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Research Report

The Literacies of Congolese Adult Asylum Seekers and Refugees in Johannesburg: A Case Study

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A research report submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, Social Sciences and Education, at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the Degree of Masters of Arts in English Education.

DECLARATION

I declare that this research is my own, unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Masters of Education in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been previously submitted for any other degree at this university or at any other university.

Kabinga Jack Shabanza

Signed …….

28 April 2011

ABSTRACT

This research primarily looks at the literacies needs of Congolese Asylum Seekers and Refugees (ASRs) in Johannesburg. By means of surveys, interviews and participant observations, it interrogates the literacies that are perceived by ASRs as most important for their integration in their Johannesburg communities and whether literacy needs change over time. It begins with a sample of thirty subjects and ends with two participant observation participants, narrowing the sample size to ten, then five and finally two, based on the importance of information on literacies susceptible of being retrieved from the subject's data. The data was analysed within the framework of theories on social literacies and Berry's integration theory. Key findings are that in the ASRs' opinion, firstly, being able to communicate in English increases one's chances of finding employment, engaging in trading activities and operating efficiently in Johannesburg. Secondly, being able to communicate in a local language made it easier for ASRs to build successful social relationships with locals. Thirdly, computer literacies and Internet literacies may mostly be beneficial if the ASRs already have a profession, trade, skill or occupation. Findings from this research provide a foundation for more investigation into the literacies needs of ASRs, the factors that facilitate the acquisition of these literacies and their impact on the ASRs' lives in the context of their Johannesburg communities.

DEDICATION

I dedicate my work

To God Almighty, the source of my Strength and Peace,

To my dear wife, Mercy, and daughters, Deborah, Anita and Rachel Shabanza, for their love and support, and to my parents, Jean-de-Dieu Fuabana and Elisabeth Manionga Shimata, whose love and care I can feel from afar.

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To all those of you who assisted me in one way or another in making this thesis successful, I say 'many thanks' and

'God Bless'.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANC	African National Congress
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
ICC	International Community Centre, a non-profit English language learning centre
JRS	Jesuits Refugee Services
SADC	Southern African Development Community
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1. 1. Aim

The main aim of this project is to investigate the basic literacy needs of Congolese Asylum Seekers and Refugees (ASRs) in Johannesburg, in order to make these literacies known to policy makers and organizations involved in providing them with services and other kinds of support. It basically aims to explore the nature of these literacies, the literacies obstacles and factors that enhance some of the key literacies, in a way that can facilitate the ASRs' social integration into the Johannesburg urban communities, and whether these literacies change over time. These aims can be articulated in three broad objectives:

- To examine the literacies that the ASRs use or are exposed to on their arrival in Johannesburg;
- To identify the literacies ASRs perceive as most important, that is, the literacies they need to acquire in their new environment; and
- To investigate and explore these literacies.

1. 2. Research Question

The main research question of this study is therefore: What are the Literacies that the Congolese adult asylum seekers require in Johannesburg? Meaning, the Literacies that they are forced to acquire in Johannesburg for their survival and/or integration.

1. 3. Rationale

In order to even start trying to understand the situation these ASRs find themselves in, it is crucial to have a glimpse of the reasons why they flee their country and come to South Africa. The migration was mainly triggered by the wave of civil wars and conflicts between African nations, which has devastated most Central African countries during the past two decades and has resulted in the displacement of 'masses of Africans in a quest for peace inside or outside their homelands' (Loren Landau, *Forced Migrants in Johannesburg*: 2004). Several of them have found asylum in Europe and America, while another proportion has landed in other African countries such as Kenya, Tanzania, Zambia, Namibia, and South Africa. Landau states that increasingly, several thousands of the forced migrants seek asylum in South Africa 'because of

its stability and welfare', adding to the number of problems the South African government is confronted with (Landau, 2004). Due to their large numbers and the problems that arise therewith, the central government and local governments strive to find durable solutions to the problems arising from the presence of these migrants. Concerning asylum seekers, the UNHCR proposes three options to host countries: resettlement in a third country of asylum, voluntary repatriation to the country of origin, and local integration (Landau 2004). In the last decade, the South Africa government has been timidly encouraging asylum seekers and refugees to find ways of integrating themselves into the South African society (Landau 2004). Nevertheless, integration without the full support and initiative of the government appears to be extremely difficult for these migrants, especially for francophone asylum seekers.

The integration of most adult Francophone asylum seekers settling in the urban areas of Johannesburg appears to be problematic for three main reasons. Firstly, they encounter a 'generalised attitude of hostility and indifference from the local communities and from certain officials working for governmental and non-governmental organisations and services including the home affairs and the police' (Timngum, 2001; Human Rights Watch, 1998). Until recently, this was due to the fact that they are perceived as being in direct competition with South Africans for jobs or services (Human Rights Watch, 1998: 123). However, the publication of research on refugees and asylum seekers, and the sensitization efforts conjugated by certain organizations involved in forced migrants affairs, increasingly impact on these perceptions (Landau 2004). Secondly, these asylum seekers have to struggle for access to basic needs such as shelter, food, clothing, health care and others, in an environment that is 'ill or not prepared at all to receive an abundant afflux of immigrants' (Timngum, 2001). Thirdly, Congolese asylum seekers, being Francophone, stumbled not only upon the social and economic barriers, but also upon the language one. They have for instance to learn a new language, in addition to other challenges such as having to acquire skills such as acquiring familiarity with a new driving code, learning to use computers in new ways in the tasks that they previously did manually. As a result, in addition to their efforts of adaptation to new standards in their professions or the simple abandonment of their accustomed occupations, professions and skills in order to learn new ones, asylum seekers and refugees see learning new Literacies as the only option left in this 'foreign' literacy environment.

Indeed, most of these Congolese adult asylum seekers come to Johannesburg with professions, trades or skills, which can be used in the Johannesburg communities: among them are found nurses, engineers, doctors, teachers, mechanics, electricians, chemists, and so forth, whose major lack is only one or two literacies which are to be added to their professional qualifications, trades or skills for their harmonious integration into their adoptive communities. Moreover, this literacy lack, which seems negligible at first glance, requires in fact more attention because integration, in this case, means not only updating or learning a new profession, occupation or skills, but also and most importantly the acquisition of the English language, which can enable them to acquire additional literacies that are essential in their professional or occupational lives. In fact, officials in various organizations dealing with asylum seekers and refugees increasingly deplore the fact that 'access to the existing identification and other support services in Johannesburg is rendered difficult for most prospective asylum seekers, because of this language problem' (Landau, 2004). This language barrier causes a veritable communication breakdown between these asylum seekers and, not only the local communities, authorities and the police, but also the officials in the various non-governmental and governmental organizations involved in providing them with various forms of assistance (Landau, 2004). This language handicap worsens the difficulty hurdle related to the blatant and deplorable absence of 'one stop shops', bewailed by most critics, where asylum seekers can be provided with information relating to their situation, rights and obligations, as well as to different services available to them (Landau, 2004).

However, an acceptable amount of research has been done, suggestions have been made and steps have been taken to meet these asylum seekers' social and economic needs; but little or no diligent research has been done on their language and literacies needs. While it is imperative to acknowledge that the provided material goods and services are of prime importance, it is also essential to make sure that the intended recipients of these goods and services are in a position to access them.

This investigation therefore intends to add to the currently growing body of research in forced migrations studies, especially, in the sense of identifying and exploring the literacies and the basic literacy needs of these asylum seekers. In an effort to suggest ways of breaking down these language and literacy primary obstacles, it also aims at providing policy makers and other organizations involved in providing support to these asylum seekers with informed data on these

matters. This cannot be possible without referring to some of the works that have been done on forced migrations, literacies and teaching and learning of English as a foreign language. However, a thorough understanding of the context of this study is imperative before any attempt to explore these aspects.

1.4 Context of the Study

1.4.1. Causes of the forced migrations of Congolese nationals

To further understand the reasons that have, for the last decade, driven thousands of Congolese out of their homeland to foreign and unknown countries, it is also essential to have an idea of the history of the Democratic republic of Congo (ex-Zaire). The past of the Central African country can possibly be presented in two stages: the period before 1960, the year it obtained independence from Belgium, and the period from 1961 to date. A number of critics have mostly depicted the period before 1960 as a dark age characterized by the colonizers' brutal oppression of the natives, and the large scale looting of its natural and mineral resources, without any concern for the welfare and the future of the young nation (Jezer 2001). Worse, the Congolese elite that took over the reins of power 'failed to turn the revolution into development' and, as a result, the years that followed independence were just as dark as those that preceded it (Fanon, 1967). Immediately after independence, the Congolese people suffered more than three decades of dictatorship under Joseph Desire Mobutu Sese Seko's (1930-1997) United States of America backed regime (Human Right Commission, hrc.org). However, with the end of the cold war in the mid-nineties, USA governments lost interest in Mobutu as there was no more need to protect their interests in Central Africa, against the communist and/ or socialist oriented regimes in Angola, Mozambique and Congo-Brazzaville (ibid.). As a result, Mobutu quickly lost popularity when Laurent Desire Kabila (1939- 2001) undertook to oust his regime in August 1997, with the help of USA-backed Rwanda (ibid.). With the support of the population, which perceived him as a 'liberator', Kabila quickly seized three of the Eastern provinces of the D.R.C., including the city of Kisangani (the country's third largest city), and reached within months the capital city of Kinshasa. However, the months that the war lasted and the years that followed were characterised by the brutality and the extortion that the people suffered at the hands of Kabila's soldiers, most of whom were Rwandans, Ugandans and renegade Congolese who had taken part

in past rebellions fomented against Mobutu (ibid.). Due to subsequent popular uprisings, Kabila 'sent' his Rwandan and Ugandan friends 'home', triggering in effect the second war, which never reached the capital city, and was waged in theory for more than three years (1998-2001), but which in reality ended in 2006. The Human Rights Watch reported in 2005 that innumerable villagers are massacred daily by the so-called Forces of Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR), supported by certain foreign (Western) multinationals and other negative forces backed by some neighbouring countries to perpetuate the looting of Congo's natural and mineral resources and thousands others are kidnapped and made to disappear in the various cities of the country, including the capital city (2005).

I can equally assert that the Congolese war, which many critics have wrongly termed a 'civil war', has taken place in three stages: the first went on under Laurent Kabila, the second under Joseph Kabila, the son, and the third is going on unnoticed in villages in the Eastern and central part of the country, far away from the Western and African media's attention (Ibid). This lengthy war has resulted in the proliferation of portable guns and other weaponry that are also used for crime against unarmed civilians in major cities. All the three wars have caused massive and disastrous displacements of population internally and out of the country's borders. The South African government, being one of the key facilitators in the peace process which resulted in the signing of the peace agreement between the Joseph Kabila regime and several rebel factions turned political parties in 2002, committed itself to welcoming refugees and asylum seekers from all over the continent, including the Congolese. It has welcomed several of them since the beginning of the troubles (Human Rights Watch, 'Prohibited Persons', 1998).

1.4.2. Congolese Asylum Seekers and Refugees (ASRs) in Johannesburg

Some of these Congolese asylum seekers and refugees have found protection in neighbouring countries such as Tanzania, Zambia, Angola and Congo-Brazzaville; some settled in Malawi and Zimbabwe, whereas others have landed in South Africa. Durban and Cape Town host several thousands of them, but it is the city of Johannesburg that unquestionably has the highest numbers: asylum seekers are found in Yeoville, Berea, Bertrams, Bez-Valley and Rosettenville.

Several of these Congolese asylum seekers in Johannesburg, who seem to have fled the country during the first war, are from Kinshasa, the capital city of the DRC. Like in Lubumbashi, the second largest city, the international media reported no major clashes and loss of human lives, when in reality there were fights and loss of civilian lives, resulting in several waves of population fleeing cities before, during and after the fights between Mobutu's and Laurent Kabila's combatants. There are also in Johannesburg, Congolese from the Eastern parts of the country where the war was the longest and 'where more than three million lives were lost from 1998 to 2002' (Human Rights Watch: 2005). Unquestionably, what the international media agencies have termed 'Africa's World War', due to the involvement of the armies of more than eight nations backing either one of the belligerents, has affected all the provinces of the DRC. This seems to be the reason why Congolese forced migrants in Johannesburg come from all the parts of the country: those from Kinshasa speak Lingala; whereas those from Lubumbashi and the surrounding cities in Katanga, as well as the Eastern provinces cities like Bukavu, Goma, Kisangani and Kindu, speak kiSwahili.

This research has shown that several Lingala speakers tend to settle and live in Yeoville and Berea, while Swahili speakers are in Bertrams, Troyeville and Rosettenville. This polarisation happens as newcomers tend to seek accommodation where they can find material and emotional assistance and support, close to friends and family (Landau, 2004). Nevertheless, these Lingala and Swahili speaking communities entertain ties with each other regardless of the language spoken and the city of origin. This communication across the two poles occurs in French: the data also showed that several Congolese communicate in two or more Congolese official languages in addition to French, which is mostly used among the educated.

I did not however focus on any of these categories, in particular, and chose to administer questionnaires to the respondents within my reach, regardless of their origin or language. I opted for this approach because the aim of the research was to identify and explore the literacy difficulties of a limited number of cases, without expressly generalising the result.

