generational side, peer group members draw boundaries between themselves and other peer groups, whilst in the intergenerational dimension, the youth group often draw boundaries and create social distance between themselves and older relatives, (unknown) adults and people holding particular institutional power, namely educators and religious leaders (Androutsopoulos & Georgakopoulou, 2008)

Additionally, participants revealed that some of them had to learn the local languages such as Kaaps and isiXhosa, by force, otherwise they would not be able to get along with their local peers, as can be seen the extract below.

Extract 5.9

English: Times New Roman; French: Courier New; Lingala: Calibri; isiXhosa: Roboto Light; **Kaaps: Oswald**

1. **Interviewer:** Have you may be learned any of the South African languages or?
2. **Marco:** Yeah, probably Xhosa. Yeah!
3. **Interviewer:** And when do you speak Xhosa?
4. **Marco:** When I'm with them, when I'm with them. Because some of them, they want to speak Xhosa, you must speak it with them. If you say you don't want to speak, they will think that you know, you don't want to speak their language. You are forced to learn the language, so you must speak both Lingala, Xhosa. You must speak with them.

Semi-structured interview (after school at the participant's home)

The utterance “You are forced to learn the language, so you must speak both” indicate that often times the adoption of a local language by these migrant youth is not as a result of natural integration and exposure, but of obligation. Although Marco explains that he speaks isiXhosa because they (his isiXhosa speaking peers) want him to, it can also be argued to be as a result of his desire to fit into the group and not be the only one unable to understand the language. Therefore, the pressure of feeling like an outsider is heightened when his isiXhosa friend speaks isiXhosa, leading him to learn the language so that he would be able to participate in the interaction. We will discuss the issue of belonging later in this chapter.

5.3.2 “Madesu ezika” - beans that are burning - multilingualism in practice

In the following extracts, we look at the ways a group of migrant youth employ their linguistic repertoires to make sense of the conversation taking place. The interaction occurs after school, as two girls and one boy (all Congolese) make their way to the local park close to the school.

In extract 5.10 we see a glimpse of a conversation between the two girls, who discuss a strange smell as they walk towards the park.

Extract 5.10

English: Times New Roman; French: Courier New; Lingala: Calibri; isiXhosa: Roboto Light; **Kaaps: Oswald**

1. Prisca: it's smells like madesu ezika
It smells like beans that are burning
2. Rebecca: no – it's smells – its smelling like nguba ba zo kalinga
No - it's smells- it's smelling like peanuts that they are frying
3. Prisca: like peanuts – ya it's smelling like peanuts that is burning
4. Rebecca: mhm

Observation (after school at the local park close to the participants' school.)

In this short extract, Prisca begins by observing a peculiar smell. She starts to describe it in English but is unable to find the words to do so, then draws onto Lingala to finish her sentence, finally declaring that something smells like beans that are burning. Rebecca, disagreeing with her friend, take a similar approach; starting to describe what she thinks the smell is and then drawing on Lingala as well “no – it's smells – its smelling like *nguba ba zo kalinga [peanuts that they are frying]*”. Prisca, agreeing with Rebecca's observation, agrees that it does indeed smell like peanuts, then repeats her utterance although this time in English, almost as if to correct both herself and Rebecca, as they were not able to think of the English words at that time.

This kind of code switching occurs often in the interactions these migrant youth as we will see in other sections within this chapter. Thus, the drawing on other linguistic choices to complete or fill sentences, assists these migrant speakers for whom English is a fourth and, in some case, a fifth language. In this way we see how their multilingualism enables them to make sense of the world around them.

The next extract provides an extended view of the conversation between the three participants present. In this interaction, the participants discuss a Congolese snack called *mikate*, a small donut, often fried in a large pot of oil, similar to fat cakes or “magwinya” in South Africa.

Extract 5.11 (A)

English: Times New Roman; French: Courier New; Lingala: Calibri; isiXhosa: Roboto Light; **Kaaps: Oswald**

1. Prisca: I'm feeling myself – who do you want me to feel, you? Come I feel you-
2. Jean-Paul: longwa
Get away from me
3. Prisca: [laughs]
4. Jean-Paul: you're making me miss out mikate
5. Rebecca: come give me
6. Prisca: mikate, oh
7. Jean-Paul: don't 'oh'
8. Rebecca: pona nini - why didn't you bring
Why - why didn't you bring
9. Prisca: ah mikate, nga peku na yibi yeast pa Mister O
Ah mikate, I even stole yeast from mister O
10. Jean-Paul: are you gonna make-
11. Prisca: ya he gave – I bought thingy, I bought the flour, but he didn't have-
12. Rebecca: you must bring me mikate tomorrow
13. Prisca: eh, ka nde eko sila nga pharine
Eh, that'll finish up my flour
14. Jean-Paul: they only make for them and then they leave me three there
15. Prisca: I'm going to fry myself- I don't know how to fry – nako tia eloko wana
I'm going to fry myself - I don't know how to fry - I'm going to put that thing
16. Rebecca: I like the one that they mix with banana
17. Prisca: banana?
18. Rebecca: yes
19. Prisca: ba na na?
20. Jean-Paul: yes, you can make also one with the-

Observation (after school at the local park close to the participants' school.)

Extract 5.11 (B)

English: Times New Roman; French: Courier New; Lingala: Calibri; isiXhosa: Roboto Light;
Kaaps: Oswald

1. Prisca: ba na na? what is a ban a na? [teasing pronunciation]
2. Jean-Paul: you can make a thick one and then you make twi-

3. Prisca: banana [English accent]
4. Jean-Paul: and then you make them nice and long-
5. Prisca: you know that one it's like they mix-
6. Rebecca: patachu?
7. Prisca: like it's like rice, the long one
8. Jean-Paul: the one they put ginger?
9. Prisca: ya, yoooooh-
10. Rebecca: I don't know that one-
11. Prisca: yoooh I love that one!
12. Jean-Paul: I only ate in Congo, but I never saw it here
13. Prisca: they call it *tangawuise*, **ne**? What do they call it?
They call it ginger, right? What do they call it?
14. Jean-Paul: ya they call it ginger
15. Prisca: **yoh** it's so nice – ya moto!
Wow it's so nice - especially the hot ones!
16. Rebecca: some people eat Mikate with chili-
17. Prisca: avocado – no I never used to like it with chilli, I used to only eat it with avocado
18. Jean-Paul: and peanut butter
19. Prisca: ya peanut butter is the best. Oyebe, you can-okoki ko koto na mindele restaurant na desserts
Yes, peanut butter is the best. You know, you can - you can introduce it at a white people's restaurant as a dessert
20. Rebecca: eh, verite *WESTERN CAPE*
Eh, that's true

Observation (after school at the local park close to the participants' school.)

In this interaction, Jean-Paul complains that the other participants, by engaging in a lengthy after-school discussion, has led him to miss out on the snack. That is, there would be none left by the time he got home. This leads to a discussion around this popular snack, with Prisca stating that she would be able to make some for her friends, although also admitting that she does not know how to make the snack (line 15(A): Prisca: I'm going to fry myself- I don't know how to fry – nako tia eloko wana [*I'm going to put that thing*]). As the conversation progresses, the participants begin discussing the various ways in which 'mikate' is made and eaten, stating their favourite

combinations of the snack. They reminisce about how they would eat it in Congo as seen in line 12 (B) with Jean-Paul stating that he used to eat mikate with ginger in Congo but has never seen it here (in South Africa) and Prisca, in line 17(B) “avocado – no I never used to like it with chilli, I used to only eat it with avocado”.

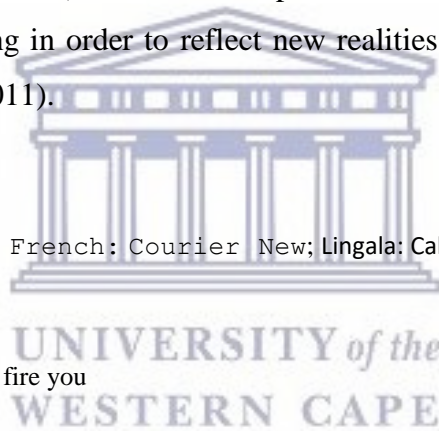
This discussion clearly brings back memories of their time in Congo and in this interaction, we see how these young speakers reveal their sense of longing for their home country. The emotive utterances they use to describe this snack further illustrates this as seen in line 11(B) with Prisca exclaiming, “yoooh I love that one!”, and in line 15(B) where she says, “yoh it’s so nice – ya moto! [*the hot ones!*]”. From this view, we see that there is a strong desire for these youth to hold on to their Congolese experiences. This, even to the point of Prisca offering to make the snack for her friends, although she does not know how to, and hypothetically proposing it be introduced as a meal at a restaurant, as seen in line 19(B), “ya peanut butter is the best. Oyebi, you can-okoki koto na mindele restaurant na desserts [*you know, you can introduce it at a white people’s restaurant as a dessert*]). Therefore, the need to maintain cultural connection, and somehow integrate it into their new lives is evident in this discussion, also leading to the promotion of Congolese culture and identity within the peer group. They also take their stance as proud Congolese youth, despite the perceived influence (often by older Congolese) of the local culture on them.

Stance, according to Du Bois refers to the ways in which particular speakers use language and other linguistic forms within their repertoire to “position themselves and others, draw social boundaries, and lay claim to particular statuses, knowledge and authority in on-going interaction” (2007: 163). By drawing on their knowledge of Congolese foods, they index and reinforce their root identities, thereby taking the stance as proud Congolese youth. Thus, emphasising how, through language and linguistic forms, people can index various interactional stances. Stances that people take include affective, and evaluative stances, which assist in building and communicating more enduring social identities (Bucholtz 2009; Bucholtz and Hall 2005). The affective stance that the participants take when discussing aspects of Congolese food and other Congo-related practices reinforces a fondness of their home country.

Throughout this interaction, the participants draw primarily on English as a base language and Lingala as a supporting language to create meaning and clear up confusion, thus reinforcing their multilingualism. When they are not able to find the correct English word or phrase, we see them drawing on lingala to complete their utterances. One instance of this is seen in line 8 (A) with Rebecca, “pona nini [*why...*]- why didn’t you bring” and in line 13(B) with Prisca “they call it tangawise [*ginger*] ne, what do they call it?”. In the second instance, we see how Prisca, used the French word for ‘ginger’ instead, and then seeking confirmation from her peers. This instance, like many others in interaction among these youth, illustrated how embedded code switching is in multilingual interactions. Code switching, which refers to the instance of using two codes (or languages) within a single utterance, is a relatively common feature of multilingual interactions. Recent studies on the code switching among multilingual youth highlight the influence of the first language on English (de Klerk, 2002), as well as the phenomenon of multilingual urban varieties of African languages developing in order to reflect new realities, new community relationships and new identities (Dowling, 2011).

Extract 5.11 (C)

English: Times New Roman; French: Courier New; Lingala: Calibri; isiXhosa: Roboto Light; **Kaaps: Oswald**



1. Jean-Paul: they will fire you
2. Rebecca: [laugh]
3. Prisca: oh, you people don’t know-
4. Jean-Paul: no man, say maybe you serve it to one person that never tasted it before
5. Prisca: **mos - ya**, that’s what I’m saying
Exactly - yes, that’s what I’m saying
6. Jean-Paul: and then they-
7. Rebecca: or you can take that with you to the restaurant, like after you done eating you eat it with chips
8. Prisca: eat as what
9. Rebecca: bo pesa bato chips
You can give people chips [laughs]
10. Prisca: what?
11. Rebecca: oyebi chips te?
Don’t you know chips?

12. Prisca: chips?
13. Rebecca: *yoh*
Wow
14. Prisca: Chips?!
15. Jean-Paul: Chips!
16. Rebecca: Chips, man!
17. Prisca: chips!
18. Jean-Paul: how can you eat mikate with chips
19. Prisca: noo not like that, it will be like a new dessert on the restaurant, you understand?

Observation (after school at the local park close to the participants' school.)

Although the participants share relatively similar linguistic repertoires, it is interesting to note instances of communication breakdown within this interaction, arguably caused as a result of code-switching. Lines 8 – 18 (C) reveals an interesting communicative breakdown which highlights a risk with code switching. Line 9 (C) begins with Rebecca stating, “bo pesa bato chips [*you can give people chips*]” - an utterance spoken primarily in Lingala with the borrowing of the English word ‘chips’. However, this utterance seems to confuse Prisca, who asks for clarification in line 10 (C) “what?”. Rebecca does not provide clarity, but rhetorically asks Prisca, in amazement, if she doesn't know chips, knowing that she clearly does (line 11 (C): oyebi chips te? [*don't you know chips?*]). She uses the same structure in this utterance however - that is, using Lingala and borrowing the English word ‘chips’. This does not seem to be of much help to Prisca, who continues to display confusion, ultimately leading to a repetition of the word ‘chips’ but all three participants. From Prisca, the repetition of the word communicates her confusion and stands as a cuefin asking ‘what is that?’, whereas the repetitions from Rebecca and Jean-Paul serves to provides this clarity. This evidently leads to frustration as Rebecca resignedly declared “Chips, man!”. Realizing that the back and forth was not yielding any results, Jean-Paul swiftly continues the conversation, leaving the ‘chips’ matter unresolved.

In this case, the breakdown occurs after Rebecca uses an English word, in a primarily Lingala utterance. Her friend Prisca, though competent in both languages, was unable to decipher the meaning of ‘chip’ in the utterance. There is no question of whether she does in fact know the

meaning of chips as the term is used a lot in other instances of their interactions. It seems, however, that she is unable to decipher the word, in the context of a Lingala utterance. Rebecca, attempting to clarify, code switches again by using the English word in a Lingala question. This, partly because there is no official word in Lingala to represent the snack, and because the participants constantly switch and borrow between languages, it is assumed that Prisca would surely know what she means. The back and forth between the participants with the repetition of the word ‘chips’ further show that there is an expectation from both Jean-Paul and Rebecca that Prisca should know what it is due to their shared linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Thus, they do not actually explain or clarify the term to her, rather they repeat the word, using various intonations, in the hopes that it would ring a bell to her and that she would be able to decipher a word that she probably uses daily. Thus, from this extract, we see how the drawing of various varieties and languages within a single interaction can sometimes lead to confusion among listeners who may not be expecting the code switch; however, this is generally the exception rather than the norm in instances of youth multilingualism where the participants share similar linguistics backgrounds and interact often.

In addition to this, we see instances of local slang, used as fillers during the discussion as seen in line 5 (C) “**mos - ya**, that’s what I’m saying” and line 13 (C) “**yoh**”. These fillers often used unconsciously position the migrant youth within their immediate environment - that is, as learners of a school with an Afrikaans background and residents of a primarily coloured community. They therefore inadvertently adopt linguistic resources from their environments into daily interactions, further positioning themselves as legitimate members of their host communities. We see how they use language to navigate their peer group interactions, drawing on their various linguistic repertoires, repairing breakdown, and ultimately creating in-group identity as Congolese, while also drawing on local linguistic influences.

In the following extract, a conversation between two Congolese boys, around their favourite freestyle dancers, becomes a space in which style is experimented with, identities are indexed, and speech is accommodated according to the context of the conversation. The two boys, Serge and Teddy, both seventeen-year-old Congolese migrants, discuss and compare two rival freestyle dancers, with each preferring a different dancer. They then call on their friend, Jacques, with a similar background to them, who is asked to choose between the rival dancers being discussed. As

the conversation progresses, they are joined by a South African friend, Pascal, who brings an interesting turn to the speaking style of the group.

Extract 5.11 (D)

English: Times New Roman; French: Courier New; Lingala: Calibri; isiXhosa: Roboto Light; **Kaaps: Oswald**

1. Serge: Jacques!
2. Jacques: what?
3. Serge: Jacques, come check this bra. Nako pesa yo musala lelo. Where you at?
[Jacques, come check this bra. I'll give you work today. Where you at?]
4. Jacques: [inaudible]
5. Serge: huh? Are you downstairs or upstairs? Come check here
6. Teddy: leave the bra man
7. Serge: Nah man, just look here, question quick question, man. Jacques, David, quick question quick, bra. Between Shimitayo and Yo-kido, which one do you prefer?
8. Jacques: Yo-kido
9. Serge: Exactly bra! Yo-kido bra! All Shimitao know is reverse. Teddy says Shimitao
10. Jacques: He said Shimitao?
11. Serge: Ya. All Shimitayo knows is just reverse. Ya. All Shimitayo knows is just reverse. Yo-Kido does all of it, bra.
12. Pascal: No shit, Sherlock *[mimicking British accent]*
13. Serge: Yeah mate, I mean this nigger right here, he's trying to compare AyO and Kido, ayt. I mean like, what the fuck, yo? *[mimicking British accent]*
14. Teddy: Ozo, ozo loba boye nini?
[what, what are you talking like that for?]
15. Serge: that's why he keeps on watching Man United. 'Cos Man United be losing every time.
[mimicking British accent]
16. Pascal: No no, correction. Man United is the best team in Europe *[mimicking British accent]*
17. Serge: Man United sucks yo, but I heard Ebrahim daVinci is back, yo. *[mimicking British accent]*
18. Pascal: He's back, he's back. He was suspended but- *[mimicking British accent]*
19. Serge: no, he was not suspended yo, he had a knee injury, yo. And then he just got- *[mimicking British accent]*
20. Pascal: - no he was suspended
21. Serge: no, he was not suspended. Don't talk kak! Back to English, kak English now bra [laughs]

Observation (after school at Jacques' house - in Parow)

The three Congolese youth in this extract are considered part of the 1.5 generation migrant group, according to the definition presented by Rumbuart (1976). They had traveled to South Africa with their parents after spending a considerable amount of time in Congo. Thus, they are well versed in the cultural and linguistic practices of Congo. Through their integration into the South African school system and communities, they learned English, Afrikaans and the other linguistic varieties and codes found in their various spaces. In this interaction, as with all others, they speak primarily English, with instances of code switching to Lingala and Kaaps at times, with a very pronounced Cape coloured accent.

In this way, they index the identities of multilingual individuals with sufficient competence and knowledge of the linguistic requirements of their country of origin, as well as the host country. This shift from one linguistic code to another thus positions them as being able to live 'between two worlds', where they are able to navigate both their Congolese identity as well as their 'Capetonian youth' identities and fit into both spaces. This is mainly seen in line 3, "Jacques, come check this bra. Nako pesa yo musala lelo. Where you at?", where Serge calls on Jacques in English, then code switches to Lingala. In the first part of this line, he ends the phrase with the word 'bra', a term loosely translated as 'dude', and often used by Capetonians to refer to friends. Terminology such as this have become embedded in these migrant youth's speech, and thus the codes they employ with their interactions cannot be seen as separate, bounded entities, but as one that has become a part of their speaking style.

In line 12, when Pascal overhears the conversation as he walks by, joins it, the style within the conversation changes. With his statement, "No shit, Sherlock", he uses sarcasm and stylizing a British accent to assert his opinion on who the better dancer is, while also drawing on his knowledge of the fictional character, Sherlock Holmes. His stylization of the British accent signifies that he is not only aware of the character Sherlock Holmes, but also the context of Sherlock Holmes novels, considering that the novels were written by British author, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle and the TV series based in the United Kingdom. It can then be argued that Pascal

stylizes his speech to contextualize his utterance, thus sending contextual cues to the listeners, who may have missed the connection, had he not stylized the British accent as he said the phrase.

As he does this, Serge instantly does the same from the Line 13 onwards and the conversation continues in a highly stylized manner as they continue to discuss their football interests. Copying the stylization enacted by Pascal, Serge attempts to align himself with the identity Pascal communicates through. This, as Dyer (2007:104) explains, shows illustrates how speakers “actively exploit linguistic resources available to them in order to project differing identities for different contexts” in the speech accommodation theory. In accommodating, or enacting the stylization used by Pascal, Serge is able to portray himself, too, as someone with knowledge of British culture and its accents. Therefore, he is able to draw on the contextual cue of the Sherlock Holmes character and his association with the British and infer that enacting the accent is most appropriate in demonstrating that he has, in fact, understood the underlying implication of the cue.

In line 14, Teddy, who had been quite for a while finally sleeps up when seeing Serge stylizing the British accent by asking, in Lingala, why he is speaking in that way, “Ozo, ozo loba boye nini [*what, what are you talking like that for?*]”. With this quest Teddy clearly understands that the speaking style enacted by Serge is not part of his ordinary style, but one that Serge takes on simply to form an ingroup identity with Pascal. He strategically asks this question in Lingala, so that Pascal would not understand, and also as a way to bring Serge back to ‘reality’ and reestablish his identity as a Congolese. It is further important to highlight that Teddy is well versed with the various styles Serge often enacts, his favourite being the Black American English accent, and has come to understand that as part of Serge’s performed identity. However, the British accent is something completely foreign to Serge’s repertoire and thus gives Teddy some concern in seeing his friend interacting in a manner that he normally does not, for the ‘approval’ of Pascal. However, his question goes unanswered as Serge and Pascal continue their conversation until Serge himself, switches out of the role and reverts back to his regular speaking style, or as he says “... Back to English, kak English now bra” (line 21). By reverting to his regular speaking style, while announcing that he is changing back, he reinforces this message in two ways. Thus, even if he did

not announce that he would be switching back to ‘kak English’, his friends would have understood the contextual cue if all he did was make the shift. This, then, led to the switching of speaking style between himself and Pascal.