The next Chapter on Literature Review seeks to delineate the literature framework used for this investigation in order to later on draw on previously done research on these literacies for the analysis of data and discussion of results.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This chapter gives an account of the literature used in support of this project with regard to social Literacies, Literacies and language, and migration studies. It also provides the definition of literacies in the context of this project and discusses the theoretical framework used for data analysis, which draws on social Literacies theory and Berry's concept of assimilation and integration.

2.1. Social Literacies

In this research, the term 'literacy' refers not only to reading and writing, but also to other communicative practices and events. Kress (2003:1) states that 'it is no longer possible to think about literacy in isolation from a vast array of social, technological and economic factors'. He argues that the broad move from the dominance of writing to that of the image, and the 'move from the dominance of the medium of the book to the dominance of the medium of the screen, have produced a revolution in the uses and effects of literacy and of associated means for representing and communicating at every level in every domain' (Kress 6). These 'moves have changed the way literacy is defined and have shifted most critics' gaze" from the 'binary opposition existing between 'Literacy' and 'illiteracy'' (1995). Street (1995: 2), Hamilton et al (1994) and Cope and Kalantsis (2000) all respectively believe that this binary has a negative connotation, and Street (1995: 105, 106) further refers 'to a multiplicity of literacies that vary at the cultural, linguistic, technological, social, communication and other levels'. For this research, it is therefore crucial to adopt a 'working' definition that reflects the preoccupations of this project.

In effect, for several years, 'Literacy' was regarded as inescapably linked to the acquisition of skills, whether related to language or to other areas of human endeavours, but what has come to be termed the "New Literacy Studies" represents a new tradition in considering the nature of literacy with a focus not on acquisition of skills, as in dominant approaches, but rather on what it

means to think of literacy as a social practice (Gee, 1991; Street, 1996[1]; Street, 1985). This new conception of literacy entails the recognition of multiple literacies, varying according to time and space, and contested in relations of power (Ibid).

The tendency in scholarly circles has, therefore, been to reconsider literacy as a social practice, and in a cross-cultural perspective (Street, 1995: 1). As a result of this, the use of the term 'Literacy' has become problematic, partly also because it had long been conceived as a 'neutral' and technical skill, with all the limitations that this conception implies when one considers the existence of various and different societies and cultures (Street 1). So, as said previously, the recent tendency has been to its conceptualization as an ideological practice implicated in power relations and embedded in specific cultural meanings and practices (Street 1). In fact, the concept of 'literacies', which pertains to the existence of several 'literacies' was introduced in opposition to the sole traditional perception of 'Literacy', with one capital 'L' and 'y', as the 'autonomous model' which had to be imposed on 'illiterate' individuals in other parts of the world, and which, as Street deplores, the exponents have attempted to treat as a unique and universal variable (Street 76). Nowadays, an increasing number of critics assert that, contrary to the assumption of the proponents of 'Literacy', there exist multiple literacies that were 'intertwined' and which might differ at the cultural, linguistic, social and even personal levels according to the specific time and space (Street, 1995; Cope and Kalantzis, 2000; Barton at al: 1999).

2.2. Literacies and Language

This research also discusses the relationship between literacies and language and the implications of this relationship for the teaching and learning of English as a foreign Language and the acquisition of literacies in the context of Johannesburg (Dubin and Olshtain, 1986). The situation of Congolese ASRs as Learners of EFL in the context of Johannesburg differs drastically from that of Congolese EFL learners at an EFL learning centre in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC): EFL learners in the DRC have no exposure to the English language and have practically no immediate context for practice, whereas, the EFL learners living in Johannesburg are in

[1] http://www.tc.columbia.edu/cice/articles/bs152.htm

constant contact with English through, not only the various interactions with the South African communities, but also through the various media texts. This factor, together with other factors related to the literacies migrants are exposed to and require in Johannesburg, impact on the sort of English teaching and learning programmes and any other literacy programme designed for them.

Norman Fairclough in *Multiliteracies* also argues that there is a relationship between [multi]literacies and language (Cope and Kalantzis, 2000: 163): an argument to which Barton and Roz add that 'literacy', like language, 'is situated in its specific environment and dependent on its context' (Worlds of Literacy: x). It can then be said that Congolese asylum seekers, on their arrival in Johannesburg, enter a new social context with different societal and communicative practices or, in the case of this research, literacies, which are certainly dissimilar to those they acquired in the various contexts of their home country. The problem is that the new literacies can, if not addressed, 'represent a major obstacle capable of rendering their integration in their host communities almost impossible' (Loren Landau at all, *Forced Migrants: Toward a local government response*: 2004). The ASRs definitively face this sort of challenge in their South African host communities: during the process of learning new languages and other literacies, they undergo high measures of cultural influence. Therefore, this investigation explores the ASRs' literacies difficulties and literacies needs.

For this, the research attempts to interrogate the literacy practices of Congolese adult asylum seekers in their Johannesburg environments, in the light of the literacies that they brought with them from their home country. It particularly identifies the difficulties that they encounter in the acquisition of the 'new' literacies in this new context and over time.

Fraida Dubin and Elite Olshtain also argue that there is a 'direct connection between language and culture' (1986: 69). Speaking about the case of migrant learners of EFL, they state that 'such students experience a cultural and social disruption, which is in a sense 'worsened by a conscious or unconscious urge or necessity to adapt to, adopt or simply learn to live by the cultural and social configurations and values of their new contexts' (ibid).

Marietta Savaria-Shore and Steven F. Arzivu in *Cross-cultural Literacy* (1986), and Courtney B. Cazden argue that at all times, in this 'new' literacy age, to use Kress' terminology, any

multiliteracies projects, any educator, must strive to ensure that differences of culture are not barriers to educational success (The New London Group, 2000). Consequently, this investigation aims to contribute to the body of knowledge on the literacies of ASRs, including the language, cultural and technological literacies.

2.3. Definition of Literacies for the Purposes of This Study

For the purpose of this study, 'literacy' pertains to knowledge of a range of semiotic systems (linguistic, visual, cultural, products of multimedia technologies and so forth) required to successfully convey, receive, understand and interpret information in specific communication situations.

2.4. Forced Migrations Studies

To comprehensively understand the case of ASRs in Johannesburg, one should be familiar with the meanings of the terms asylum seeker, refugee, and forced migrant. More than 140 governments have now signed the 1951 UN Convention relating to the Status of Refugees (the Refugee Convention), which includes an internationally agreed definition of who a refugee is.

> *'A refugee is a person who is outside her country of origin and genuinely risks serious human rights abuses because of who she is or what she believes (Amnesty International, The Refugee Convention, on line version). A refugee cannot or will not return because of the uncertainty or absence of the government of the home country's protection for the person, which can result in the individual facing persecution. The refugee is entitled to protection against forcible return to the country of origin' (AI: http://web.amnesty.org/pages/refugees-background-eng#top)*

Amnesty International (AI) declares that it would also oppose 'the forcible return of anyone to a country where s/he can reasonably be expected to be in danger of torture, execution or "disappearance"', even if s/he is not a refugee (Ibid). Likewise, AI opposes 'return to a country where a person faces the death penalty' (Ibid). Nevertheless, most of the respondents in this research are not yet refugees, but are still asylum seekers.

> *An asylum-seeker is a person who is seeking protection as a refugee even though she may not have been formally recognised as one [yet]. It normally applies to a person who is still waiting for the government to decide whether she is a refugee. The lack of a*

> *formal recognition does not make her any less entitled to protection of international refugee law (Ibid).*

According to the Refugee Convention, asylum seekers, like all other human beings, must be garanteed human rights (Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). Article 14 (1) says that "Everyone has the right to seek and enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution" (Ibid). Because they may in fact be refugees, asylum-seekers should enjoy the same rights as refugees 'unless they are found not to be refugees' (Ibid). They therefore have rights under the Refugee Convention.

> *A migrant [on the other side] is simply a person who moves from one place to another. The person may be forced to leave because of fear, starvation, or desperation for the safety and security of one's family. They may move voluntarily. They may leave for a whole mixture of reasons. Migrants are [also] human beings, so they have human rights like the right to life, to freedom from arbitrary detention, freedom from torture, and to an adequate standard of living. There are some international legal standards which are specific to the rights of migrant workers, like Conventions of the International Labour Organization. AI welcomes that the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families entered into force on 1 July 2003. This is an important recognition that migrants' rights must also be respected and protected (Ibid).*

As seen in the above quotations, the categories asylum seekers, refugee and migrant are all linked by the fact that the persons might not have done any preparation for the journey and settlement in the host 'foreign' country. The host country should therefore facilitate the lives of these persons, whose stay in the country might be either temporary or permanent.

In an effort to understand the issues and theories around the presence of asylum seekers, refugees and migrants, I use sources in forced migrations studies in Johannesburg and rely on some of the most recent publications and research on the situation of asylum seekers, especially. As mentioned earlier, the people termed 'asylum seekers' usually fall into the category of forced migrants, but the Johannesburg popular and official discourses often fail to distinguish between

various types of people comprising South Africa's growing migrant population (Landau, 2004). For quite a number of South Africans, 'every non-South African living in the country is a refugee, while for a few other ones these were "illegal immigrants"' (Landau 2004). In reality, most of these non-South Africans fall under the category of 'legal migrants' and the different categories of migrants each have their set of rights and entitlements (Landau 2004). Asylum seekers referred to in this research are persons 'who entered South Africa either legally or illegally and who approached or intended to approach the department of homes affairs in order to file an application for asylum' (Ibid). Some of them are in possession of an asylum seeker's temporary residence permit, which prohibits them from taking up any kind of employment or from studying. Others still hold an appointment paper that they exhibit to the police, at offices, at the hospitals, clinics and other places when they are required to show their identity document. A select few among them have permits on which the prohibition to work or study has been cancelled by the home affairs. I focus both on those allowed to work and study and on those not allowed because they are carrying on with their lives in Johannesburg and cannot be ignored due to their participation, in one way or the other, in the life of Johannesburg communities.

Information on these asylum seekers in Johannesburg is derived from Desiré Timngum's masters' research and from Landau's work on Forced Migrants (2001; 2004). Timngum's thesis exposes the social and economic experiences of asylum seekers in Johannesburg and alludes to concerns such as accommodation, employment and unemployment. It also focuses on the issue of acquisition of legal documentation, misunderstandings and misconceptions on behalf of the police, on behalf of the officials working in governmental and non-governmental organizations, and on behalf of the local populations. Landau's publication, on the other hand, ventures deeper into some of the contentious and pressing issues on forced migrations in Johannesburg, such as the role of the local government towards forced migrants, the responsibilities and the limitations, the challenges and the achievements of the various organisations involved in supporting these migrants and the responsibility of the forced migrants themselves. Both works are relevant to this investigation because they explore, from different perspectives and at different époques, the problems that ASRs face for their education. They also investigates the causes and consequences of the 'communication break-down' between the forced migrants and the local communities, the police and the executives from different organizations and institutions. The causes of this

communication breakdown are definitely connected to the new languages and new ways with words, new cultural features and various ways of doing things that they encounter in Johannesburg, which only a study of the literacies they encounter can elucidate.

2.5. Theoretical Framework

2.5.1. Social Literacies framework

Elaborating on the reason why he entitled his book 'Social Literacies', Brian Street states that it was in order 'to emphasize the focus of [the] new approaches, first, on the social nature of literacy and, second, on the multiple approaches of literacy practices and challenges' (Street, 1995:2). To describe the specificity of literacies in particular places and times, Street asserts that he found it useful to employ the concept of 'literacy practices' and that of 'literacy events', concepts borrowed from Heath's works (Street, 1995: 2). 'Literacy event' pertains, according to Heath, to 'any occasion in which a piece of writing is integral to the nature of the participants' interactions and their interpretative processes" (Street, *Social literacies*: 1995: 2; Barton, 1994). The concept of 'literacy practices', on the other hand, is 'pitched at a higher level of abstraction and refers to both behaviour and the social and cultural conceptualization, that give the meaning to the use of reading and/ or writing' (Street, 1995: 2). Barton and Roz also assert that literacies are social practices, accepted ways of doing things (*Worlds of Literacy*, 1994: ix). Understanding these notions allows one to realise the measure of the challenges that Congolese ASRs encounter, after being forced to leave their 'homes' in order to start a 'new life' in a completely different environment with different values and practices, in which they forcibly engage with and eventually adopt culturally and technically different literacy events and practices, which will be referred to simply as 'literacies' in this research.

Some of the basic theories and applications in Literacies that I use are Brian Street's *Social Literacies* (1995) and David Barton's *Situated Literacies* (1999), which pre-eminently focus on the notions of literacy event and literacy practice. Street's *Social Literacies* on the one hand surveys the concept of 'literacies' together with its adjacent notions of 'literacy events' and 'literacy practices' and gives examples of certain literacy practices from areas of the world that were for a long-time presumed to have a high rate of 'illiteracy'. This work is essential to the project because the notions of literacy practices and literacy events play a fundamental role in the

understanding of the concept of 'literacies' or 'multiliteracies'. These notions encapsulate the concern of this research in the sense that, in seeking to investigate the natures and effects of the literacies that the asylum seekers encounter and those that they need in Johannesburg, I primarily have to examine the literacy events that occurred in and the literacy practices that characterized their lives back home and those that they have brought with them to Johannesburg.