It is important to note that various speaking styles do not only communicate different meaning, but also communicates meta-messages which indicate a speaker’s intentions about what they say and what they are trying to do. These styles can vary through the use of certain words, intonation patterns, and so forth, in a particular context (Tannen 2013). Therefore, when studying how speakers position themselves in relation to social categories, it is useful to look at a special type of metapragmatic commentary – namely, the use of stylizations. This is beneficial because, as Coupland (2007:154) argues, “stylized utterances also project personas, identities and genres other than those that are presumably current in the speech event”. So, like other speech acts, stylizations do not only give off information about the speaker but also about the addressee, and how they constantly co-construct meaning in their interaction.

5.4 Identity perceptions

The perception that the migrant youth in this study have of themselves was important to this study particularly because it provides insight into their understanding of self and the influence of exposure to the host culture in the formation of their identities. They understand that being migrant youth, while also being embedded in the local school system means that they are required to adapt and accommodate to two distinct ways of life, different languages and belief systems. Although not all of them feel the need to adapt, many of the participants in the study felt the need to. In the extract below, when asked how she manages the conflicting home and social/peer space, she acknowledges that it is essentially a balancing act:

Extract 5.12

English: Times New Roman; French: Courier New; Lingala: Calibri; isiXhosa: Roboto Light; **Kaaps: Oswald**

1. **Eunice:** I managed by balancing myself and acting different with different types of people. When it's my people, the Congolese people, I would act like a Congolese and when I'm among South Africans, I will try to fit in.

Semi-structured interview (after school at the participant's home)

From her response, we see that, without being told, Eunice, having assessed her new living environment, made the conscious decision to adapt herself according to the various spaces that she finds herself. When later asked what 'acting' like a Congolese meant - she shared that she would respect her elders, dress appropriately and speak "Congolese languages". The ability to enact this persona comes from her experiences in Congo as well as the influences within her home, which has strict requirements of how a young lady is meant to behave. On the other hand, through exposure to the host community, she is also able to enact a different persona in order to 'fit in'. Although being rather competent in both spaces, I observed that she is more influenced by the local community as she is by her home culture, as we see in the next two extracts.

Extract 5.13

English: Times New Roman; French: Courier New; Lingala: Calibri; isiXhosa: Roboto Light; **Kaaps: Oswald**

1. **Eunice:** Well, I still identify myself as a Congolese, but my behavior is totally different from the Congolese. So, I identify myself more as a South African-ish, because of the way I was being told, the friends I have, the lifestyle, the school, high school.
2. **Interviewer:** So, I'm getting a sense that you're saying there's a bit of South Africa in you?
3. **Eunice:** Yes.
4. **Interviewer:** So, if you are a 100 % of a person, how much % would you give to being a Congolese and how much would you give to being a South African?
5. **Eunice:** 40 % Congolese, 60 % South African.

Semi-structured interview (after school at the participant's home)

Extract 5.14

English: Times New Roman; French: Courier New; Lingala: Calibri; isiXhosa: Roboto Light; **Kaaps: Oswald**

1. **Eunice:** A lot! Because I kind of adapted to the style here. A person from Congo would actually discriminate against me a lot because I lost a lot of my values and I'm just different from them; even my accent.
2. **Interviewer:** So what values do you say that you have lost?
3. **Eunice:** Oh, I guess respect is the first one [Giggles]. That's respect, that's all.

Semi-structured interview (after school at the participant's home)

From these extracts, we see that Eunice is not only aware of the influence of the host community in her identity, but also how this in turn leads to 'discrimination' from Congolese People. Her assimilation into the South African peer group has inadvertently resulted in her feeling distanced by the Congolese community who no longer see her as a proper Congolese. It is interesting that she does not challenge this discrimination, but rather seems to agree that she is indeed different to other Congolese people, and thus identifies more as a South African, with a 60/40 ratio.

The question on percentage was asked simply to gauge insight into the ways in which those young speakers viewed the balance between the level of influence from the two worlds they live in. This is not to view these world and identities as separate entities, because there are clearly instances where the two culture systems overlap and instances of similarities. However, it was interesting to see how they understood the influences and how they self-identified according to this. From her answer, we see that Eunice still has strong ties to her home culture, with the ability to adapt and draw on her Congolese resources to prevent discrimination. However, despite this, she also understands that due to the ruling exposure to the South African school system and her peer group, made primarily of South African friend, a shift has occurred in her identity. This shift relates to the addition of identity elements and resources, which she then uses to manage her 'two worlds.

The participants somewhat understand how linguistic features indexes their identities, and thus can ascertain that due to their ability to engage in the local linguistic practices, a shift to their perceived identity has occurred.

It is important to note that the link between the linguistic form chosen and the social identity that linguistic forms indexes is not direct, although it may be perceived as direct over a period of time due to the constant reframing (Irvine 2001). Therefore, researchers, particularly sociolinguists, who assume an indexical approach to the study of language and identity often pay attention not only to the distribution of linguistic forms across social categories but also consider how these forms are used in “strategic social action” (Coupland 2006). This has been seen in the data.

5.5 Social capital and belonging

5.5.1 - Language as a key to fitting in

In the section in which participants recounted their first experiences in South African schools, a key theme that arose was that their inability to speak English plays a huge role in their feelings of isolation. This led to a desire to fit in, which continues to be a theme in journey as they navigate various spaces. There is evidently a need to belong, not only within the host culture, but also among fellow Congolese. According to Androutsopoulos and Georgakopoulou (2008: 4), it is generally known that language varieties and repertoires “play a vital role in the (re-)affirmation of a sense of belonging and of interpersonal relationships of intimacy and solidarity”. In the case of research on migrant youth, this view puts forth the assumption that socialization within the peer group is of paramount importance in the life stage that participants within this study are currently in. In this section, we will first investigate this need for belonging in their peer group, and the role of language in facilitating or impeding their ability to ‘fit in’.

In the extract 5.17, the participant, when asked about her experience within her peer group during her first year in South Africa, emphatically stated:

Extract 5.17

English: Times New Roman; French: Courier New; Lingala: Calibri; isiXhosa: Roboto Light; **Kaaps: Oswald**

1. **Gloria:** Well, the majority of my friends spoke English and it was hard for me to fit in because I did not know, I did not have a clue. I just had to fit in.

Focus Group Interview (after school at UWC, with other research participants)

With the utterance “I just had to fit in” - we see that she considered this to be a need; something she absolutely had to do to get by. Therefore, the language barrier extended to be a social barrier, which she was then able to overcome once she had learnt to speak English. This experience, like those of many other migrants, illustrate how the lack of proficiency in the official language can result in them feeling incompetent in many aspects of. Thus, learning English allowed them to become competent members of society. This influenced, not only the ways in which they are treated, but also improving their academic performance, as previously shown.

As the migrant youth began learning English and all the other linguistic varieties found within their local communities, they observed a change in the ways in which locals related to them, with many of them reporting that they are now often seen as South Africans by the locals. This is clearly illustrated in the extracts below, when asked about how their local peers relate to them now.



UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

Extract 5.18

English: Times New Roman; French: Courier New; Lingala: Calibri; isiXhosa: Roboto Light; **Kaaps: Oswald**

1. **Eunice:** Well they [South Africans] are actually happy. They would even go to the point of saying that you are not a foreigner anymore, you are actually a South African for all those years.
2. **Interviewer:** Why would they say that you are not a foreigner anymore?
3. **Eunice:** [Giggle] Because you actually adapted to the country's laws and all that, so you fit in basically.

Semi-structured interview (after school at participant's home)

Extract 19

English: Times New Roman; French: Courier New; Lingala: Calibri; isiXhosa: Roboto Light; **Kaaps: Oswald**

1. **Joseph:** In terms of culture, I grew up with many coloreds mostly, I adapted with them. I couldn't see any other culture to adapt to because they were easy, and they were kind of caring, but they show friendship now. Most of the time as I go around, I'm classified as a colored because of the way I speak and the way I go around doing things. Even in school they even say I have just become a colored and as in why I shouldn't be a South African that's it.

Semi-structured interview (after school at the local library)

Extract 20

English: Times New Roman; French: Courier New; Lingala: Calibri; isiXhosa: Roboto Light; **Kaaps: Oswald**

1. **Joseph:** *[laughs]* most of them... that question only comes after I speak Afrikaans for the first time. Then they're like, from where are you? Then I say from Congo. Then how long have you been in South Africa? No, the first question that pops up is "from where are you?" Congo, and then "Where do you stay?" Then I say this place, Paarl. Ok, how long have you been here? 12 years. Wow, then you're just one of us.
2. **Interviewer:** That's the South Africans?
3. **Joseph:** That's what the comment says – you're just one of us. There comes some occasions they say, you really get the rude comments, mostly they would laugh saying you're basically, and you're just here like a part of us;

Semi-structured interview (after school at the local library)

From the extracts we see that by adopting English and Afrikaans into their linguistic repertoires, the participants have noticeably closed the social and linguistic gap between themselves and their local peers. The comment "you're just like one of us", is one that was echoed, with pride, by many of the participants. There is evidently a level of comfort and relief associated with being accepted as "one of us".

Participants further reported that not only do they speak English and Afrikaans, some of them has also adopted isiXhosa, which has further allowed them to integrate with the isiXhosa community.

Extract 5.21

English: Times New Roman; French: Courier New; Lingala: Calibri; isiXhosa: Roboto Light; **Kaaps: Oswald**

1. **Lisa:** if you speak like Xhosa, they will see you as one of them and they will be like friendly with you.
2. **Prisca:** they will be much more friendly then they would have been.
3. **Rebecca:** me, when they find out that I'm Congolese they're in a shock because they thought I'm South African and then if they ask me you speak French and I say yes then they want to know, they want to learn from me. Yeah...
4. **Lisa:** Often when they ask you like ...what language do you speak and I wanna tell them that I speak English and Afrikaans and maybe French and your native language they actually find you almost like, you know like a genius. They will be like I wish I could speak those languages but man it's a pity that I've never been exposed to such languages. It makes you feel good.

Focus Group Interview (after school at UWC, with other research participants)

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These extracts further reiterate how the learning of South African languages has facilitated their social experiences as notes by Lisa in extract 5.21: “if you speak like Xhosa they will see you as one of them and they will be like friendly with you.”. This is echoed by Prisca who states that ‘they’ - being the South African peers are generally nicer to the foreign students than they would be if they could not speak isiXhosa. They therefore stylize the isiXhosa accent and speech, as they deem necessary. In this way, we see how “the knowing deployment of culturally familiar styles and identities that are marked as deviating from those predictably associated with the current speaking context” (Coupland, 2001: 345), or stylization forms such an integral part of these migrant’s daily interactions.

Rampton (2006: 262, cited in Snell, 2010) asserts that when people stylise speech, it is often characterised by “abrupt shifts in some combination of loudness, pitch level, voice quality or speed

of delivery”. He further explains that “if the audience (or indeed the speaker) subsequently responded by laughing, repeating the utterance, by commenting on it, or by switching into a different kind of non- normal dialect or voice, this could be a final clue” (Rampton, 2006: 262, cited in Snell, 2010). That is, it can officially be regarded as stylising, thus making it easy for the listeners to understand the intended message, though not explicitly stated. As Coupland points out, in stylising people speak as if the voice being enacted is their own or communicate that they agree with that the voice says, “but the speaker leaves their audience to consider whether this utterance is “really mine” rather than “me playing” or “me subverting” (2001: 349). This allows the speaker to fully enact the social identity, making it appear authentic to the audience.

The participants further observe that their local peers are often impressed by their ability to speak a number of languages and often want them to teach them French, something that brings them pride as Lisa confirms “It makes you feel good.” In the case of these participants, the migrant youth are first required to adopt the local languages and varieties, before their differences as migrants is appreciated by the local peers. Although, a difficult path to take, most of the participants reflected on the experience positively, as they had been able to gain in-group membership without completely down playing their identities as Congolese.

5.5.2 Rejection by Congolese

Although the migrant youth in this study have made progress in gaining in group membership with their local peers, a number of them indicated that they struggled to connect with fellow Congolese, particularly adults who had not been as immersed in the school system as they had. This struggle often came as a result of their inability to speak French; a competency that they admit has slowly declined as a result of their increased participation in local language practices. Below are only two examples in which the participants explain the reactions of other Congolese towards them:

Extract 5.22

English: Times New Roman; French: Courier New; Lingala: Calibri; isiXhosa: Roboto Light; **Kaaps: Oswald**

1. **Eunice:** Well, they would maybe make mockeries out of it maybe they would laugh. Some of them would even go extreme and say, “how could you learn such a language when these people

are discriminating against us”. To me it’s not a big deal because I learned it to open more doors for me.

Semi-structured interview (after school at the participant’s home)

Extract 5.23

English: Times New Roman; French: Courier New; Lingala: Calibri; isiXhosa: Roboto Light; **Kaaps: Oswald**

1. **Prisca:** No, sometimes it’s just bothers people like they keep on bothering you, like how come a Congolese like you can’t speak uh French you know they ask those questions, I’m like do I have to? Now if they ask me, how long I was born here just to get out of that conversation, yeah. Some they will be like surprised, they’ll be like Yoh, that’s long, you’ve been here for long, all that stuff. Just because we’re Congolese, doesn't mean we have to speak understand the language.

Semi-structured interview (after school at the local park)

The question “how come a Congolese like you can’t speak uh French” is one that many of the participants have been asked in their interactions with fellow Congolese. As many of them engage in local language and varieties at school, in their social spaces, and sometimes at home, their exposure to French has considerably diminished. Furthermore, the fact that most of their parents prefer to speak and maintain their first languages, Lingala or KiKongo, means that French has little or no place in their daily lives. This, however, is not the case for older Congolese migrants who, despite living in South Africa for many years, still engage in French with their friends, families and often still watch and listen to French media and French literature.

They are then unable to understand why the younger migrants ‘lose’ their French, and often pity or shame them as a result. These interactions are evidently uncomfortable to the migrant youth, who feel that their identities are being questioned, and believe being Congolese does not necessarily mean one has to speak French, as noted by Prisca in extract 23 “Just because we’re Congolese, doesn't mean we have to speak French.”. This essentialist view held by some of the older migrants result in the youth migrants sometimes feeling that they do not belong within among their own people.

Although many of the participants are able to understand and speak basic conversational French, they are often ridiculed for their accents. The participants also reported being gossiped about, judged and laughed at by other Congolese as seen in the extract below when asked about the reaction of other Congolese to the linguistic repertoires of the young migrants:

Extract 5.24

English: Times New Roman; French: Courier New; Lingala: Calibri; isiXhosa: Roboto Light; **Kaaps: Oswald**

1. Vanessa: some of these people think we can't speak French, so they start gossiping about us
Kassir: Uh, uh, they are just cool, like there's no like fight or something like that. They're still all the same you know. But it's just that they're just shocked sometimes when we have speak the language you know, like the home language, they don't believe that we can speak the language
2. Gloria: Oh, can I say something? They're also like the way, the way we speak, the way we speak, like we don't speak the same how they do. They speak that clean French; we speak that home French with our parents so it's not the same so..
3. Sophie: sometimes they, not laugh at us, but yeah... It's not the same.
4. Joseph: They do laugh..., they judge, yeah they do.
5. Sophie: they do laugh, especially when you have to speak the language, they just laugh loud
6. Vanessa: like, it's not very nice and comfortable because we, it's not our fault that we forget words, like when you know different languages then your head get mixed up and stuff.

Focus Group Interview (after school at UWC, with other research participants)

Research conducted by Rampton (2006), Chun (2007), and many others have explored and uncovered the creativity of language use in the construction of youth identities and cultures; and how stylization practices of crossing and mocking, particularly, are used for 'affiliative and disaffiliative' ends in social interaction (Rampton, 2004). Furthermore, various 'contextualization cues' (Gumperz, 1982) in interaction allows for the framing of stylization practices in order to achieve in-group rapport and achieve affiliative strategies. This will be seen in the next section.

5.5.3 “Me, I no know him” - Maintaining distance to maintain belonging

In previous sections, we have noted how the youth in the study used their shared vulnerability to create friend groups and assist each other in navigating various spaces as migrant youth. In the following extract, we see how the opposite can be the case, whereby migrant youth who have developed a sense of in group belonging with local peers, distance themselves from newer migrants for fear of losing their established position. The following interaction takes place between two Congolese boys, as they discuss how a fellow Congolese is being bullied by a group of coloured boys.

Extract 5.24

English: Times New Roman; French: Courier New; Lingala: Calibri; isiXhosa: Roboto Light; **Kaaps: Oswald; Pidgin - Verdana**

1. Serge: who be dis? Teddy - Teddy

Who is this? Teddy – Teddy –

2. Teddy: huh?

3. Serge: no, it's fine, kende, kende, you can go home now.

No, it's fine. Go, go - you can go home now.

4. Teddy: what's wrong?

5. Serge: nothing **bra**. Yo, I just wanted to know how you doing, yo come here **bra**, come here bro, I just wanted to know how you're doing, yo long time no see man, how you doing man, what you got? [stylizing black American accent]

5. Teddy: papa, tala makambo oyo

Old man, look at this trouble

6. Serge: what makambo?

What trouble?

7. Teddy: why are they bullying thingy man

8. Serge: who?

9. Teddy: that other **laaitie** near you

That other boy near you

10. Serge: who?

11. Teddy: what grade you in now?

12. Serge: me, 10

13. Teddy: that other **laaitie** man, Rocky

That other boy, man

14. Serge: who?
15. Teddy: Rocky, he's a bit tall
16. Serge: tall boy?
17. Teddy: like my size, skinny
18. Serge: your size? How does he look? What grade?
19. Teddy: he's shorter than me, grade 9
20. Serge: how does he look?
21. Teddy: he can't speak lingala man- can't speak English. He just came from Congo
22. Serge: what's his hairstyle – nowadays everybody just know one another by their hairstyles bra
23. Teddy: a kataka suki te
- He does not cut his hair*
- [Serge takes Teddy's phone from his hand, in an attempt to watch a dance video]
24. Serge: Jehovah! Eh me no know that one – **bra** just put your password in, why you scared, it's not like you watch porn
- Jehova! I don't know that one - dude, just put your password in. Why are you scared? It's not like you watch porn*
- [Serge moving the phone back towards Teddy to insert the password. Teddy ignores this and continues talking.]
25. Teddy: those guys were bullying him there – he bring a ball, they **WYS** him 'you not gonna play your own ball'. One time.
- Those guys were bullying him there - he bring a ball, and they told him "you're not going to play your own ball." One time.*
26. Serge: that's why I tell him 'tika biloko y aba mayo-jeune' but no – everything I say is always bad
- that's why I tell him, leave this thing with coloureds, but no - everything I say is always bad*

Observation (after school, in the community. The participants coincidentally meet on their way home)

In the extract above, the participant, Serge, meets with a fellow Congolese boy in his neighborhood. In this interaction, he uses a variety of styles to make meaning. He first started by using Nigerian Pidgin as he tries to identify his friend from afar. After recognizing him and moving closer to talk, he, then moves over to stylizes a black American accent and speaking style; something that is not commented on by his friend. He's friend, Teddy, instead informs him that a fellow Congolese boy is being bullied by coloured boys. Serge first tries to understand who exactly is being bullied, asking Teddy information on how the boy in question looks, what grade he is in

and what hairstyle he has. After Teddy confirms that the boy in question is in grade 9, is slightly shorter and does not cut his hair, Serge confirms that he does not know him, and proceeds to ask for the password to Teddy's phone, which he was looking at. Although a serious conversation about bullying, Serge tries to add humor to the situation by shifting the focus to the phone and making a joke about Teddy not watching porn.

Teddy, however, seems bothered by the bullying and continues to tell Serge how the coloured guys took the Congolese boy's ball from him. To this, Serge states that he always tells them to not associate with coloured, but they do not listen to him. Serge, notably, says this in Lingala, being aware that the majority of the people in his surrounding are South African and would thus be able to understand his warning. He clearly does not want this to happen as it may influence their attitude and treatment towards him, particularly as he had already established a level of in-group familiarity with them.

It is interesting to note that despite also being Congolese, Serge does not display the same level of concern that Teddy does. This could be because he does not want to get involved and thereby threaten his relationship with the local peers. Secondly, it seems that he is unable to relate to the experience of the new boy, particularly after hearing that a) the boy does not speak English and b) the boy does not cut his hair "a kataka suki te" (line 23). The hesitation of both boys to intervene illustrates how, despite considering themselves as part of the local group, especially Serge, do not want to interrupt as they may be rejected from the local peer group after that. Therefore, although concerned by the bullying of the new boy who is in a situation they have previously experience, their fear of being socially outcast is greater than their empathy in this moment. This illustrates the conflicts face by the migrant youth, where the aspect of being Congolese and therefore a foreigner conflicts with their desire to maintain in-group belonging with their local peers.

This illustrates the point made by Androutsopoulos and Georgakopoulou (2008) that young speakers may distance themselves from particular groups and/or people in discourse. In this case, the two boys, by not interfering, also set themselves apart from the new boy in town, as more integrated and accepted members of the community. This draws out attention to the strategies within the speech accommodation theory: convergence and divergence.