Barton's *Situated Literacies* also challenges contemporary notions of literacy and contextualises the concept in today's society. It is relevant to this research because it insists on the immediate character and importance of the literacies that members of a given community have to acquire in order to 'adapt' or 'be accepted' in it. It is also important because, first, it provides examples of both quantitative and qualitative analyses of literacy as it was portrayed in society and as it reinforces community identities and, second, because it strengthens Street and Kress' arguments, one of the cornerstones of the concept of 'literacies', 'that people whom we may associate with illiteracy and reading difficulties are', in fact, 'routinely engaging in literacy activities and participating in and creating their own literacy cultures on a variety of complex levels'(Ibid). Likewise, Barton *at al* in *Situated Literacies* (1999) and in *Worlds of Literacy* (1994) regard literacy as a social practice[2] and emphasize the multiple and complex character of literacies at several levels including the cultural. David Barton's work and those of other researchers on the connection between literacies and cultures and on the location of literacies in specific social contexts totally changed most critics' perception of 'Literacy'.

Cope and Kalantzis deplore the fact that, traditionally, literacy pedagogy meant teaching and learning to read and write in page-bound, official and standard forms of a national language; so much so that literacy pedagogy was 'a project restricted to mono-lingual, mono-cultural, and rule-governed forms of language' (*Multiliteracies: Literacy Learning and the Design of Social Futures*, 2000: 9). They insist that literacy pedagogy must be extended to include the account of burgeoning varieties of text forms associated with information and multimedia technologies (Ibid). For Cope and Kalantzis, this 'literacy' includes the understanding and competent control of representational forms that were becoming increasingly significant in the 'overall

[2] http://www.literacytrust.org.uk/

communication environment, such as visual images and their relationship to the written word, for instance, visual design in desktop publishing or the interface of visual and linguistic meaning in multimedia' (ibid). Interestingly, they also posit that 'this proliferation of communications channels and media supports and extends cultural and sub-cultural diversity' (Ibid). Equally, this research seeks to understand how Congolese asylum seekers manage the various forms of literacy they encounter in Johannesburg and how these forms of literacy be they language, visual, multimedia and so on change in their lives, especially given the fact the asylum seekers have to learn new languages and other skills.

2.5.2. Berry's local integration theory

Berry postulates that, as shown above, 'integration is the form of intercultural relations in which identification with ethnic subgroups and with a larger society are engaged simultaneously' (Brewer 107). If Berry's concept of integration relates to the situation in which the ASRs simultaneously identify with their specific subcultures and with the superordinate culture, meaning hypothetically the 'South African' culture, if there exists 'one', then the word integration is used rightfully.

Berry (Brewer 107) argues that 'proponents of multiculturalism assert that alternative models are possible in which respect for ethnic subgroup distinctiveness and loyalties to a common superordinate group are both achievable' (107). Berry's statement above seems to oppose the SA local authorities' stance on integration (referred to in Chapter 4), which sends the message that integration equals assimilation (discussed further in Chapter 3). Timngum (2001) states that Johannesburg local authorities often assert that ASRs' reluctance to integrate into local communities is reflected in their persistence in speaking their own languages and their refusal to learn local languages. Assumptions made in this report to explain the idea of integration first from the ASRs viewpoint and then from that of local government and local communities' viewpoint adhere to the understanding that the distinctiveness of these ASRs, including their home literacies, should not be suppressed in order for them to 'embrace' local literacies as a prerequisite for integration.

Bearing this principle in mind, the investigation indirectly explores the relationship that may exist between the acquisition literacies and efforts of integration on the part of ASRs as well as

the effects that the idea of integration may have on this acquisition and the usage of literacies. It foregrounds the idea of the ASRs' integration while at the same exploring the role played by and the benefits local communities gained from the presence of these ASRs.

While Berry's theory mainly revolves around the idea of integration as seen from the dichotomy existing between assimilationist and separatist theories in French society, I identified and decided to make use of three main concepts that can be said to be the fundamental stages of the process of integration of these ASRs into their respective Johannesburg communities; namely isolation, engagement and integration. The Discussion Section of Chapter Four of this report discusses these stages in details and links them to specific literacy needs as described by the ASRs.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

Introduction

For this research, data was initially collected in 2005 in order to investigate the literacy needs of Congolese ASRs in Johannesburg. Further data was collected in 2010 to ascertain whether ASR's literacies change over time. This chapter details the data collection methods, instruments and samples used for these processes and the results obtained.

SECTION A: 2005 RESEARCH

3.1 Data collection instruments

To identify the literacy difficulties and needs of the Congolese ASRs, three main methods of investigation were used: a survey, interviews and participant observation. Hence, both quantitative and qualitative research methods were used in this research. In the survey stage, questionnaires were administered to thirty subjects, among whom five were chosen and subjected to a semi-structured interview each. Based on the data collected from the interviews, two of the respondents were selected for more in-depth case studies. Each one of these stages, from the survey, to the interviews and the participant observation was used to narrow down the number of subjects, according to the number of literacies identified in their respective data as well as the appropriateness of these literacies in terms of their relation to communication related literacies.

3.1.1 Survey - Questionnaire

3.1.1.1. The Questionnaire

The survey, a quantitative method, is therefore combined concomitantly with the interview and the participant observation, two most commonly employed qualitative methods. According to Bryman (1988) quantitative research methods are usually easily associated with the social survey whereas qualitative research methods tend to be associated with participant observation and unstructured or in-depth interviewing. Bryman further argues that the difference between quantitative and qualitative methods does not revolve, around 'quantification' or its absence as many think, but, since these two methods can be said to be different ways of conducting research, the choice between them should be made in terms of their appropriateness in answering

a particular research question (1988: 10). For this study, I used a survey, not only because it offers the possibility to diversify the number of literacies investigated and give an idea of the extent of the literacy needs, which are then deeply investigated in the case studies, but also because the sample of five respondents for the case studies are drawn from the thirty answered survey questionnaires. In a sense, the quantitative methods and instruments (surveys) are used to progressively refine the number of research subjects (from thirty to five and then two) for the qualitative methods (interviews and participant observation), which are better suited for case studies. Therefore, these two types of methods of investigation are seen as complementary rather than opposed.

Bryman also asserts that one of the strengths of surveys is the capacity to provide a framework in which 'the procedures associated with scientific method could be shown' (1988:10). Thus, using the survey in this work adds to the objective and scientific character of the procedure and spares it from the subjectivity of the researcher allegedly involved in the use of instruments such as interviews and participant observation.

Moreover, the survey results can be represented in a chart, facilitating in the process different sorts of data analysis, such as comparisons, deductions', and so forth (Bryman 1998).

3.1.1.2. The Question of "representativity"

Regarding the optimum number of respondents for the survey, I avoided the question of 'representativity' since it can be argued that 'no given sample could be representative enough to strictly represent "all" the types of individuals constituting a target group without imbalances, even if the latter was made of more than a hundred thousand subjects' (Bryman, 1988: p. 6, p. 88). With this consideration in mind and due to time and methodology constraints, I brought the number of research subjects down from seventy, as proposed in the proposal, to thirty. It can be said that this figure could not be said to be too small as there was no significant difference between thirty and hundred with regard to the effect that these numbers could have on the result and with regard to the fact that this research does not intend to generalize results. Moreover, with thirty subjects one could still be able to carry out a survey in order to select five of them that would be interviewed, before further narrowing the number of subjects down to two for the participant observation. Therefore, it is still possible to descend from thirty people in the survey

down to five people in the interviews and two in the participant observation and it can be agreed that this progressive selection can be beneficial for the research.

3.1.1.3. Ethical Consideration

For ethical considerations, I requested the prospective subject's consent before giving them the questionnaire. ASRs were informed nonetheless they had the right to withdraw from the survey at any time.

For the interviews, I verbally made them understand that they were free to accept or decline the interview, and waited for their consent. Two respondents, Solange and Coppens, declined the interview, and I had to select other subjects instead.

As for the participant observation, I sought the permission of the respondent and that of her or his employer before escorting the employee in the workplace. Simon's employer did not allow any visitation including for research reasons.

I also did not reveal the respondents' 'real' names, which were replaced with pseudonyms, either for the survey or for the interviews and the participant observation. After, the participant observation, Sidonie and Thomas were also free to say if they did not want to be asked clarification questions.

This study was also submitted to the Wits Graduate School Ethical Committee for approval.

3.1.2 Interviews

Though it can be said that the main difference between the quantitative and the qualitative research methods referred to in this chapter is related to 'their natures, their weaknesses and strengths can only be evaluated in the light of a particular research topic or question' (Bryman, 1988: 1); one of the strengths of quantitative research, which mostly uses surveys, is the capacity to provide a framework in which 'the procedures associated with scientific method could be shown' (Ibid). Critics argue that the qualitative research method 'in which participant observation and unstructured interviewing were graded as the central data gathering planks', offers the 'possibility for the researcher to get closer to the people he is investigating and be less inclined to impose inappropriate conceptual frameworks on them' (Bryman, 1988: 3).

Although some other critics of qualitative research argue that it is an inappropriate model for studying people because findings might be idiosyncratic and difficult to replicate, others simply view it as a stage in a survey. A considerable number of theorists perceive it as useful as an 'ethnographic study' which 'produces hypotheses which were tested by a survey researcher on another occasion' (Bryman, 1988: 170, 45-6, 135). With this argument in mind, qualitative research could be said to be one of the appropriate ways of investigating 'Literacies' in this study because the research conducted may act as a source of hunches or hypotheses to be tested by quantitative research and vice-versa (Bryman, 1988: 134). For this research, the interview schedule was designed based on the data derived from the answered survey-questionnaires.

The interview is defined as 'a two-person conversation initiated by the interviewer for the specific purpose of obtaining research relevant information, and focused by him on content specified by research objectives of systematic description, prediction, or explanation' (Louis Cohen and Lawrence Manion, 1980: 241). Cohen and Manion also asserted that the interview differs from the questionnaire in that for the questionnaire the respondent is required to record in some way the response to set questions (Ibid). The interview may be, still according to Louis Cohen and Lawrence Manion, 'used as a means of evaluating or assessing a person in some respect; for gathering data, as in a survey or experimental situations; or for sampling respondents' opinions, as in a doorstep interview' (Ibid: 241). In it, 'there is a transaction that takes place between seeking information on the part of one and providing supplying information on the part of the other' (Cohen and Manion, 1980: 241).

The forms of interview in this sense 'can range from structured interview, in which the contents and procedures were organized in advance and the answers are recorded on a standardised schedule; the unstructured interview in which the interviewer is free to modify the sequence of questions, change the wording, explain them or add to them, it is an open situation; the non-directive interview where the interviewer may have a number of key issues which he raises in conversation style instead of having a set questionnaire; and the focused interview which focuses on the respondent's subjective response to a known situation in which he has been involved and which has been analysed by the interviewer prior to the interview (Cohen and Manion, 1980: pp. 241-245).

According to Bryman, the problem and characteristic of interviews is that they are an approach to the social world which seeks to describe and analyse the culture and behaviour of humans and their groups from the point of view of those being studied; so much so that actions, norms, values, and events were viewed through the eyes of the respondents (Ibid: 46, 61). It is due to this 'subjectivity' that critics question whether the results of such an investigation can safely be generalized or replicated.

Still in view of this weakness, Grills argues that if we are studying, for instance, people's responses to scripted questions (e.g. the case of survey research and structured interviews), our sociology has little to do with the practical activities of everyday life (Grills, 1998: 3). Consequently, Grills also argues that most of the research questions that are used serve to distance the researcher from the main research question, and denounces the interactive and interpretative character of the interviews, the literacies and literacy difficulties identified during the interviews are systematically verified at the participant observation stage, which primarily uses questions as guidelines while focusing on selected literacy areas (Grills, 1998:3).

With this in mind, this research made use of interview guiding question whereby I 'provided minimal guidance and allowed the respondent to express her [or his] response about life experiences' (Bryman, 1988: 46; Cohen and Manion, 1980). The interviews were essentially used to confirm, make more precise and deepen the inferences from the respondents' responses to the survey questionnaire. They also created a platform for the respondents to verify his or her reactions to and interpretations of the researcher's earlier deductions (refer to Appendix 4: *Interview Schedule*).

3.1.3. Participant Observation

Brian Street views participant observation as an 'Ethnographic study of the communicative practices' of a given society [or person] 'in different social contexts' (Street, 1995: 1). There are two points in Street's observation that prove particularly pertinent for this investigation: the fact that literacies were specific to a certain social context and the fact that they are related to communicative practices. The relevance of participant observation for this investigation is reinforced by the fact that Street, one of the proponents of the multiliteracies approach,

recommends it in cases where one desires to efficiently carry out a study of the literacies of a given society (Ibid).

Speaking on participant observation, Grills asserts that 'by going "where the action is", the field researcher pursues an intimate familiarity with the "world of the other" through getting close to the dilemmas, frustrations, routines, relationships, and risks that are part of everyday life (Grills, 1998: 4). This closeness to the social world is the 'fieldwork's most profound strength as the researcher comes to know the world of the other through direct involvement with it' (Ibid). Equally, the use of participant observation for this research is motivated by the urge to collect 'authentic' data and to observe the literacies that some of the Congolese ASRs confront in the real life situations, with their predicaments, frustrations, benefits and influences on the individual.

Hence, for a more profound study of the literacies of these ASRs, I selected two respondents from the five case studies and spent a whole day with each one of them [a different day each] to observe the daily literacies they involved themselves in. For instance, I escorted Sidonie, one of the female subjects, to observe her use of Zulu and that of some other literacies. The participant observation procedures are detailed later on in this chapter.