With convergence, speakers are likely to adjust their speech to that of the interlocutors or to the popular or mainstream norm. People will attempt to converge linguistically toward the speech patterns believed to be characteristic of their recipients when they “(a) desire their social approval and the perceived costs of so acting are proportionally lower than the rewards anticipated; and / or (b) desire a high level of communication efficiency, and (c) social norms are not perceived to dictate alternative speech strategies” (Beebe and Giles 1984: 8).

However, if the individual does not want to have a contact and then distance himself from the addressee or in this case the new boy in question, he may choose to diverge from the speech of his interlocutors, under the following conditions: when speakers (a) define the encounter in intergroup terms and desire positive in group identity, or (b) wish to dissociate personally from another in an inter individual encounter, or (c) wish to bring another’s speech behavior to a personally acceptable level. (Beebe and Giles 1984: 8). One can say, that explanation for stylistic shifting may be explained through both the motivations of the individual speaker and the social relations among speakers and interlocutors.

The language use in this interaction is also interesting to note as we see the use of Pidgin English to create humor, Lingala to bring across important points, Afrikaans words as fillers and English as the general frame for the conversation. Both boys move swiftly between these different varieties, creating meaning and at the same time negotiating their place not only within the conversation (as two multilingual immigrant youth), but also within the space that they find themselves in.

5.6 Peer group as a space for language learning

As previously mentioned, the study takes a socio-culture approach to identity negotiation – in that identity does not occur in isolation but in the context in which an individual is found- it is important to consider the context in which the Congolese youth in this study find themselves in, as this is the context that ultimately promote the identity negotiation process. As previously mentioned, the friends that these peers have at the beginning of their school career in the new context facilitate their entry into the new social space. However, they do more than this: they also

serve as gatekeepers for these youth into the languages and varieties spoken in the new context. The most marked of these being the many instances of peer learning occurring the after-school interactions, whereby the fellow Congolese youth in the peer group takes up the responsibility of assisting each other with the English language, as will be seen in the extract below.

In this extract, four Congolese youth have decided to gather at the local park after school, to discuss their first day back at school after the school holidays. The participants in the extract are two female learners and two males, and although all are Congolese, they have varying degrees of competence in their two major language, English and French. In the extract below, we see Jean-Paul struggling to pronounce an English word, and is subsequently assisted by his peers:

Extract 5.25

English: Times New Roman; French: Courier New; Lingala: Calibri; isiXhosa: Roboto Light; **Kaaps: Oswald**

1. Prisca: I think we're going to write a control test again, I don't know
2. Rebecca: Haibo, it's not a control test Prisca
Oh no, it's not a control test, Prisca
3. Prisca: No, I know there is a June exam
4. Rebecca Ja, after that then there is like a control test
5. Prisca: Yes, that's what I'm talking about
6. Prisca: How can you think about that when we haven't-?
7. Jean-Paul: Muck Muck Mock exam
8. (laughter)
9. Jean-Paul: do they call it muck exam
10. Rebecca and Prisca: Mock examination
11. Prisca: *You know you have to get your English right my Rebecca and Prisca* (mimicking British accent)
12. Rebecca: Voetsek! Leave him alone"

Observation (after school at the local park close to the participants' school. The participants engage in playful banter as they walk.)

In this extract we see how a discussion around control tests and examinations take a slight turn, making way for language learning. Peer learning plays a large role in their social practices: they adopt local colloquial slang from South African peers, maintain Congolese language practices from parents and in their friend groups combine all these elements to express the identities of adaptable, local youth but with a strong sense of Congolese culture.

In this context, Jean-Paul is evidently comfortable with making a pronunciation error, knowing that he is able to draw on the knowledge of his friends, who may be more efficient English speakers than he. Therefore, after repeatedly mispronouncing the word “Mock”, he turns to his peers for guidance on the correct pronunciation, not taking offense to the friendly banter.

Even as Prisca attempts to mock Jean-Paul, by mimicking the British accent and attempting to position herself as a more efficient English speaker, Jean-Paul disregards this. The sense of in-group play is often characterised with youth practices including jokes, mocking, laughter and entertainment, with instances of seriousness illustrated in the extracts resonates with other studies of stylisation in which stylised utterances form part of a “fun-code” (Deppermann 2007: 326, cited in Snell (2010).

It is further interesting to note how, although they are comfortable to mock and joke with each other, Rebecca steps in to reprimand Prisca (although jokingly), to “leave him alone”. Hence, adopting the role of protector within the friend group. In this instance, more of Rebecca’s linguistic repertoire is revealed by her choice of the work “Voetsek” (go away), a local slang word of dismissal. Although all the participants in the peer group are Congolese, they all grasp the term easily – indicating shared knowledge of colloquial terms that do not traditionally form part of their linguistic repertoire. Therefore, although there would be no need for a group of Congolese youth to use any South African colloquial styles and phrases in their speech, it is evident that even within

the group there is a desire to be relevant in the broader context of their social setting, i.e a school with both Afrikaans and Bantu-speaking South Africans as the majority demographic.

5.7 Observed cultural differences and language attitudes

Extract 5.26

English: Times New Roman; French: Courier New; Lingala: Calibri; isiXhosa: Roboto Light; **Kaaps: Oswald**

1. **Interviewer:** Ok, and then how would you – you mentioned it already in the previous question. How would you describe Congolese culture, how would you identify Congolese culture?
2. **Marco:** Congolese culture can be identified as a woman who t respect herself so that others can respect her, well dressed, yeah.
3. **Marco:** There's really much between Congolese culture and South African culture. There's really much I can say. In terms of the way they dress and the way we dress is not the same.
4. **Interviewer:** Ok.
5. **Marco:** The food they eat and us, it's not the same.
6. **Interviewer:** Tell me about it.
7. **Marco:** Because they dress – us specifically we dress like, if I can say it in Lingala - Maputa. But they don't wear it. They wear their ...sort of other stuff, not to criticize but us we already know, a lady must be properly dressed, well dressed. But they wear their...hmm, showing stuff so that's why I say there is a big difference. A woman must be presentable so that a man can respect her. But here in their culture they wear, you know, I can say it's funny. It's really funny. Yeah, it's really funny.

Semi-structured interview (after school at the participant's home)

Extract 5.27

English: Times New Roman; French: Courier New; Lingala: Calibri; isiXhosa: Roboto Light; **Kaaps: Oswald**

1. **Eunice:** Ok. Being raised by a Congolese mother is much more different because the way we are, the way we eat, the way we dress is much more African. When we come to the other side of South Africa, it's much more urban I would say. So, it's that urban-ish issue while we Congolese we dress up I would say in African clothes. But here in South Africa you don't get that more because everyone is urban. What do you call this, a new fashion I would say; so, most people wouldn't actually wear those African clothes more than the Congolese wear them.

Semi-structured interview (after school at the participant's home)

Extract 28

English: Times New Roman; French: Courier New; Lingala: Calibri; isiXhosa: Roboto Light; **Kaaps: Oswald**

1. **Gloria:** Ok. Let me go to myself. Ok my parents, I would refer to my parents, they are very strict, and they do not tolerate any nonsense. For example, if your child would walk around with a little mini skirt, they wouldn't allow that and that's totally Congolese. You can't come home late because that is not the way you are brought up and that is totally Congolese. When I go back to the South African side, if you do wear a mini skirt or anything it's okay because they make it look okay but on the Congolese's side it's totally unacceptable.

Focus Group Interview (after school at UWC, with other research participants)

Extract 5.29

1. **Prisca:** well, every culture has their different way of doing things. We don't like, uh there might be similar things that we have like for example if like a woman want to get married, you have to pay for lobola, you have to get those cows bla, bla, bla, bla. But we have our own different cultures. They, they believe in mutis, like they believe in their ancestors like they do work. Like, some of us we do believe also in that ancestors' stuff but not really, we prefer to believe in God, we are Josephians. Most Congolese people, like they love God but here they believe, yeah ouma nkhosi, ouma nkhosi will do this, I'm like they believe in their own things so we're different.

Semi-structured interview (after school at the local park)

Extract 5.30

English: Times New Roman; French: Courier New; Lingala: Calibri; isiXhosa: Roboto Light; **Kaaps: Oswald**

1. **Prisca:** Their Congolese uh, uh, culture I can say is very strict. It's very strict because we intend to follow like exactly what the culture is about like everything we claim, we like claim to be in order, everything has to be in order. Like the girl has, how the girl should be, how the girl should act, how the girl should like dress you know, how a girl should do her duty like, a girl should wake up in the morning that's like obviously, girls should wake up in the morning and clean the house and take care of the house, we should go to school and you know, get married, go to church every Sunday you know. Congolese culture is very strict.
2. **Interviewer:** And South African culture, how would you describe it?
3. **Prisca:** South African culture, wow. I think they have their own way of dealing with cultures. I think uh, Xhosas and Zulus are more culturally than coloured. Coloureds don't care. They just do their own things, they can like, for example you know, smoke in front of their mothers and then they swear like, like they just swear. But Xhosa sometimes are just like, they are like Congolese, if you swear, your mother or father will beat you to death. But coloureds are like, ah they can run away from home because they know the law is there for them. In Congo, also there are laws, but your superiors have more, like they have more power. Even the teachers, even like a woman from the street. Even though you do something wrong or you steal or you back chat or something, they're allowed to smack you, to discipline you. It's not like here, eh what are you gonna do to me, you're not my mother and then they'll be like, I'm gonna tell the police, and then the police will cover up for you, but Congolese cultures are not like that. We don't do that so it's very different.

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Semi-structured interview (after school at the local park)
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Extract 5.31

English: Times New Roman; French: Courier New; Lingala: Calibri; isiXhosa: Roboto Light; **Kaaps: Oswald**

1. **Interviewer:** okay guys I'm gonna pass that one and ask you what do you guys think is the difference? The differences you've seen between the South African and the Congolese culture?
2. **Josepg:** Xenophobic
3. **Sophie:** Violence, gangsterism.
4. **Melody:** hatred for strangers. They do not see strangers as their brothers or friends but in our culture, you refer to anybody else as the same.
5. **Serge:** yeah, you don't get the ngundas [Asylum Seeker/Refugee Status document] there.

In the above extracts, the participants are asked to distinguish between Congolese and South African culture. This was asked so that the researcher could gauge the attitudes the participants had of the two cultures that they are embedded in. It was interesting to note that in the first extract, Marco immediately identifies Congolese culture with the ways in which women are expected to dress. The sentiment that the ways in which people, particularly women, dress as a marker of cultural identity was echoed in many of the participants' responses. This can also be seen in Gloria's response where she explains that it would not be acceptable for a Congolese girl to be seen wearing a mini skirt and coming home late. Prisca further extends this point when she highlights that Congolese culture is about order and the way in which this order is seen is in the way women dress, behave and tend to household chores. There is, therefore, a strong sense of gendered ideologies that the participants hold, despite their extended exposure to the host culture.