3.2. Pilot Study

In view of the initial data collection in 2005, a pilot study was conducted to test and refine the survey questionnaire. These sections describe the data collection methods, instruments, subjects, procedures and limitations of the pilot study. Some of the aspects of the questionnaires and questions used for the research will also be presented and explained.

3.2.1. Pilot study instrument: the questionnaire

The main aim of the pilot study was to test the questionnaire to be used for the survey, before making the necessary modifications that would render the questionnaire more accessible to the respondent and its use more effective. More explicitly, the primary purpose of this stage was to test the lucidity, efficiency and appropriateness of the questions, before producing a more accessible questionnaire to be used for the survey.

The questions were intended to provide information about the literacies difficulties and literacy needs of Congolese ASRs. These questions aimed at collecting a wide pool of literacies in such a way that the collected data could inform the composition of questions to be posed for the survey.

These questions were open-ended for the most part in order to leave the respondents with enough space to give as much information as possible. There was also however a limited number of multiple-choice questions in cases where specific answers were needed without unnecessary details.

3.2.2. Selection of Subjects for the Pilot Study

I used five student volunteers from my class, the conversational English advanced class, at the Jesuit Refugee Services Language Programme in Hillbrow, because of their acceptable level of understanding, reading and writing of English. Three females and two males were administered the first version of the questionnaire. The five respondents were: Françoise (a 31 year-old nurse), Solange (a 37 year-old religious sister), Clementine (a 28 year-old street vendor), Jean-Marie (a 40 year-old mechanical fitter and turner) and Coppen (a 29 year-old nurse in training and mechanic).

Because these respondents were still learning English, I took time to go through the questionnaire and explain each of its questions and sections in order to make sure that the respondent understood the questions, before letting them answer the questionnaire. Before getting the answered questionnaire back from them, I also spent time with the respondents to clarify some of their responses and also asked them to evaluate, agree or disagree with my 'preliminary' understanding of, inferences or conclusions about some of their responses. The pilot study findings are presented at section 3.2.4 below.

3.2.3. Problems Identified in the pilot study questionnaire

Of the five respondents only two, Solange and Coppen, filled in and returned their questionnaires: Jean-Marie, Clementine and Françoise failed to complete theirs. Due to time constraints, I decided to proceed with Coppens' and Solange's questionnaires without having to administer three other questionnaires to the other three respondents. The main problems that were identified were: the length of the questionnaire, the similarity between the questions in the

first part of the questionnaire and those in the second part and the difficulties that respondents had in understanding specialized terms such as 'literacy' and 'literacies'.

Overall, it can definitely be inferred from the pilot study that the length of the questionnaire was to a great extent frightening for these learners of English. Solange stated that 'the questionnaire was long and difficult to understand'. I asked her if the length of the questionnaire was the reason why it was difficult to understand, and she said 'I think so'. She also remarked that the questions in Part Two of the questionnaire were similar to those of part one and the two parts differed only at the level of subtitles: 'Literacies in the DRC' and 'Literacies in Johannesburg'. She argued that she found it unnecessary to answer the questions in the second part of the questionnaire because they were 'a repetition' of those in the first part. Consequently, her pilot study questionnaire was returned partially completed.

Solange also pointed out the difficulty of understanding the term 'literacies'. She later on asked for the difference between 'literacy' and 'literacies'. I later on in this report describe how I tried to remedy this problem.

Apart from Solange and Coppen, the other respondents did not really provide any kind of input for the pilot study: all I could read on Françoise's questionnaire was her name on the first page. Her roommate, who gave it to me, told me later that Francoise moved to Cape Town where her fiancé had found employment. Contacted on her mobile, she apologized that she could not remember where the questionnaire was [her roommate had accidentally found it]. As for Jean-Marie, he found employment and moved out of Johannesburg: on the phone he said that he daily left very early and came back home very late and was not sure whether he was going to find time to fill in the questionnaire. I never heard from Clementine again: she abruptly dropped out of school and did not come back again: her phone was always on voicemail. A consideration of Francoise's partially completed questionnaire, or even of the very fact that it was not completed, can perhaps be worthwhile.

In general, an analysis of the respondents' reasons why they did not fill in the questionnaire can perhaps provide some information on the respondents' literacy practices. For example, some of the causes behind the respondents' 'apparent' inability to complete and return the questionnaires could reveal an indication of the importance or 'vital character' of various aspects of their lives,

their most crucial and prior motivations and endeavours in their new lives. For instance, in most questionnaires answered during the survey, ASRs declared that finding employment was their primary priority. I deduced that it was in fact their second priority after 'Learning English', because some of them added 'first I have to speak English' to their statements. Perhaps, this is the reason why Jean Marie and Francoise prioritized finding a job or joining the fiancé: because 'survival' comes first. This means perhaps that learning English is important, but not more important than 'a job opportunity'. Jean-Marie's and Francoise's cases are an indication of one of the challenges awaiting Francophone ASRs in Johannesburg: they have to learn not only to understand and speak English, but also to read and write it, while trying to find ways of solving new kinds of problems in a new environment. The interviews and participant observation helped verify the above observations in considering the impact of such problems for literacy learning.

3.2.4. Findings of the Pilot Study

As a result of what Solange said the similarity between questions in the First Part and those in the Second Part, I replaced 'literacies in the DRC' and 'literacies in Johannesburg' and used more specific terms: I referred to the literacies used or learned in the DRC as 'home literacies' and those used or learned in Johannesburg as 'local literacies'.

In fact, to remedy some of the imperfections of the questionnaire that emerged during the pilot study, I introduced the terms 'Congolese literacies' and 'local literacies' to refer to the literacies that were encountered, known or used in the Democratic Republic of Congo, and 'South African literacies' or 'local literacies' to relate to the literacies encountered, known or used in South Africa, Johannesburg. These terms brought an element of differentiation between the first part based on the literacies in the DRC and the second part on the literacies in Johannesburg.

In order to make the terms "literacies" and "literacy" accessible to the respondents and more specific, I introduced multiple-choice questions. For instance, one of the pilot study questions simply read 'What are the literacies that you used in the DRC?' When improved for the survey, the same question was supplemented with examples of literacies that might appear in the same space. The aim was to provide the respondents with hints as to the kind of literacies that could be listed in answering this question (compare Appendix 3 and Appendix 8).

This preliminary trial of the questionnaire gave me in this way an idea of the complexity of the task of formulating questions that could provide specific and more or less anticipated information on literacies. This does not mean however that my expectation was only limited to specific answers, but that the posed questions would have to be specific, calculated and comprehensible enough for the respondents to be able to provide useful answers. The pilot study can be said to have been useful in the sense that feedback obtained from the respondents enabled the researcher to reformulate several questions using more accessible words and subdivide the questions into categories that made more sense for these francophone ASRs (compare Appendix 3 and appendix 8).

Above all, it can be said that the pilot study pinpointed some of the questions and parts of questions that were unclear or misleading for the respondent. Secondly, it helped in assessing the respondents' understanding of and perceptions about the concepts used in the questionnaire; and finally, it created a space for the respondents to give their opinions and suggestions on the form and content of the questionnaire. The pilot study enabled the researcher to pose more effective questions for all the research instruments used in the subsequent phases of the research: survey, interviews and participant observation.

3.3. Data Collection 2005

This research makes use of data gathered between September 2004 and September 2005 and in 2010. This procedure covered a long period of time due to time constraints on the part of ASRs and in order to investigate whether the literacy needs change over time.

The 2004/5 subjects were primarily from different areas of Johannesburg and from different walks of life. This section provides details on subject numbers, profiles, areas of residence, educational levels, and selection procedures refer respectively to the survey, interviews and participant observation phases in the section devoted to data collection (see Figures 1 to 3).

The survey questionnaire was administered to thirty respondents, among whom five were then chosen for the next stage of the fieldwork. The five respondents were then subjected to one interview each and two were selected for the participant observation. At each stage the subjects were chosen based on the amount of data related to literacies likely to be extracted from their answered questionnaires. I chose this procedure because the aim of the research was not to

generalise the research results, but to study specific cases and expose the literacy needs of the Congolese adult ASRs in Johannesburg, while laying the foundation for further research in the areas of the Literacies of such a group. I also chose this procedure because results from the survey could be used to substantiate those from the interviews, which would also in their turn be used to confirm those from the participant observation, and vice-versa.

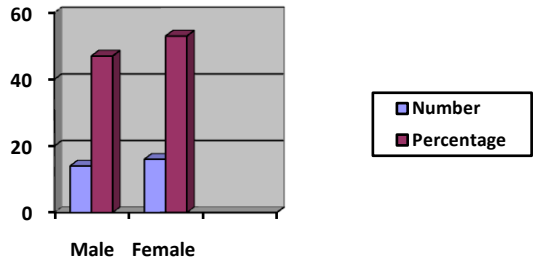
3.3.1 Survey

3.3.1.1. Selection of informants for the Survey

Among the thirty respondents participated in this research 30% were from the Jesuit Refugee Services Language Programme in Hillbrow, the others had been recruited through the students of the programme. For this, the students were asked if they could find Congolese family members, friends and neighbours who were willing to fill in the questionnaire.

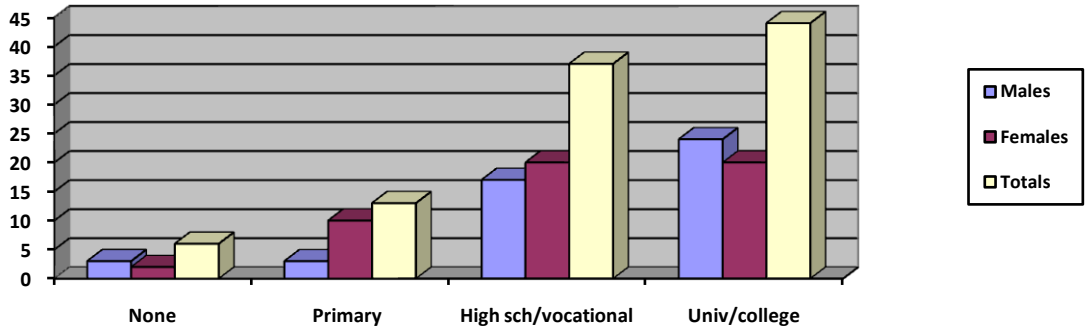
I used a sample of sixteen female and fourteen male subjects to balance the sample as far as gender is concerned for the results to be an indication of the literacy needs and difficulties of both genders, without necessarily being generalised for all ASRs.

Figure 1: Gender of respondents in percentage



It is also important to get a glimpse of the level of respondents' education as this can perhaps provide an insight into the origin of some of their literacy difficulties.

Figure 2: Education levels of respondents in percentage



As shown in Figure 2, over 40% of respondents have higher or university level education, 37% have a high school or a secondary education technical or profession level trade or qualification, while thirteen percent and six percent only have respectively a primary and no education at all. There seems to be an imbalance between the education levels of male and female respondents: though the number of female respondents is slightly higher than that of the male ones, the percentage of males having higher or university level education is higher than that of the females.

Table 1: Areas of residence of respondents in Johannesburg

Areas	*Number*	*Percentage*
Yeoville	***8***	***26.6 %***
Troyeville	***8***	***26.6 %***
Hillbrow	***3***	***10 %***
Berea	***3***	***10 %***
Bertrams	***2***	***7 %***
Rosettenville	***2***	***7 %***
Bezidenhout Valley	***2***	***7 %***
Bedford Gardens	***1***	***3 %***
Germiston	***1***	***3 %***

The concentration of Congolese ASRs in areas such as Yeoville and Troyeville, shown in Table 1, can be said to be very characteristic of a migrant population's movement patterns: newly arrived ASRs for instance settle in areas where they can benefit from the experience and support of friends and acquaintances found in the city (Timngum 2001). From the point of view of literacies, it could be inferred in this research that ASRs settle in areas of high concentration of persons from their home country speaking their language.

3.3.1.2. Survey Procedures

The survey questionnaires were administered directly to thirteen students in my class at the JRS language programme in Hillbrow. These thirteen subjects were used to reach the other seventeen subjects, who were neighbours, friends and family members.

For the JRS-LP in Hillbrow, I initially asked in my class if there were students interested in helping me with research. I explained what the research was about and explained what they would be expected to do. Almost half of the class volunteered and I gathered them in a separate class in order to give them more details and answers to their questions. I distributed the questionnaires the next day and made appointments with each one of the respondents for further explanations.

I had to meet some of the respondents two or three times before they could give the questionnaire back: the first time to give, read and explain it to them; the second time, on a different day, to answer the respondent's questions. I would sometimes give them more time to answer either all or at least most questions. I always ensured that I did not divulge the answers or provide ASRs with clues as their responses needed to come from them and not from me.

As done for the pilot study, I, in most cases spent time with the respondent discussing the difficulties they had encountered in answering the questions, before getting the answered questionnaires back from them. I also asked them to agree or disagree with my 'preliminary' inferences, understanding of or conclusions from some of their responses.

3.3.1.3. Limitations

At the beginning of the survey, some of the questionnaires were returned empty, and a few others were never returned to me. Because of the language barrier, one of the strategies that I adopted

was to resort to asking supplementary questions to the respondent who handed 'almost empty' questionnaires. I would first ask if we could sit down and if s/he would allow me to pose, there and then, a number of questions in order to clarify some of the answers. I would ask the question and write, there and then, the respondents' answer as literally as possible.

However, during the data analysis stage, I strived to examine even the partially completed questionnaires in order to make inferences and get an indication of the difficulties or barriers that had prevented the subject from completing the questionnaire. Subjects who returned empty questionnaires repetitively asked for a questionnaire in French, which I could not provide because of the issues involved in translating the research instrument from one language to the other: namely, potential lost or distortion of the meaning. Fortunately, such a barrier would not exist for interviews.

3.3.2. Interviews

3.3.2.1. Selection of informants for the interviews

After analyzing the survey data, I selected five of the questionnaires that provided more information about specific literacy practices and events, which had been mentioned by more than fifty percent of the respondents and which were of first importance for their lives in Johannesburg.

These interviews were essentially used to confirm, deepen and substantiate the respondents' responses to the survey questionnaires. They also constituted a framework for me to ascertain my interpretation of the respondents' earlier responses.

While collecting survey questionnaires, I almost always asked some clarification questions of the respondents after a quick glance at their answers: this allowed me to confirm possible literacy areas for further investigation.

As several literacies and literacy areas emerged during the survey, I chose to further investigate the language literacies (Zulu, English, and other local languages) and the computer literacies (operating a personal computer, programming, internet and e-mails). I chose these two groups of literacies because, first, they were mentioned by seventy per cent of respondents, and second, because of the fact they practically are a prerequisite for the Congolese ASRs' acquisition of

other needed literacies. These literacies thus have direct or indirect connection with other literacies and constitute a 'bridge' that ASRs can use to empower themselves in this new literacy environment. To explore them, I chose Sidonie (a forty-year-old housewife who has five children), Thomas (an internet Café manager in his twenties), Simon (a twenty-nine year old electrician who works in a food factory), Daniel (a mining engineer in his forties) and Francine (a twenty-nine year old lawyer who works as a hairdresser in Yeoville).

Among the literacies that Sidonie affirmed helped her was being able to speak Zulu, one of the South African languages most spoken in Johannesburg. With Thomas, I wanted to explore how his computer literacies have helped and in which way. Concerning Simon, I intended to explore how his limited knowledge of Zulu helped him at his work place. Daniel's assertion that his electrical engineering knowledge skills assisted him in Johannesburg attracted my attention; I felt it was worthwhile to explore how he went about looking for repair jobs, the literacy that helped him and how he interacted with the local people. As for Francine, her ability to learn and speak Tswana seemed quite amazing and I thought of investigating what facilitated this learning and how it helped her in her life in Johannesburg.

Table 2: The literacies investigated by means of interviews

Respondents	*Literacies*
Sidonie	*Language literacies:* ***Zulu***
Daniel	*Language literacy (**English**) and technical literacies (**home appliances repair skill**)*
Francine	*Language literacy:* ***Tswana***
Simon	*Language Literacy:* ***Zulu***
Thomas	***Computer literacies***

In Daniel's case, his major literacies were not clearly stated in the questionnaire and I found it useful to know to which extent English has helped him and what he did if spoken to in English.

3.3.2.2. Interview Schedule

The kinds of questions asked in interviews were open-ended to allow the respondents to talk about their experiences as freely and as extensively as possible. These were only guiding questions, though they were designed with a focus on literacies and literacy areas that emerged from the survey data, in the sense that I expected to extract more data from the respondents' answers. It can be said that I was more interested in what the respondents would say about the literacies than about the literacies themselves. I also looked for other literacies that would emerge and their connection with those that had emerged during the survey. Guiding questions and the literacy investigated used for each informant are described in Appendix 3.

As can be seen in Appendix 3, the interview guiding questions were not the same for all the informants, the literacies to be investigated being of diverging natures and given the difference in contexts of use of literacies. These questions thus targeted literacy areas from the respondents' answers in the survey questionnaire that need clarification or substantiation.

3.3.2.3. Procedures

The analysis of the survey data allowed the researcher to select five informants whose answered questionnaires reflected the potential to furnish data that was important in quantity and quality, and whom I interviewed for the case studies. I conducted semi-structured interviews and guiding questions with the five informants. Both the interviews and participant observation were complemented with further short informal interviews. The respondents were given the latitude to choose the date and time, and they also were given the chance to withdraw from the participant observation. I recorded their answers by taking notes.

3.3.2.4. Limitations

The major difficulty was to get the informants to agree on an appointment with me for the interview. Some of them did not have time and I had to select and ask only the most important questions.

The data obtained from Informants was not as extensive and as detailed as expected and I avoided asking more detailed questions that would provide 'clues' for the informants.

3.3.3. Participant Observation

3.3.3.1. Selection of subjects for the participant observation

Among the literacies that emerged as important from the data collected from the interviews with the five informants, Zulu and computer literacies appeared as the most important of them, because even Daniel, Francine and Simon, who were interviewed with a focus on other literacies, alluded to these two or to one of them as the most important literacy Congolese ASRs must acquire in Johannesburg.

Therefore, the selection of Sidonie and Thomas for the participant observation aimed at further investigating the language literacies with a focus on the learning and speaking of Zulu and the learning and use of computer literacies.

I spent the day respectively with Sidonie and Thomas, while observing and taking notes of their activities at their place of work.

3.3.3.2. Participant observation schedule

I made use of a participant observation schedule with guiding questions as instruments for more focus and objectivity in data collection (Refer to Appendix 6). For both Sidonie and Thomas the schedule included questions that aimed to first ascertain the importance of the literacies at the subject's workplace, second how the subjects used the knowledge and finally the change that occurred as a result of the acquisition of the literacies.

3.3.3.3. Procedures

I contacted Sidonie and Thomas by phone to ask them if they would allow me to spend a day with them at their place and at their place of work and observe their literacy practices. I explained that it would involve asking their employers' permission to do so and that I would have to be at their place early in the morning and leave late at night. Both agreed.

The participant observation of Sidonie can be divided into two stages: the observation done in Sidonie's home and that done at her work place. The observation that occurred on the way to and from Sidonie's place of work can be added to the second part: the observation done at her work. Both Sidonie and her husband work for the same company: they walk to work together "as the company is not far from their place of residence". My first appointment with Sidonie and her

husband which was set at 7:00 failed: they had left earlier on that day. They had to be at work earlier than usual upon instruction of their work supervisor: “every year they started work earlier and worked overtime toward the end of the year” as the workload increased because of the year-end festive season. We made another appointment for 6:30 the next day and I knocked at their door a bit earlier at around 6:17. We made the trip to and from their place of work together, the three of us. At the end of the day, I left their flat at around 9 pm.

For a more detailed account of Sidonie’s activities at work and during the rest of the day refer to the data description and discussion in chapter 4.

Briefly, the procedure in both Sidonie’s and thomas’ cases were:

1) Request of permission from subject
2) Request of permission from employer
3) appointment
4) meeting with the subject
5) observation and notes by the researcher both at the place of residence of the subject and at the place of work including on the way
6) questions asked during and after observation

Thomas’ observation can also be divided in two parts: the observation of his activities at his home and that his activities at the internet café where he works. At about 7:30, I reached his place. We left his room at quarter to nine and reached the Internet Café at around nine in the morning: I observed his activities and took notes, the whole day until late in the evening (8pm), when Thomas and his employer shut down all the PCs and locked the shop. Back at his room, I observed him and took some more notes and left slightly after 9pm.

Thomas’ literacies at his room and at the internet café are described with more details in the data description and discussion (refer to Participant Observation Data Description at section 4.1.3).

3.3.3.4. Limitations

One of the difficulties encountered for the participant observation was obtaining a letter of consent from the employer. For Zulu, I had initially intended to observe Simon at his place of

work, but because his employer declined my verbal application to conduct the research in his factory, I asked to submit a written application, but they also made it clear they would not allow this kind of research in their company. I then chose to observe Sidonie, whose employer allowed me to do the research, but on condition that I did not disturb or have Sidonie or her husband interrupt work at any time to attend to research activities. He also stated that a written authorisation was not necessary.

Both company managers did not want their companies or their names to be mentioned in the report.

SECTION B: FURTHER DATA COLLECTION IN 2010

3.4. Data Collection 2010

Introduction

The first data collection 2005 made use of a pilot study, survey, interviews and participant observations, and which was primarily qualitative in orientation, was to be complemented with quantitative research with a view to confirm its findings. Recent research has recommended that qualitative research precede quantitative research as the latter tends to generalize results to ascertain qualitative research findings (Floyd 2002). This research administered questionnaires to 30 Congolese ASR subjects, a few of whom also took part in the 2005 research.

3.4.1. Aim of the 2010 study

As said earlier, this second data collection was carried out to ascertain whether ASR's literacies needs change over time in Johannesburg. The first data collection highlighted a number of literacies of which the number was progressively narrowed down based on the literacies most cited and those mentioned as being the most vital for survival in Johannesburg. This second study asked some of the first study questions over again and aimed to ascertain whether the answers would be the same, in addition to new questions which aimed to gather new information susceptible of informing the research on changes in the ASR's literacies.

3.4.2. Selection of Subjects

In order to achieve the above objective, I ensured the sample included not only newcomer ASRs, but also a few older ASRs. Of the 30 respondents who took part in the first survey only 9, among whom only three agreed to participate in the 2010 research, could be could be reached once more and the others have relocated to another area of Johannesburg, moved out of the city or even the country or simply changed their contact details.

3.4.3. Survey 2010

The 2005 research results highlighted local language Literacies and computer Literacies as the Literacies the ASR's felt they needed the most for their integration in Johannesburg. This second questionnaire set out to investigate whether these literacies were still the most needed or used in the ASR's daily lives in Johannesburg or whether ARS's literacy needs change over time.

This questionnaire has three sections: personal details, local language Literacies and computer Literacies (refer to Appendix 3). The personal details section serves to foreground the correlation that may exist between the use of these Literacies and the appurtenance to a specific age group, the level of education, the Congolese language spoken, the areas of origin in the DRC, the suburb of residence in Johannesburg and the occupation in Johannesburg. This section also examines whether the ASR enjoy their jobs or not, whether they communicate successfully with South Africans or not, and if they need help with communication, as these factors may inform the researcher on the ASR's ability to learn the target Literacies or the lack thereof (see Appendix 3).

3.4.4. Procedures

This time around, I approached ASRs at two francophone churches; one is located in Troyeville and the other in Yeoville. At both these churches, I asked for volunteers to participate in my research. Quite a substantial number of participants were also recruited at the Jesuit Refugee Service funded Language Centre for ASRs in Yeoville.

For this research, the data collected was carried out over a period of three weeks.

I usually read the questionnaire and explained the questionnaire to the participants and gave them time to fill it in. I managed to collect the answered questionnaire on the same day in most cases. It was common for them to ask clarification questions and a few of them made comments that I also recorded in the form of notes.

Some of the ASRs asked to be given more time, a request which was granted in most cases. It is also important to note that of the 27 answered questionnaires three were returned almost empty due to language barriers mostly.

3.4.5. Limitations

The first limitation was the fact that most 2005 respondents could not be reached for this second data collection, having either relocated or changed their contact details, five years being a long period of time. Three out of 30 respondents declined to fill in the questionnaire due to time constraints: ‘too busy with work’.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA DESCRIPTION AND DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

Introduction

This Chapter is concerned with the description and analysis of both the 2005 and 2010 results. It explores the emerging themes and concepts in the areas of social literacies and languages, while at the same time striving to situate these literacies throughout the various stages of the ASRs' of integration into their host communities. For purposes of clarity, the description of the data and their discussion will be conducted simultaneously.

4.1. Data Description

This section is going to explore respectively the 2005 data, which comprises the survey, interview and participant observation data, and the 2010 data constituted of the survey data.

This analysis solely focuses on the literacy experiences, needs and difficulties of ASR's in Johannesburg. The answers each respondent provided for each of the questions have been categorised by emerging literacy theme.

For interpretation purposes, it is important to remember that not all individual respondents answered all questions fully and/or in the same way: their varied responses reflected the differences and uniqueness of each one's background, education and social experiences, and even their reaction to current cultural, social and other experiences and influences. I allude here to cultural experiences because several asylum seekers mentioned them as some of the 'barriers' the ASRs had 'to learn' to overcome. This issue is dealt with in the section on 'engagement' stage literacies needs.

4.1.1. <u>Survey Data Description</u>

In their responses to the survey questions, these ASRs mentioned as their prime literacy needs the need for literacies that enable access to information, such as language proficiency, English and local languages, the need to upgrade and/or redirect their occupational and/or professional, trade and skill related literacies, for survival and integration. There are also a number of literacies related to administrative procedures and documentation, for obtaining legal and recognized identity documentation. These literacies are shown in the table below:

Table 3: Literacies listed as most important for ASRs in 2005

LITERACIES	*%*
English	***70***
Local languages	***30***
Cultural literacies (music, attires, etc.)	***30***
Literacies for social interaction	***40***

The above literacies, together with the literacy difficulties and needs will be discussed in detail in relation to the stages of integration in the discussion part of this chapter. The full questionnaire can be seen under Appendix 3.

As the questionnaire was administered to thirty respondents, this report does not describe each answered questionnaire in detail: these details will be explored at a later stage. I used the results of the survey data analysis to identify first a number of literacies that would be further investigated and second five respondents that would be interviewed based on the amount of data related to literacies that can be extracted from their answered questionnaires.