Other differences noted by the participants include the religious following within the two cultures, with Prisca stating that Congolese tend to be devout Christians while South Africans believe in the ancestors. Of course, this is a very one-dimensional view, which fails to take into account the vast differences of different South African cultures; a view that seem to be shared by most of the participants. This generalized and arguably negative view that they have of the host culture can further be seen in the focus group interview extracts where participants associate xenophobia, violence and gangsterism with the South African community.

Only one of the participants explicitly differentiated or took into account the diversity in South African cultures by differentiating the coloureds to the Zulus and Xhosas. In her explanation, Prisca states that the Zulus and Xhosas are similar to Congolese in disciplining their children, however the coloured "do not care", she states. It is evident that the participants have been preconceived ideas about their local peers, resulting in negative attitudes towards the host culture. This, perhaps, is one of the reasons that, despite growing up in the environment, they have not fully integrated into the host society as would be expected.

5.8 How the 1.5 generation use language to negotiate identity in daily interactions

The following extract, centered around the same group of Congolese youth in Extract 5.25, occurs later in the conversation. In this instance, the male participants, after noticing the researcher's presence, enquire about her linguistic repertoires, and what begins as a simple enquiry turns into an interesting space in which multilingualism comes to life, peer learning takes place, and the negotiating of the Congolese youth identities are negotiated as will be seen below:

Extract 5.32 (A)

English: Times New Roman; French: Courier New; Lingala: Calibri; isiXhosa: Roboto Light; **Kaaps: Oswald**

1. Rebecca: (to Prisca) here, give
2. Rebecca: Esila nango pe
(It's finished anyway)
3. Prisca: Sia, esili nini?
(What? Where is it finished?)
4. Prisca: eh na tien yango...na tien yango ce mbala moko
(But I only, I only used it once)
5. Rebecca: oyo...ku na Bling ezalaka fifteen rand
(This one is only something like R15 in Bling)
6. Prisca: eh eh please please kosaka na nangai te
(Eh eh please please, don't play with me)
7. Rebecca: mine I only bought it, so I'm gonna...
8. Prisca: omoni mwana wana?
(Did you see that guy?)
9. Rebecca: eh eh eyindie!
(It's bad!)
10. Prisca: eyindie, eyindie
(It's bad, it's bad)
11. Rebecca: mobali ya ye mwana wana?
(Is that her boyfriend there?)
12. Prisca: Kirstie azo sukisa...oh bazo pesa ba kiss
(Kirstie is shining these days hey... oh look, they are kissing)

13. Parfait: Elle parle français? =

Does she speak French? [Referring to the researcher]

14. Prisca: eh, omana te kuna? =

don't you see there?

15. Rebecca: =yeah=

16. Prisca: don't you see there?

17. Parfait: Lingala?

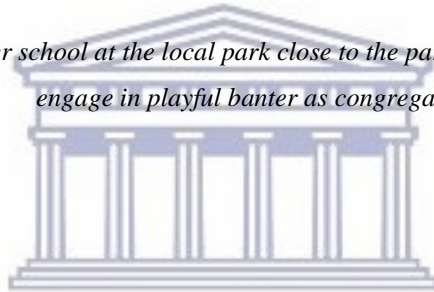
18. Rebecca: she speaks only French

19. Jean-Paul: does she... she knows what we're talking about...?

20. Prisca: Chrispin na mona cheri akasani si atiki mwasi akozala ka bo-...

Joseph, thinks if he leaves a girl then the lady will be like...

Observation (after school at the local park close to the participants' school. The participants engage in playful banter as congregate at the park)



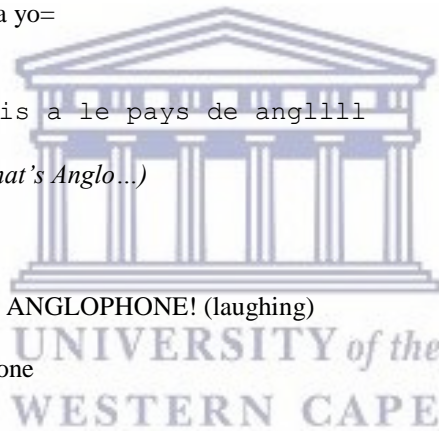
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Extract 5.32 (B)

English: Times New Roman; French: Courier New; Lingala: Calibri; isiXhosa: Roboto Light; **Kaaps: Oswald**

1. Rebecca: Parfait, I mean Jean-Paul, un peu de respect s'il te plait, on ne regarde pas les gens comme ça
Parfait, I mean Jean-Paul, show some respect please, we don't look at people like that
2. Prisca: ouuuuhhh!, le français hein
wow, the French hey! [laughs]
3. Prisca: look here I'm going to bring it for you, so you want me to put it and then you're gonna use it=
4. Jean-Paul: bra see this weather; don't you see this weather?
5. Parfait: she's another level
6. Prisca: for what? For French?
7. Jean-Paul: you're swearing at me in this weather

8. Rebecca: I'm not swearing at you
9. Jean-Paul: what did you say?
10. Rebecca: je t'ai juste dit que=
I just said that=
11. Prisca: =oh you don't want her to speak French=
12. Rebecca: =je ne veux pas que tu puisses la regarder comme ça
(I don't want you to look at her like that)
13. Prisca: Amen=
14. Rebecca: = parce que ce n'est pas poli
(because it's not polite)
15. Jean-Paul: moi je ne suis pas le pays des les francophone=
(I am not in a French country though)
16. Rebecca: =nyama na yo=
(swears at him)
17. Jean-Paul: =je suis a le pays de anglilll
(I am in a country that's Anglo...)
18. Prisca: Mameh!
(My word!)
19. Rebecca and Prisca: ANGLOPHONE! (laughing)
20. Jean-Paul: Anglophone



Observation (after school at the local park close to the participants' school. The participants engage in playful banter as congregate at the park)

Extract 5.32 (C)

English: Times New Roman; French: Courier New; Lingala: Calibri; isiXhosa: Roboto Light; **Kaaps: Oswald**

1. Rebecca and Prisca: [laughing]
2. Jean-Paul: je suis ici Afrique du Sud
(I'm here in South Africa)
3. Rebecca and Prisca: [laughing]

4. Prisca: guys let's go at the park
5. Parfait: =and I love your French by the way=
6. Rebecca: =are you done? - you love what?
7. Parfait: from now on, toi et moi on parle seulement français
(*From now on, you and I will only speak French*)
8. Rebecca: you love my French? eh eh chinekene! (My God!)
9. Prisca: ok goodbye
10. Jean-Paul: (says something unclear)
11. Rebecca: you, don't be jealous, he's speaking
12. Parfait: A partir d'aujourd'hui...
(*From today onwards...*)
13. Rebecca and Prisca: Mhm
14. Parfait: toi et moi seulement français, =pas l'anglais=
(*You and I, only French, no English*)
15. Prisca: =Amen
16. Rebecca: d'accord
(*Agreed*)
17. Jean-Paul: moi aussi
(*Me too*)
18. Rebecca and Prisca: [laughing]
19. Jean-Paul: moi aussi seulement français
(*only French with me as well*)
20. Rebecca and Prisca: [laughing]
21. Jean-Paul: pourquoi est-ce que tu ris
(*Why are you laughing*)
21. Prisca: (says something in French: unclear)
22. Rebecca: [laughing] eh, ris ya ngai ezokoma mabe
(*eh, my laugh sounds so bad*)
23. Prisca: vrai eloko
(*true thing*)
24. Rebecca and Prisca: [laughing]



25. Parfait: =vous, parler seulement français

(You, speak only French)

26. Rebecca: Eh Prisca est une française

(Prisca is French girl)

27. Prisca: ehh, azo zwa ngai- tu me prends comment?

(ehh, what do they, what do you take me for?)

28. Rebecca: [laughing]

29. Prisca: Yoh that language... Parfait is Muswahili (someone that speaks Swahili), that's why he can speak=

30. Rebecca: =yeah that's why

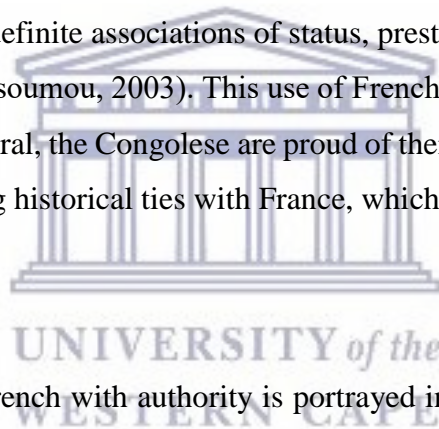
Observation (after school at the local park close to the participants' school. The participants engage in playful banter as congregate at the park)

The friendship group, which is very casual and relaxed allowed participants to speak the languages they are most comfortable, in the manner they feel most at ease. The languages that they use within this interaction include English, French, Lingala, instances of Capetonian slang as well as Yoruba expressions. These languages and varieties are used in unique ways within the friend group:

English is seen and used as the general language of communication within the group and makes up the majority of the utterances. However, when discussing other people (gossiping), the female participants draw on Lingala to avoid being understood by passers-by. It is interesting to note that Lingala is also used as a filler language – often to compensate for the lack of French vocabulary in the participants' repertoires. This is clearly illustrated in lines 59 and 60.

In the extract 5.31, Lingala is also generally spoken between the female participants (lines 1 -12) – whereas they speak English and French to the male participants (from line 13 onwards). Lingala, as a national language in Congo, is often seen to be as a social and intimate language, as opposed to French and English that are official languages in Congo and South Africa respectfully. In this way, there is a clear difference in the social distance between the participants – where the female participants share a stronger bond with each other as they do with the male participants.

Language is recognized as a central tool for the strategic positioning of identities, and multilingual speakers selectively activate different parts of their linguistic repertoires, in order to highlight various aspects of their identities while down playing others (Doran, 2006). Multilingual speaker's choices to use, or not use, language in particular settings are tied to various aspects of identity. In Line 21 (extract 5.31) we see Rebecca, speaking formal French and thus positioning herself not only as a Congolese but a French speaking Congolese. Using French to reprimand her peers, although a seemingly unconscious decision, reinforces the superior status that the French language has among Congolese. The legacy of French colonialism still impacts the Congolese people with the majority of important social and political institutions still conducted in French (Leitch, 2005). For example, French is used in: the military, civil service; government meetings; documents, the professions, education (basic and higher), print media, business and banking. It further provides an established written medium for record keeping and documents (particularly official documents). As previously noted, there are definite associations of status, prestige, and sophistication attached to French usage in Congo (Massoumou, 2003). This use of French often speaks of an individual's education and ambition. In general, the Congolese are proud of their reputation for a superior level of French usage and their strong historical ties with France, which is ironic considering that exact history.