4.1.2. Interview Data Description

The interviews aimed to provide answers to some of the questions that emerged from survey data, and /or shed more light on the literacies that appeared of prime importance. Since the focus of this research is on some of the most important specific literacies, I constantly reviewed the various aspects of the fieldwork in relation to the literacy framework. The survey indeed highlighted some of the literacies that are important to these ASRs, and the respective impacts of these literacies on the ASRs as individual newcomers into 'new' communities in Johannesburg.

To this end, I chose Sidonie, Thomas, Simon, Daniel and Francine. One of the literacies Sidonie claimed were of assistance to her was isiZulu, one of the South African languages most spoken in Johannesburg. With Thomas, I wanted to explore how his computer literacies have helped him and in which way. Concerning Simon, I intended to explore the extent to which his knowledge of English, though limited, helped him at his work place. Daniel's assertion that his electrical engineering knowledge skills assisted him in Johannesburg attracted my attention; I felt

it was worthwhile to explore how he went about looking for casual fridge and cold room repair contracts and how his work went. As for Francine, her ability to learn and speak Tswana seemed quite amazing and I thought of investigating what facilitated this learning and how it helped her in her life in Johannesburg (refer to Methodology Chapter for interview guiding questions). Table 4 below presents the various literacies that were identified as most important for each interviewee.

Table 4: Literacies listed as most important for each interviewee

LITERACIES	*INFORMANTS*
English	***Simon***
Local languages (isiZulu)	***Sidonie***
Cultural	***Francine***
Computer literacies	***Thomas***
Technical and occupational literacies	***Daniel***

In the above table, occupational literacies refer to literacies related to professions, trades and skills that ASRs engage in in Johannesburg. Three out of the five asylum seekers interviewed recommended the need to specialize, adapt or substitute their home literacies in order to have a decent life in the Johannesburg setting.

Based on the data, the most important literacies to be investigated further are language literacies and computer literacies.

4.1.3. Participant Observation Data Description

Thomas and Sidonie were chosen based on the amount of information on literacies retrieved from their interview data. This section describes and discusses the participant observation data for both Thomas, computer literacies, and Sidonie, local language literacies.

Sidonie

My first appointment with Sidonie and her husband which was set at 7:00 failed: they had left earlier. They both work for the same company and they walked to work together "as the

company is not far from their place of residence". They had to be at work earlier than usual upon instruction of their work supervisor: "every year they started work earlier and worked overtime toward the end of the year". We made another appointment for 6:30 the next day and I knocked at their door a bit earlier at around 6:17: Sidonie's husband was listening to news [in French] on *Radio France Internationale* on Short Wave. He stated that the radio Station "kept him informed about what was happening back home" in the DRC. Sidonie got the children's uniforms and breakfast ready and gave instructions to the bigger ones before leaving. She had five children: two boys aged sixteen and two, and three girls aged thirteen (two) and five, one of the thirteen year-olds was adopted. The three of us started off at 6:27 and reached their place of work at 6:55. Both of them had employee electronic cards that they swiped at the entrance: the computer then marks the time the employee arrived and the entrance they used. Sidonie's husband told me this was the first thing each one of them had to do every morning. Inside the industrial complex, Sidonie proceeded to the female employees' lockers room and I waited near the halls. All employees wore overalls marked with names and employee numbers and they gathered in four different halls, each one of which was subdivided into sub-sections each. Work started at 7:15: team supervisors read out names and tasks to do on that day. At Sidonie's section, neither her workmates nor Sidonie wrote down what seemed like a long list of details about materials to use and their measurement and tools to do. I asked her if they would not forget them and she answered that it was easy to remember since most of them did almost the same tasks every day.

Sidonie's job consisted in topstitching upholstery covers before assembly of the parts. She performed the task with a specialized machine which worked like an over locking machine. Sidonie had to set the specific measures for the kind of cover to be made and the sort of stitch to be used for that type of cover. After setting the machine she started working on the materials which another section prepared in advance: there were five other ladies doing the same task. Each worker was expected to topstitch at least between 80 and 100 covers a day and, according to Sidonie's husband and this was very much dependent on the experience on the job. The workers had the responsibility of switching the machines on in the morning and switching them off at the end of the day.

Tea break was at 10:00: Sidonie joined her husband at another section and I left them to discuss what sounded like domestic matters. Work restarted at 10:30 and Sidonie went back to her routine. She told me though that it was not in their supervisor's habit to read their duties out, each section usually went to his office to collect a list of things to do for the day. Work not finished was carried over on the next day, when the concerned section would not have to collect another list of tasks. Work was done in a chain with each section having a specific task. The main tasks were cutting the material, overlocking, joining, zipping, topstitching, garnishing, and assembly. All these tasks seemed to be done in an almost ritualistic manner and at fast speed.

At lunch break, 12:00, Sidonie sat with one of her workmates and ate some rice she had brought in a lunch box. They conversed in Zulu with the other lady who happened to be from Mozambique, and a thirds one who joined them. Sidonie started reading a Bible and then other three women joined her. They had a chat in Zulu that they seemed to enjoy very much until a bell rang and they all proceeded to their sections again. They took another break from 15:00 to 15:30, during which Sidonie went outside the gate to make a phone call. She said she sometimes calls her children to know whether they were alright at home.

Towards 17:00, the supervisor walked around each and every section to know how far each worker has gone with the day's duty. Work not finished was kept for the next day.

The languages spoken at the workplace were Sotho, Zulu and Afrikaans. The workers were Mozambicans, Zulu, Sotho, and Afrikaans speaking blacks, coloured and whites. Among the twenty-eight workers in Sidonie's hall, two were Afrikaans speaking coloured women, twenty-two Zulu speaking women and men, and four were Portuguese speaking men and women, and three Swahili and French speakers. They mostly communicated in Zulu with each other: Sidonie's only Congolese workmate, apart from her husband and her, complained the Zulu speakers addressed her in Zulu practically making it the only language in which she should greet and try to express herself if she wanted them to "notice or respond" to her. "They address the coloured and the white South Africans in English, but expect the Congolese to speak Zulu just because we are blacks" Sidonie's co-worker protested.

Sidonie switched off her machine, packed her scissors, needles and other items that she used, waited for the supervisor to reach her table. She had done seventy-four covers and was to finish others the next day. She got changed, we waited for the husband, they swiped their employee cards and we started off. Another workmate lady, who spoke Zulu and said she had moved to Bez-Valley and walked with us: Bez-valley is between Troyeville and after Yeoville. She did all the talking in Zulu while the Sidonie couple listened, asked questions here and there, and laughed from time to time. They seemed to enjoy talking about their supervisors and what usually happened at work.

We reached Sidonie's home, her husband proceeded to the bathroom to have a shower and she went straight to the kitchen and started cooking. She also tuned the television set to SABC ONE to follow a soapie. She kept dashing between the kitchen and the living room, while also checking if each of her children had done what she had instructed them to do. Then she checked if they had done their homework. At around 8 pm, the couple started making phone calls to the DRC, talking respectively to their parents, and some of their brothers and sisters. They used two world phone call cards and spoke for several minutes. They communicated with their children in English, with each other in Swahili and with the people in Congo. At 9 pm, I left the flat.

Thomas

At about 7:30, Thomas opened the door for me. He rented a room in a double-storey house in Kensington. He was watching a DVD movie while lying on his bed. I asked him if he always got up early and watched movies. He answered that he usually watched movies late at night and early in the morning from his bed. I quickly browsed through the DVDs, CDs and books that were scattered on the bed and on an extra mattress on the floor, and packed in a carton. A number of old newspapers, magazines and books were on a small desk between the two beds in the room. The desk had to withstand both the weight of the documents and that of two computer CPU boxes, one of which was connected to a monitor on Thomas's bed.

A computer game was on in the demonstration mode: it read "Alien Attack". There was nevertheless, no books or any other documents related to the field of medicine, as I expected. Most of the books were on Computer programmes and technology. After the necessary

preparations, we started off to the Internet Café that we reached within sixteen minutes of walking. There is a grocery shop at the front of the Internet café kept by the same owner. Thomas greeted the grocery shop assistant who then handed him a bunch of keys and a list of instructions that the owner left for him early in the morning. It read:

Figure 3: Shop owner's note listing things Thomas has to do

1. ***Supervise the replacement of the front security gate (new system)***
2. ***Remember to check and reboot computer number one and four before customer use them***
3. ***Use envelop B to pay the technician who will bring the scanner back***
4. **Be careful remember it's November. Criminals are looking for money for the festive season.**[1]

Thomas then opened the second security gate separating the shop from the Internet Café area and proceeded straight to open another door that separated the café customer area from the section behind the control desk (well protected behind burglar bars). We could see each other through the bars so I remained on the customer side of the Internet Café. He stood behind the control desk and switched on the main control station personal computer that faced him. He asked me to help him connect some of the cables. After I had done it he came to double check whether I had done it properly. He insisted, "Only second person's eye can see certain mistakes. A slight mistake can damage the entire network". I also helped him connect personal computers in the customer section. He forgot to reboot computer one and four and I reminded him. At twenty-one past nine customers started walking in. Between twenty past nine and some minutes past eleven, Thomas kept himself busy shuttling between customers' sections and the control station counter: he forgot about me. Then the café got quiet and he asked me to join him behind the counter and started explaining how different programmes were used to monitor the time, keep the network running and make sure computers are protected from viruses and damage due to changes in temperature. Between twelve and two in the afternoon, the café got busier and Thomas went back to his routine: logging customers on the system and giving them their desired amount of

time, receiving payments, assisting those in need of help, and teaching new Internet users how to go about opening an e-mail account and using it. At around three in the afternoon, two policemen walked in and asked to speak to the one in charge. They spoke to Thomas and told him that they had received a phone call tip that he makes illegal duplication of CDs and DVDs. They asked to access his control station, which he allowed them to do. They demonstrated above average knowledge of computer skills and checked the computer software, software CDs and drives, and they also checked the CDs that were lying around behind the counter. Thomas showed them a notice on the wall in the café that read, "These machines are not to be used for fraud, porn or downloads". They left at around 18:10 after apologizing for the inconvenience caused. Thomas said that that was the third time they had come to search the Café: "each time it was a different team".

He communicated with most of the Internet café users in English; he also used Swahili and French with some of them. It was a Thursday and he said that the busiest times are Saturday and Sunday afternoons. The café got busy again between half past six and half past seven, but Thomas seemed more relaxed that time. I asked him why he appeared more relaxed than the other times when the place was busy: "it's because most of the people who come this time are regulars and they need almost no assistance". Thomas retreated behind the counter and I followed him this time: he was reading news on "digitalcongo.net". He also showed me the other sites on which he usually reads the news: congovision.com; lepotentiel.com; and radiookapi.net. He said that he also listens to music on the net, but that day he did not bring his headset. He got a computer programming manual and started looking at the table of contents. Way beyond closing time, that is almost half past eight, I asked him he did not think he should do a Computer course and something else in the field of computers instead of studying medicine. He said "no", "the main thing I always wanted to do in my life was medicine".

Then Thomas shut down all the PCs after carrying out some checks on a number of them and on the system. He counted the money, filled in the report book and telephoned the café owner. After talking to his boss over the phone, he closed the gates and we left.

We walked back to his room in Kensington where we found his roommate cooking. In the morning I only had only seen a human mass wrapped in a blanket in the other bed in the room

and could not see his face as even the head was covered. Also in his twenties, Toto* was cooking, listening to music while the television was on. They joked about the beans and pap he was cooking. Thomas said he was going to take a shower and I left.

The observation of both participants identified the following items:

Table 5: Literacies used by the two subjects during the participant observation

LITERACIES ⇓ SUBJECT NAME ⇒	*SIDONIE*	*THOMAS*
Watching soapies	*X*	*X*
Watching movies	*X*	*X*
Speaking English	*X*	*X*
Speaking Zulu	*X*	-
Operating topstitching machine	*X*	-
Operating a personal computer	-	*X*
Helping children with homework	*X*	-
Supervising door fixing work	-	*X*
Reading list of things to do	*X*	*X*
Reading list of things to buy	*X*	*X*
Reading computer manuals	-	*X*
Reading magazines	-	*X*
Reading the Bible	*X*	-
Reading newspapers	-	*X*
Playing computer games	-	*X*
Opening and closing security doors	-	*X*
Running an Internet café (complex lit)	-	*X*
Maintaining a computer network	-	*X*
Handling cash	-	*X*

* Not his real name.

Writing short report	-	*X*
Teaching basic Internet skills	-	*X*
Face-to-face communication with clients	-	*X*
Reading news on the net	-	*X*
Listening to music on the net	-	*X*
Making cellular phone call	*X*	*X*
Making long distance call	*X*	-
Taking care of children	*X*	-
Swiping electronic card at workplace	*X*	-
Using changing room and lockers	*X*	-
Wearing and identifying employee number	*X*	-
Topstitching upholstery covers	*X*	-
Discussing domestic and family matters	*X*	-
Preparing, carrying and using lunchbox	*X*	-
Chatting in Zulu	*X*	-
Chatting in English	-	*X*
Speaking French	-	*X*

In Table 5 above, some of the items are, or involve, literacies, others are more areas of knowledge (e.g. 'topstitching', which can be seen as being part of a larger 'literacy' such as 'upholstery work'). The same applies to 'supervising door fixing', which is part of a larger literacy such as 'giving instructions' or 'knowledge of handiwork'.