Therefore, the association of French with authority is portrayed in this interaction. The response from Prisca (Line 22, Extract 5.31) further reiterates the prestige associated with being a Congolese French speaker (educated, higher class, more successful) – as seen in the shifting of accent to that of a typical, middle-class, French speaking woman. By stylizing the accent of a French women, Prisca communicates her understanding of the social prestige associated with the language. It can be argued that through this, Prisca displays pride in Rebecca's ability to speak this highly standardized French variety (something that is not necessarily common in Congolese youth groups).

Furthermore, Jean-Paul, after struggling to understand what Rebecca had said in line 21 (extract 5.32), proceeds with “moi je ne suis pas le pays des les francophone (I am

not in a French country though)”. In this instance we see him rationalising his inability to understand French and almost suggesting that there is no need for him to understand French as he is in an English-speaking country. Interestingly enough, he uses the same language he tries to reject to say this – illustrating a juxtaposition between what he says and what he really feels. We see further in the extract however, that despite his claim, Jean-Paul continues to try to speak French towards the end of the conversation. Therefore, we can assume that he clearly wants to identify with his peers and the language they engage in in that instant.

Prisca, who also displays limited proficiency in French, also tries to speak a more standardised French when she says, “ehh, azo zwa ngai- tu me prends comment? (ehh, what do they, what do you take me for?)”. In this line we see her starting the utterance in Lingala, a language that she is evidently more proficient and comfortable in, but then switching to French in an attempt to maintain the medium used within the group at that moment. So, although not as proficient in French, she makes a point of trying to fit in with the flow of the conversation.

Her limited proficiency in the language is further highlighted when she states “Yoh that language... Parfait is Mswahili (someone that speaks Swahili), that’s why he can speak=”. In this utterance, Prisca, assessing her limited proficiency now tries to rationalize Parfait’s proficiency as being attributed to his tribe. This follows the general belief among Congolese that those with Swahili as a first language are more proficient in French compared to those with Lingala as first language. In this way, we see how she not only positions herself as one who is not generally meant to speak proficient French anyway, due to her tribe, but also as a Congolese who is well aware of the social assumptions that govern language use among Congolese. She therefore draws on wider socio-cultural belief to make sense of her place in the conversation.

From this interaction, we see how the 1.5 generation youth navigate identities in their social group and the ways in which they use language to do so. This shift in languages, varieties, accents and registers not only display their vast multilingual repertoires, but also the ways in which they consciously and unconsciously draw on language to maintain in group identities and navigate their positions as Congolese youth, in the South African setting.

Giles et al (1991b) state that speech accommodation began as “a sociopsychological model of speech-style modifications”. It then developed into communication accommodation theory in order to acknowledge that not only speech but other “communicative behaviour” (Giles et al., 2007:134), affect interpersonal or intergroup interaction, i.e. an individual’s speaker identity is constructed from interaction with varying social groups. Each group constitutes a unique culture and social category. An individual’s membership of a social group will typically influence the individual’s linguistic choice. The individual will be a member of a group because he wishes to be part of the group. That is to say, in order to minimize the social distance between that individual and the group he wishes to be part of, he will then have to reduce the linguistic intergroup differences.

The stylized performance of personas and genres often derives from well-established and well-known identity repertoires even though they may not be represented in full. Therefore, the use of stylized language also, according to Rampton (2009:149) involves reflexivity: “Stylization involves reflexive communicative action in which speakers produce specially marked and often exaggerated representations of languages, dialects, and styles that lie outside their own habitual repertoire (at least as this is perceived within the situation at hand)”

In recent years, there has been a significant shift from viewing style as a product – that is, as something that can be quantified and codified at any given moment – to viewing style as a constantly developing, co-constructed process of interaction and identification, emphasizing the conscious, performative and agentive over the unconscious, regular, and structured (Bucholtz 1999, Rampton 1999).

5.9 Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter highlighted the insights gained within the study, allowing for a deeper understanding of the lived experiences of the 1.5 generation Congolese migrant youth within this study. By taking into account their multilingual profiles, how they use it in various spaces and how they manage expectation from the host and home culture, we see that their identities cannot be

seen as fixed, but as fluid, ever-changing phenomena that cannot be predicted or bound by space or time.



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CHAPTER SIX - CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I provide an overview of the study; which includes an outline of the study, as well as a summary of the findings. Following this, I reflect on the research questions and objectives and highlight how these have been met/answered. Finally, I provide recommendations for future research concerning 1.5 generation migrants and their identity construction and negotiations, particularly in the global South.

6.2 Overview of study

In this study, I sought to investigate the ways in which a particular group of migrant youth, known as the 1.5 generation, use language to navigate different identities in their host community. The migrant youth featured in this study are Congo-born teenagers who had experienced a significant amount of time in Congo and then moved to South Africa around their early teen years. Considering that they had spent at least 10 years in Congo, they had been significantly exposed to the linguistic and cultural practices of their home culture. This means that they were able to speak at least three Congolese languages, at the levels of the official language, national languages, and tribal (or village) languages. Upon arriving in South Africa, these young migrants were immediately immersed into the South African school system, where they were now required to learn languages found in the host community, perform academically and build social bonds; a task that proved difficult within their first year.

As young people, the teenage years have often been characterized by complexity as they begin to understand themselves, their place in the world and ultimately develop a stable sense of self. Taking this into account, the process of identity formation is further complicated for the migrant youth who is then faced with this task, while also having to adapt to new social spaces and find themselves within often conflicting spaces; such as the social group - where they encounter local peers, and the family space. Their new peer groups require them to adopt local linguistic and cultural practices in order to 'fit in' and have a smooth transition into the new environment. While this is the case, in the home, they are still required to uphold Congolese linguistic and cultural

practices. These two worlds often come to a clash, as they hold conflicting values and expectations, as the young migrant Congolese child attempts to fit in both worlds.

The data for this study was collected using ethnographic methods of recording interactional data, group interviews as well as individual interviews. The data from these methods were transcribed and analysed for recurring themes, with a core focus on identifying the various ways in which these migrants used language in their everyday interactions to position, negotiate and construct identities, relevant to their social spaces.

The findings reveal that this process is not linear but fluid and ever-changing; a process that looks and sounds different in different spaces. I found that these Congolese multilingual speakers unconsciously, and sometimes consciously alter their language use in accordance to their audience, the topic of discussion and their social distance/closeness with those around them. Being highly multilingual, with the languages of their host and home countries, they are able to strategically position themselves, draw on various linguistic resources, and in turn, communicate different aspects of their identity. Despite this, they continue to struggle with the need to belong in the two cultures that they find themselves, where they are sometimes not local enough and other times not Congolese enough. As a result, they continue to navigate the spaces, the best way they know how: by shifting gears, drawing on the linguistic resources at their disposal and adapting to the requirements of each space accordingly.

6.3 Overview of research findings

This section discusses the objectives of the study, along with the research questions posed, in relation to the findings that emerged from the analysed collected data.

6.3.1 Findings: objectives and research questions

6.3.1.1 Research questions

As a refresher, the main research question for the study was: 'How do 1.5 generation Congolese migrant youth construct and negotiate identity?' This question was accompanied by sub-questions with the purpose of covering different aspects of the main question. In the following section, I

briefly list the sub-questions and answer them, drawing from the analysis of the data in chapter five.

1. What are their unique linguistic repertoires- the languages, varieties, styles, and registers that they engage in?

The youth in the study employ a number of various languages and varieties in their daily interactions. The languages noted in the data include English, French, Lingala, and Afrikaans, including instances of Yoruba and isiXhosa. The language varieties noted include Nigerian Pidgin and Kaaps. In addition to this, a number of different styles were employed by the youth such as Black American English, the stylization of middle-class French women, British women and Nigerian accents. The youth in this study used all these resources in various ways, to achieve specific communicative meanings and in so doing, inadvertently indexing various aspects of their identities.

2. How do they use their linguistic repertoires to perform various identities?

- The migrant youth observed in this study use their various linguistic repertoires to achieve different things in their daily interactions. In an interaction, they would employ certain varieties, or language to joke, to gossip, to reprimand, to teach and share information. The choices to use a certain variety over another was not explicitly investigated, however it is evident that it always involved an inspection of the social setting to ensure that the interlocutors have the shared background knowledge to fully grasp the intended meaning of the utterance, and to understand the identity trait tied to the use of said variety/language/style.

3. What roles do the family and peers play in the way in which the Congolese youth negotiate certain identities?

- The data collected in the study, although initially intending to capture both interactions with peers and parents, unfortunately, was not able to get data on many parent-child interactions. This was

mainly due to the fact that many of the parents would be working until late and the participants would spend most of their after-school time alone, or with siblings. This, however, demonstrated that the most explicit influence came from the peer group, as the youth spent most of their time with their peers at school and often times after school.

In this way, we observed the direct role the peer group played in the ways in which youth negotiate identity - from easing their entry into the local in-groups, language learning and allowing a space for the experimentation of different linguistic styles, languages, and varieties.

It is important to note, however, that the parent's influence continues to guide these youth, as can be seen in their understanding of what is good and moral. Many of them draw on strict Congolese beliefs which indicates that their parents and home culture continue to have a strong impact on their sense of self.

6.3.2 Objectives

The main aim of the study was to investigate the identity construction and negotiation of 1.5 generation Congolese migrant youth in Cape Town, South Africa and the ways in which they use language to navigate between various identities. This was achieved by considering the following specific objectives:

- Investigate the ways in which 1.5 generation immigrant youth navigate between the various identities available to them in various spaces within the City of Cape Town.
- Identify their unique linguistic repertoires (languages, varieties, styles, registers) and how they use these to perform their identities.
- Determine the role that family values and peer contact have on their identity construction and negotiation.

Having considered the research questions as pathways for meeting the objectives of the study, I believe that the objects have been met and the study has adequately provided insights into the ways in which the 1.5 generation youth in this study navigate various identities in the spaces they find

themselves in. Due to the nature of identity, the answers provided in this study are not set in stone and may be different for other 1.5 generation migrant groups. However, from the data observed, the study has attempted to capture the complexity of migrant youth identity as best as possible.

6.4 Recommendations

The data presented is unfortunately insufficient to make big generalizations. However, I believe it has provided insight into the complexities faced by the 1.5 generation immigrant youth in terms of language learning, identity and balancing distinct cultures. In order to develop further understandings of these complexities, I suggest a focus on gendered identities as a factor in determining the difference between how male and female migrant youth navigate these complexities. As a result of the strong ideologies around gender norms in the Congolese community, I believe it will be important and insightful to investigate how the genders are treated differently in their peer and family spaces, and how this, in turn, affects the ways in which they negotiate identities. Furthermore, there was a marked difference in the language use of the two genders, and although studies have been conducted on the difference in speech between men and women, it will be valuable to extend these studies to include the complexities of identity negotiation as a migrant youth.