The discussion with regard to the literacies identified under participant observation will only focus on the literacies in the list that are related to communicative practices [and events], and those that are in one way or the other hampered or conditioned by language literacies. However for a more detailed analysis, I classified the above literacies into two main categories: the literacies in which the subject is 'communicatively' active, which are also divided in three sub-categories, and those in which communication is not directly involved.

Table 6: Categorization of Literacies

Language (Communication) related Literacies: *subject is communicatively active*	*Non-language (Non-communication related literacies):* *Subject is communicatively passive*
Category 1: Spoken Language Production And Reception *Speaking, listening, reading and writing of* ▪ *Zulu* ▪ *English* ▪ *French* ▪ *Swahili* *Helping children with homework* *Face-to-face communication with clients (literacy for social interaction)* *Making phone calls*	*Swiping employee electronic card at entrance* *Operating topstitching machine* *Wearing an identification employee number* *Handling cash*
Category 2: Written Language Production And Reception ▪ *computer manuals* ▪ *the Bible, magazines and newspapers* ▪ *news in the net* *listening to music on the net Writing and/ or Reading of list of things to do* *Writing short reports* *Maintaining a computer network* *Operating a personal computer* *Emails (sending/receiving)*	

Category 1 contains communicative practices or communication related literacies in which the subject is communicatively active. In speaking Zulu, English, French or Swahili for instance, the subject both talks to another person and listens when spoken to. These actions involve a sustained and intensive use of language and require a higher level of language *fluency* on the part of the subject, who would not have been involved in the interaction if s/he was not fluent enough in the language being used. Therefore, the participation of Sidonie in a conversation in English

and that of Thomas in an interaction in English is a proof that these ASRs possess a relatively high level of fluency respectively in Zulu and English.

Table 7: Literacies identified as most important for Thomas and Sidonie

LITERACIES	*PARTICIPANT*
Advanced Internet/computer networking literacies	***Thomas***
Local languages	***Sidonie***
Specialised upholstery work related literacies	***Sidonie***

As seen in the table above, knowledge of local languages, technology and computer skills emerged as the most crucial Literacies for asylum seekers and refugees. I set out to more closely investigate the effects of such Literacies on the individual and social lives of Sidonie and Thomas

As said earlier, the aim of the participant observation was primarily to verify that the Literacies the informant pinpointed during the interviews were really the ones s/he uses the most. It was also to take note of the nature of these Literacies, the ones that emerged as most important during the interviews, namely the local languages and computer ones, and their influence on the subjects' life. From the interviews, two major Literacies emerge as the most importance ones on the lives of Sidonie and that of Thomas; namely and respectively: local languages and computer skills.

4.1.4. Survey data: 2010 fieldwork

The 2010 fieldwork only consisted of a survey which aimed to verify if ASRs' literacy needs change over time by identifying the literacy needs of ASRs in 2010. Thirty respondents answered the questionnaire, which subsequently highlighted three main literacies: Internet/E-mail literacies, advanced computer literacies and advanced or more specialised English.

Table 8: Literacies needs of ASRs who have stayed longer in Johannesburg

LITERACIES	*NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS*	*%*
Internet/ e-mail literacies	***18***	***60***
Advanced computer related literacies	***16***	***53***
Advanced and specialised English	***18***	***60***

The study found that the literacy needs of newcomer ASRs remain the same whether they arrived in 2005 or in 2010, but that as for ASRs who have stayed longer in Johannesburg these literacies change or become more specific and/or localised. The section that follows describes and discusses these changes in the lights of the three-stage integration process, inspired by Berry's theories of assimilation or integration as presented in the Literature review Chapter.

4.2. Discussion of Results: Isolation, Engagement and Integration Stages of the Integration Process

It was mostly while analysing the collected data that I found myself in a position to better assess the importance and the impact of these literacies on the lives of ASRs. Before starting the analysis of the data, I anticipated that the collected data could be classified as follows:

- The literacies that the Congolese adult asylum seekers and refugees are exposed to and/or require in Johannesburg;
- The obstacles preventing or making their acquisition of the needed literacies difficult; and/or the factors that made such acquisition easier;
- The asylum seekers' ideas of what could be done to facilitate their acquisition of such literacies.

In this research, ASRs have identified for the most part English, local languages, computer and Internet literacies, as the most important literacies for their survival and integration in Johannesburg. For some of them the inability to speak English therefore constitutes an obstacle, which also means legal and administrative procedures and documents become a nightmare due to the language barrier. Speaking a local language was also pointed out as one of the literacies

needed for social and cultural interaction; the lack of which can also reduce the ASR's chances of integration.

The literacies identified throughout the three stages of integration (see end of this section) were also classified in two main categories: (i) the literacy difficulties and (ii) the literacies perceived as important by the ASRs.

Despite the unreturned or incomplete Questionnaires, this study still provided enormous amounts of information on the literacies and integration needs of ASRs.

In order to fully understand the process of integration, it is important to use Berry's notion of integration, as opposed to 'assimilation' and 'separatism', as a framework. As mentioned in the literature review, ASRs in this research felt that, in the South African context, integration is inadvertently mistaken for 'assimilation' and underpinned by a sense of 'separatism'. Landau (2004) also posits that local authorities mean 'immigrants must assimilate' when they call for all immigrants to make efforts to integrate into local communities.

Furthermore, research reveals that newly-arrived ASRs in Johannesburg encounter a somewhat hostile (Landau, 2004) and generally challenging environment, which remains critically different from their milieu of origin due to the variety and multiplicity of literacies used by the local communities. These ASRs often have diverging values and priorities themselves, with literacies that are linked to other 'foreign' literacies. What emerged from this research is that as a result, on their arrival in the host communities, ASRs often realise early enough how deep the gap between their values and priorities and those of the peoples they have found in this new environment is. Three stages of integration discussed in this Chapter transpire through the asylum seekers' discourse about the literacy difficulties faced on their arrival in the city: the isolation or resistance stage, the confrontation or engagement stage and the acceptance or integration stage. This subsection deals with the isolation and resistance stage.

4.2.1. Isolation Stage

There seems to be a direct relationship between the use and acquisition of literacies by newly-arrived asylum seekers and the process of integration *per se*. This link resides in the fact most ASRs declared to have gone through a period of self-isolation or of rejection by the local communities due to difficulties related to language barriers, lack of financial means or accommodation, and/or xenophobia; the English language being the most needed literacy in the ASRs' opinions. The perceived difficulties are further exacerbated by the necessity for these migrants to adapt to 'the new literacy environment with all the complexities' that this involves (Street, 1996).

The use of the word 'integration' itself seems problematic because in using this term most South African policy makers and diverse organisations involved in the refugees' and asylum seekers' affaires, including an important fraction of local government and home affaires officials, mistakenly mean 'assimilation', which can have culturally devastating consequences for these asylum seekers (Guibernaux and Rex, *The Ethnicity Reader: Nationalism, Multiculturalism and Migration*, 2003: 280). Nowhere else in the world have there been widespread surges for a more prominent assimilationist alternative than in France: Rex (2003:280) states that

> *'There is a widespread belief that minority cultures and minority identities threaten [...] national culture and identity and that while minority members should have equal rights as citizens they should be discouraged from maintaining their own cultures. Politically, they should be expected to work through the mainstream parties and there should be no intrusion of minority culture and values in the secular national schools.'*

For the French, ASRs, who are also classified as minorities, may not promote cultural features other than those of the mainstream or national culture; they must 'assimilate', meaning 'lose their distinctive culture to embrace their host communities' cultures.

Recent research in Forced Migrations asserts that South African national and local government officials and community leaders share the French beliefs and fears concerning the presence of cultures of 'foreign origin' in South Africa, because *'South African cities are still struggling with the fact that large portions of the domestic populations are not themselves 'integrated' in any sense of the word'* (cited in Landau, 2004: 20), due to

> *the 'temporary labour migration patterns established through the grand apartheid schemes of Bantustans and pass-laws continue to be an important feature of South African society … as people took advantage of the new freedom of movement to migrate permanently to urban areas (Landau: 19)*

Rex's declaration in the previous section and Landau's postulation above both highlight the seemingly frightening nature of additional cultures and identities among nations that are still trying to come to terms with the challenge of unifying disparate and sometimes opposing national cultures and identities. South Africa is no exception to this 'rule' as the ANC government is still battling to consolidate a national South African identity by, it must be emphasized, encouraging the South African from all cultures to preserve their cultural heritage and be proud of their origins while being 'proudly South African (Landau 2004). Thus, the term integration in this report refers to the ASRs' ability to engage and interact meaningfully and constructively with members of the local communities at various levels of social relations and endevour. This is seen in opposition to the case where individual ASRs isolate themselves from the host communities for various reasons.

Bearing in mind that, in the views expressed by several critics in forced migrations, in relation to ASRs in Johannesburg, by encouraging ASRs to integrate, authorities are in actual fact urging ASRs to 'lose' their distinctive cultures. In other words, ASRs must distance themselves from their specific ethnic identities by embracing local groupings' identities in order to 'conform to or melt into the host communities' ethnic and cultural arrays in order to be accepted and not be victimised (Landau 2004). Critics assert that integration perceived as such is and will remain prejudicial to migrants, because South Africa as opposed to the USA, who chose ethnic and cultural assimilation with the concept of the 'melting pot' (Pineteh 2006; Berhane 2005), has chosen ethnic and cultural separation whereby members of the different South African ethnic and cultural groups are encouraged to learn, promote and preserve their ethnic and cultural heritage in the context of the 'Rainbow Nation' (South African Constitution). Therefore, critics agree that the call that ASRs 'integrate' in the sense of not promoting what makes them different from the local people lest they fall victim to xenophobia seems 'xenophobic' itself (Timngum 2001; Landau 2004).

It has emerged from this research that, contrary to widespread belief that ASRs deliberately refrain from integrating into the local communities for various reasons, ASRs asserted that they were more than willing, given the opportunity, to learn and acquire the literacies needed, be they language related, technical or cultural or social, to 'integrate' or be accepted by local people. However, most subjects in this study agreed that there seem to be an isolation stage before a "foreigner" can be or become motivated enough to step out of their 'comfort zone to confront their new environment with all 'its problems'. These subjects declare to find themselves between a rock and a hard place, as in spite of their willingness to integrate there are a number of barriers and/or prerequisites, which most of these ASRs strived to surmount or meet.

In essence, an analysis of the ASRs' statements revealed three strategies in dealing with Literacies for integration in Johannesburg: they either used their home Literacies, that is those they brought from the DRC; they modified, upgraded and adapted them to suit the new context; or they simply adopted new Literacies needed in the new setting, even if it means abandoning one or more of their home Literacies in the process.

Three major motivations transpired through the answers to the question to know the kinds of Literacies asylum seekers felt compelled to learn and or use during the data analysis stages of this research: the determination to survive and become materially and financially independent, the unconscious or conscious urge to devise strategies in order to overcome literacy obstacles, and the conscious [or unconscious] bid to negotiate the literacy space between two or more cultures without losing one's home language and literacies.

This section discusses the 'price' ASRs pay in their effort to integrate into the hosts' communities through the adoption of some of the communities most important literacies. This is done without however elaborating more deeply on ethnicity, culture and identity, though these concepts may be used to foreground some of the effects of the confrontation and integration processes from the point of view of ASRs. Most respondents alluded to their being 'scared' or 'shy' during their first days in the city either because of the fact that they did not speak English or any of the local languages, or because of previous misconceptions about crime and about the local people. Some of the asylum seekers then declared that they were forced to 'go out' to look for a job, further their studies, and realised in the process that they needed communication tools

such as local languages and other kinds of 'literacies'. In the end they realised that their need for interaction with the local people was vital for their livelihood not only in those communities, but also in the country. All this information transpired through their statements collected either through questionnaires or during interviews.

Marie-Paul said:

> *'South Africans, especially the blacks, are difficult to understand. The idea I had of them while still in Congo is very different from what they really are. They are cruel with women and children and only care about drinking and enjoying themselves"*

Marie-Paul's words above demonstrate how overgeneralization and stereotyping of communities in Johannesburg is often rife in the narratives of newly arrived AS. It seems as though Marie-Paul expected all South Africans to behave uniformly and fit her imaginary 'black South Africa', preconceived before coming to South Africa. It can also be inferred that she perceives South African blacks as being naturally 'violent criminals'. This appears to be one of the reasons why newcomer ASRs generally distance themselves from local communities, resist any 'feature' belonging to or coming from the local people, isolate themselves and observe these populations from positions where they cannot really get the wider picture. Likewise, Marie-Paul, Francoise, and Daniel also said to have thought that all Coloured and black South Africans are Tsotsis.

Another reason for this isolation is related to the language barrier, most of these ASRs being French speaking, who battle with English. Language (Landau, 2004: 95):

> *"the inability of many foreign migrants to communicate with hospital staff significantly limits their ability to exercise their rights to health care. Although this is also a problem for South African from linguistic minorities, the problem is particularly acute for newly-arrived migrants who may speak none of the country's official languages. Moreover, the inability to speak such languages identifies them as obviously foreign. This may contribute to an even greater level of xenophobia towards refugees and asylum seekers".*

Most of the ASRs who isolated themselves on their arrival in Johannesburg either spoke no English at all or had trouble speaking the language. This often held them in isolation and motivated their retreating into circles of Congolese individuals that spoke their language:

Lingala, Swahili or French. Sidonie stated that there are women in Yeoville who have been living in Johannesburg for over ten years but who cannot 'say even one correct sentence in English'. Their use of the language is limited to fragments and words when they go to the supermarket. In her words, these women ASRs 'are always speaking French, Swahili or Lingala', and have themselves accompanied by 'an interpreter' when they go to the clinic or wherever they would have to sustain a longer conversation in English. Such an attitude proves that there are individual ASRs who can stay in isolation for longer periods of time. However, many who have no other options either because they have no one to look after them to such an extent, or because they have to involve themselves in income generating activities, often venture outside Congolese circles to confront the Johannesburg communities.