In addition to this, I recommend further research into this particular migrant group focus on the role of social media and popular culture in the identity negotiation. Through their increased participation in online social media practices, they are exposed to international cultural norms, styles of talking, dressing and identifying. This adds another dimension and another set of linguistic and cultural resources from which they draw on. In this way, we would get a holistic view of the primary source of influence involved in the development of migrant youth identities, increased multilingualism, and global citizenship.

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter sought to conclude the study by providing an overview of the research, which included a summary of the findings. It also highlighted the ways in which the research questions were answered and ultimately, the research objectives met. Finally, it presented recommendations

for future research concerning the linguistic practices and identity construction of migrant youth, particularly the 1.5 generation, and the areas in which further research can expand on.



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TABLES

Table 1: Participants of the study

Participant	Gender	Age	Years in SA	Language Biography
Rebecca	Female	17	5-10 years	French, English, Lari, Lingala, KiCongo
Patrick	Male	18	10 or more years	French, English
Vanessa	Female	17	10 or more years	English, French
Gloria	Female	15	5 – 10 years	French, English
Marco	Male	17	5 – 10 years	Swahili, Lingala, French, English
Naomi	Female	19	5 – 10 years	French, English
Prisca	Female	17	5 – 10 years	French
Sophie	Female	18	10 or more years	English, Lingala, Afrikaans
Eunice	Female	19	10 or more years	French English Afrikaans Xhosa Swahili

Serge	Male	19	10 or more years	Afrikaans English French Kicongo (Lari) Lingala
Joseph	Male	18	10 or more years	French English
Lisa	Female	17	5 – 10 years	English Lingala

NB: pseudonyms have been used to protect the participants' identities.



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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Interview and FG Questions

Information Sheet: Investigating the identity construction and negotiation of 1.5 generation Congolese migrant youth in Cape Town, South Africa.

Interview Questions

1. If I asked you to tell me about yourself, what would you say?
2. Tell me briefly about your first experiences in your South African school.
3. What languages do you speak at school/ with friends and why? (Expectations from peer group)
4. What languages do you speak at home/with relatives and why? (Expectations from family)
5. What do you think is the differences between your home culture and the South African Culture?
6. What are other Congolese and South African's reactions to you?
7. How do you identify 'Congolese culture'?
8. How do you identify 'South African culture'?
9. Do you think you are a different person now compared to when you were in Congo? Why/why not?
10. What kind of music and movies do you enjoy? Why?

Appendix B: Interview and FG topics

INTERVIEW AND FG DISCUSSION TOPICS

Thesis title: Investigating the identity construction and negotiation of 1.5 generation Congolese migrant youth in Cape Town, South Africa.

Researcher: Jaclisse Lorene Mayoma

The interviews and focus groups discussion will cover the following topics:

- Perceptions of the differences between their home culture and the South African Culture
- The roles and expectations on them at home vs in their social setting
- The languages, dialects and registers they use; when and where do they use them. (At home vs in their social settings)
- How they identify 'Congolese culture'
- How they identify 'South African culture'
- How they define themselves
- The identity they ascribe to most
- The external factors that impact their identity
- The perceptions of others towards them (family, friends, school peers, etc)
- Their understanding of multiple identities



Appendix C: Participant data questionnaire

Participant details

Name				
Age				
Gender	Female	Male		
Nationality				
Address				
School				
Who do you live with?				
How old were you when you arrived in South Africa				
How long have you been in South Africa	Less than a year	1 - 4 years	5-10 years	More than 10years
Language(s) you speak	UNIVERSITY of the			
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Appendix D: Participant Consent form



Consent Form – Participant

University of the Western Cape

Investigating the identity construction and negotiation of 1.5 generation Congolese migrant youth in Cape Town, South Africa.

Researcher: Jaclisse Lorene Mayoma

Year: 2017

Project Aims:

The main objective of this study is to the ways in which 1.5 generation Congolese youth construct and negotiate their identities in their social and home settings. 1.5 generation migrant youth are simply children who were born in Congo but raised in South Africa, where they receive their education. In addition, I aim to identify the unique linguistic repertoires (languages, varieties, styles, registers) and how these are used in performing different identities. The data collected from this study will contribute to the theory of identity of Congolese immigrant youth in South Africa.

Please initial box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet explaining the above research project and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project and about what will be expected of me.
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without there being any negative consequences.
(If I wish to withdraw, I may contact the lead research at any time)
3. I understand my responses and personal data will be kept strictly confidential. I give permission for members of the research team to have access to my anonymised responses. I understand that my name will not be linked with the research materials, and I will not be identified or identifiable in the reports or publications that result from the research.
4. I understand that I will not receive any payment for participating in this project.
5. I agree for the data collected from me to be used in future research.
6. I agree to be audio recorded for the purpose of this research.

- 7. I confirm that my parent/guardian has agreed to my participation in the research project.
 - 8. I agree to take part in the above research project.
-

Declaration of Consent

I..... (full names of participant) hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this document and the nature of the research project, and I consent to participating in the research project.

I understand that I am at liberty to withdraw from the project at any time, should I so desire.

SIGNATURE OF PARTICIPANT

DATE

.....

.....

SIGNATURE OF RESEARCHER

DATE

.....

.....



Copies: All participants will receive a copy of the signed and dated version of the consent form and information sheet for themselves. A copy of this will be filed and kept in a secure location for research purposes only.

Researcher:
 Jaclisse Lorene Mayoma
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Appendix E: Parent Consent form



Consent Form – Parent/Guardian

University of the Western Cape

Investigating the identity construction and negotiation of 1.5 generation Congolese migrant youth in Cape Town, South Africa.

Researcher: Jaclisse Lorene Mayoma

Year: 2017

Project Aims:

The main objective of this study is to the ways in which 1.5 generation Congolese youth construct and negotiate their identities in their social and home settings. 1.5 generation migrant youth are simply children who were born in Congo but raised in South Africa, where they receive their education. In addition, I aim to identify the unique linguistic repertoires (languages, varieties, styles, registers) and how these are used in performing different identities. The data collected from this study will contribute to the theory of identity of Congolese immigrant youth in South Africa.

Please initial box

9. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet explaining the above research project and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project and about what will be expected of me and my daughter/son.
10. I understand that my child's participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw her/him at any time without giving any reason and without there being any negative consequences. (If I wish to withdraw, I may contact the lead research at any time)
11. I understand mine and my child's responses and personal data will be kept strictly confidential. I give permission for members of the research team to have access to my child's anonymised responses. I understand that my child's name will not be linked with the research materials, and she/he will not be identified or identifiable in the reports or publications that result from the research.
12. I understand that neither my child and I will receive any payment for participating in this project.
13. I agree for the data collected from my child to be used in future research.
14. I agree for my child and I to be audio recorded for the purpose of this research.
15. I confirm that my child has agreed to participate in the research project.

16. I agree for my child to take part in the above research project.



Declaration of Consent

I..... (full names of parent) hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this document and the nature of the research project, and I consent for my child (full names of child) to participate in the research project.
I understand that I am at liberty to withdraw my child from the project at any time, should I so desire.

SIGNATURE OF PARENT/GUARDIAN

DATE

.....

.....

SIGNATURE OF RESEARCHER

DATE

.....

.....*Copies: All*

participants will receive a copy of the signed and dated version of the consent form and information sheet for themselves. A copy of this will be filed and kept in a secure location for research purposes only.

Researcher:

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Appendix F: Participant Information sheet

February 2017

Information Sheet: Investigating the identity construction and negotiation of 1.5 generation Congolese migrant youth in Cape Town, South Africa.

I, Jaclisse Mayoma, am a master's student in the Department of Linguistics, at the University of the Western Cape, South Africa. I would like you to participate in my research project, which looks at the ways in which 1.5 generation Congolese youth construct and negotiate their identities in their social and home settings. 1.5 generation migrant youth are simply children who were born in Congo but raised in South Africa, where they receive their education.

The aims of the study are:

- To investigate the ways in which 1.5 generation immigrant youth move between the different identities available to them in various spaces.
- To identify their unique linguistic repertoires (languages, varieties, styles, registers) and how they use these to perform their identities.
- To determine the role that family values, peer contact and media influences have on their identity construction and negotiation.

To collect the data, I will conduct observations where I will observe you in your social settings with your friends for about two weeks. I will also interview you and your parent/guardian about your experiences as a 1,5 generation youth. This will take place at your home, if your parent/guardian agrees. Finally, I will conduct a focus group discussion with you and the other participants. This will take place at the University of the Western Cape. I will provide the transport to and from the university. All the interviews and the focus group discussion will be audio recorded. The recordings will be stored in a password protected computer and will not be shared without the request of your permission. The activities above will take place during the 2017 period.

My supervisor is Dr Quentin Williams in the Department of Linguistics, University of the Western Cape, South Africa. Dr Williams can be contacted on 021 959 9398 or qwilliams@uwc.ac.za. I can be contacted on my cell phone (0781235074) or via email (3223919@myuwc.ac.za).

This information sheet is for you to keep so that you can be aware of the purpose of the study. With your signature on the attached document, you indicate that you understand the purpose of the project.

Yours truly,
Jaclisse Mayoma

Appendix G: Parent Information sheet

February 2017

Information Sheet: Investigating the identity construction and negotiation of 1.5 generation Congolese migrant youth in Cape Town, South Africa.

I, Jaclisse Mayoma, am a master's student in the Department of Linguistics, at the University of the Western Cape, South Africa. I would like your child to participate in my research project, which looks at the ways in which 1.5 generation Congolese youth construct and negotiate their identities in their social and home settings. 1.5 generation migrant youth are simply children who were born in Congo but raised in South Africa, where they receive their education.

The aims of the study are:

- To investigate the ways in which 1.5 generation immigrant youth move between the different identities available to them in various spaces.
- To identify their unique linguistic repertoires (languages, varieties, styles, registers) and how they use these to perform their identities.
- To determine the role that family values, peer contact and media influences have on their identity construction and negotiation.

To collect the data, I will conduct observations where I will observe your child in their social settings with friends for about two weeks. I will also interview your child and yourself about their experiences as a 1,5 generation youth. This will take place at your home, if you agree. Finally, I will conduct a focus group discussion with your child and the other participants. This will take place at the University of the Western Cape. I will provide the transport to and from the university. All the interviews and the focus group discussion will be audio recorded. The recordings will be stored in a password protected computer and will not be shared without the request of your permission. The activities above will take place during the 2017 period.

My supervisor is Dr Quentin Williams in the Department of Linguistics, University of the Western Cape, South Africa. Dr Williams can be contacted on 021 959 9398 or qwilliams@uwc.ac.za. I can be contacted on my cell phone (0781235074) or via email (3223919@myuwc.ac.za).

This information sheet is for you to keep so that you can be aware of the purpose of the study. With your signature on the attached document, you indicate that you understand the purpose of the project.

Yours truly,
Jaclisse Mayoma