Literacy difficulties at isolation stage in 2005

The Table below presents the literacies or factors predominantly listed by ASRs in this research as being the obstacles to their integration:

Table 9: Literacies difficulties of ASRs at isolation stage in 2005

LITERACIES/ FACTORS	*%*
Language barriers/ local African languages/ English	***70***
Lack of Information	***30***
French	***90***
Communicative literacies related to administrative procedures and documents	***70***
Communicative literacies related to legal status	***40***

As can be seen in the Table, the literacy difficulties that emerged were local languages, English, French, computer related literacies, technical or occupational literacies directly related to communication, cultural literacies, daily-life communication literacies (such as road and transport signs, popular gestures, etc.), and administrative procedures literacies. These are discussed below.

Language barriers/ English

Most respondents referred only to literacies related to language or to the practices of reading and writing, perhaps, because for most respondents the term "literacy" pertains to the traditional connotation, which refers to the skills of reading and writing. That is the case in French as well, I researched to find out the exact meaning of "literacy" in French and found the word "instruction", which in the language of most Congolese refers to "learning of reading and writing".

As asserted later in this report, their learning of the English language is facilitated by the fact that they are living in an environment where English is the official language to which they are exposed daily via the media. They pick up words, understand them in context and are forced by the real life situation they find themselves in to speak them (TEFL English speaking context). As a result of the prompt to use functional language, speaking English comes relatively quicker than reading and writing (TEFL English Speaking Context). Jean-Marie stated that he "spoke English within the first five months of his arrival in Johannesburg". Yvone claimed that it took her six months; Albert seven; Sidonie seven; and Suzane five. It can be said the most asylum seekers in my research took between five months to one year before starting to understand and speak English words or words from any one the South African languages spoken in Johannesburg. This 'preliminary' learning period (6 month-1 year), however, gets longer and longer if the languages spoken in the asylum seekers' immediate environments in Johannesburg, family or place of residence, work and friend circles, are not English/remain the home languages. For example, a Congolese asylum seeker living in Yeoville, where there was a strong Congolese community and where the languages used for communication are French and Lingala, would take between one and two years before starting to understand and speak English[3].

[3] French is the official language spoken in all the provinces of the DRC, while Lingala is one of the official languages spoken in the province of and capital city Kinshasa. Swahili or Swahiliis also one of the official languages which spoken in most of the Eastern provinces of the DRC (Katanga, Oriental province, Ituri, North Kivu, South Kivu and Maniema). It is also important to know that Swahiliis the main language of communication in Lubumbashi, the second largest Congolese city in Katanga, where several of my correspondents come from.

From this study, I also become aware of the fact that most Congolese from Lubumbashi in my research group, learned English more easily and faster than their counter parts from other provinces. This was perhaps due to the proximity of the city with the border with Zambia, a country where English is the official language: Zambian goods are sold in Lubumbashi and vice versa, and there are tribes like the Bemba and the Chokwe who are found both in the DRC and across the border.

Language barriers/ local languages

In effect, 70 % of the asylum seekers alluded in one way or the other to the importance of learning to speak local languages. Francine said during the few months she worked at Pick n' Pay in Bedfordview, she noticed that her South African colleagues spoke to her and between themselves in local languages and used English only when they spoke to whites or coloured South Africans, superiors or colleagues. Simon who also experienced this asserted that *"most black South Africans consider the act of other black Africans speaking English as an act of pride or a lack of cultural solidarity with the local blacks"*[4]. Simon also said that one of his South African colleagues said

> *black South Africans have fought for freedom for years and many of them have paid the price with their blood. It is only fair that other black African when they come to enjoy the fruits of the struggle, solidarise with their brothers.*

For Simon local languages seem to be one of the literacies that local communities unconsciously or consciously perceive as a condition of acceptance of asylum seekers.

Pita insisted that the main obstacle in the acquisition of the needed literacies in Johannesburg was the perceptions that local populations entertained about asylum seekers. Xenophobia, which Landau pointed out as one of the barriers that render the immigrants' integration into the South African society difficult (Landau, 2004), is based on the fear that immigrants or "outsiders" will take up "locals' jobs, services and material advantages that communities have" (Human Right

[4] Translated from French.

Watch, 1998). Jean Marie pointed out that "ninety percent of local people who manifest a level of hostility towards asylum seekers, were the common people in the street, few educated people do". Jean Marie seems to be saying that though most community members and government officials urge asylum seekers to integrate into their communities by learning the languages spoken in those places, asylum seekers find themselves distanced from the very communities they are supposed to learn from, due to the perceived hostility.

Though these ASRs settle in areas where "foreigners seem more accepted", 30 % of them gave an account of how the local population tended to address them in local language rather than in English. One AS believes that centres for learning Zulu, Sotho and/ or Tswana may go along in promoting the integration of ASRs.

French

Ninety percent of these respondents cited French as one of the literacies that helped them the least. They argued that it is not easy to settle in an English speaking country as French speakers. In fact, no local communities speak French in their daily communication interactions. Moreover, Albert complained 'when you go to a place and speak English, "sometimes they ask you do you speak French?" and "If you ask them 'why?'"; "They say because of your accent". Albert's complaint seems based on the premise that the French accent or the peculiarity of the ASRs' accent makes them easily identifiable as 'non-English speaking persons'. Under normal circumstances, this peculiar accent would not be deemed problematic, but Albert insisted that it was detrimental as in most cases the ASR was seen as non-South African or "foreigners". Solange stated that Non-South Africans, especially those from other parts of Africa were not welcome as tenants in most buildings in Hillbrow and certain buildings in Berea "for no apparent reason". This seems mostly due to xenophobia according to Landau (78).

Communication literacies related to legal recognition

For approximately seventy percent of these asylum seekers, some of the main literacy obstacles were the lack of proper identification documents and the fact that potential employers do not acknowledge the Asylum Seeker Permit or the Refugee Status paper as a legal document allowing one to work or study in South Africa. This rejection they suffer in most potential

working places represented in itself a barrier on the way to personal development and skills improvement facilities, programmes and services.

Winterstein and Stone state that the obstacles to education faced by most ASRs are in many ways due to the lack of information on the rights of learners, in general, and refugees, in particular (Landau, 2004: 78). They further state that just as school was the only point of entry for refugee and migrant children, further education and training appears to be the 'only' point of entry for adult asylum seekers and refugees to integrate into the South African society (Landau 78). This consideration was critical as asylum seekers and other migrants from African countries who, unlike their counterparts from European and American countries, often have to further or redo their studies, or even switch to completely different careers and professions, to find employment in Johannesburg. Many difficulties arise from the lack of proper asylum seeker Identity documentation. Ninety percent (90 %) of the ASRs maintained that proper identification documents would allow them to be self-reliant, as they would be able to work, start businesses or study. At first glance, the need for proper identification documents appears irrelevant to the concern of this research, but a careful reflection on the literacy door which the lack of adequate identification papers closes reveals their critical importance for any possible progress in the lives of these asylum seekers. In fact, the actual Asylum seeker Temporary residence Permit Section 22 of the 2000 Refugee and Asylum Seeker Act limits them in the sense that several prospective employers, banks and other institutions and organizations deny its bearer rights such as the right to sign up an employment contract, open a bank account and so on (Jean Marie, Solange, Pita, Alain). Solange narrated how a customer care officer at one of the major banks in Johannesburg town sent her and her sister away telling them to come back only after obtaining proper identification papers. The officer specified a passport with work visa, permit or permanent residence permit. Solange stopped using her passport ever since she applied for asylum at the Department of home Affairs in Johannesburg; she would be granted permanent residence only after renewing a Refugee Status permit at least three times. Worse, she has not been granted a refugee status yet. Legally, asylum seekers must be interviewed within the first six months after issuance of the first asylum seeker permit.

The Department of Home Affairs observes a period within which the statutory committee is expected to establish whether to grant the refugee status or not. Acceptance would mean the

asylum seeker is issued with a Refugee Status Residence Permit renewable after two years, and rejection of the asylum application would result in the issue of a document that summons the asylum seeker to leave the country within a month (Human Rights Watch, 1998). Solange and Francine pointed out that they have stayed in Johannesburg for more than nine months without having been interviewed even once. They also mentioned the cases of their relatives and friends who have stayed in Johannesburg for two, three or more years without refugee determination interview or Refugee Status. The long and never-ending waiting periods result in the asylum seekers' having to renew their Asylum Seekers Permits every month or after three months.

According to Daniel, proper identification papers would refer to the maroon identity book, which is supposed to be issued together with the Refugee Status Permit. He maintains that is the only document which "looks" official and which is acknowledged by most businesses, organisation and institutions in Johannesburg. Daniel pointed out that the Department of Home Affairs instructs the asylum seeker to apply for the Identity Book, which is valid for two years, within fourteen days of receiving the Refugee Status Permit. But, the ID is issued very late, close to the expiry date of the two-year permit.

Communicative literacies related to administrative procedures

This lack of proper documentation seemed closely linked to the lack of knowledge about administrative and legal procedures and services, as well as the lack of literacies such as knowing how to read, understand and fill in forms. Over 60 % of respondents stated they struggled with filling in any three or four-page form or did not know where to start from: in most cases they would need the help of a second asylum seeker who would have filled in a similar form before. This is true for several types of literacies: (i) the necessary bureaucratic know-how, (ii) the knowledge of English, and (iii) the knowledge about the ASRs' surroundings/community/commercial institutions and how it/they function/s.

Moreover, respondents such as Eugenie, Sidonie, Bijou and Corine said they had no idea where the town Hall, the public library or the Supreme Court was. They knew one or two hospitals or clinics and manifested a lack of familiarity with the way government or local government works or even the name of the municipality in which they lived. Such a lack would in case of emergency for instance leave these individuals in situation of high risk and/ or loss.

Under this category, reference may also be made to procedures and activities such as opening a bank account, filling in forms, knowing where and how to obtain specific information or even what to do with such information that are definitely linked to language literacies.

Dominique, a professional soccer player, stated that he battled to know how to open a bank account, obtain the correct forms and fill them in appropriately. And after managing to open the account, he still battled to know how to use the Automatic Teller Machine (ATM) in Johannesburg. He also insisted that he had tried to learn English, but could not 'really speak it', so he is learning Zulu instead.

ASRs may also experience difficulties owing to redundant or irrelevant trade, occupation, and professional qualifications**:** 60 % of literacies linked to professions, trades and skills which the asylum seekers brought from the DRC were unusable in Johannesburg without being updated or adapted to the new context. Yvone, Francine, Elalie and Bruno all highlighted the complex procedures and difficulties a Congolese nurse, lawyer, teacher or other professional has to go through to secure registration in the designated bodies and then employment. This is due, according to the respondents' explanation, to the difference between the way these literacies are used in the DRC and the way they are in Johannesburg, which cannot possibly be the same.

Though she has been in Johannesburg for several years, Sidonie recalled that her first days in Johannesburg were dark. With her husband and her toddler, they arrived in Johannesburg in 1992 and after spending their first three days outdoors, they landed in a shelter for South African poor families in Bertrams. They spent the next two years in the shelter and leant Zulu and upholstery. In those days, they seemed lost in the big city and had to survive on handouts from neighbours and organisations that sometimes assisted the shelter. She asserts that although these days the Jesuit refugee Service and other organisations strive to provide shelter for vulnerable women and children, the life of countless other children, young men and women are endangered as they do not have a place where to spend their first night in Johannesburg.

Pita narrated that on his first day in Johannesburg; he failed to find a close friend's place and had no place to sleep. So, he begged the security guards at the Ponte City Building to sleep by their guarding post at the entrance of the basement parking. They gave him one of the unoccupied

one-bedroom flats in the building, on condition that he vacated the room before six o'clock the next morning. He explained

> *"when you are a stranger in a big city like Jo'burg, especially because we have been hearing about the tsotsis, killings, robberies and kidnappings that might happen to anyone even in broad day light, you need a person you can?? and to whom you can ask questions about where to find this or that? What to do in such a situation? etc. You don't just approach any one on the street, because you are scared!*

Sidonie narrated how she first arrived and the difficulties her husband and her faced in Bertrams, Johannesburg in 1996. In her opinion, the crime rate was much higher than that of 2005. Sidonie and her family begged to start staying at a home for the homeless, the poor and the elderly in Bertrams. They were the only 'foreigners' in the residence and had to survive on handouts from neighbours and organisations that sometimes assisted the shelter.

Miriam asserted that her need was that of a sort of 'one stop shop' where she would find information and guidance on services available to asylum seekers and refugees, especially those pertaining to administrative and legal matters and procedures. Closely linked to the need for a one-stop information spot is the need for some sort of guidance concerning administrative procedures and requirements.

All in all, the main literacy difficulties and needs that arose from the analysis of the answers provided during the survey appear to be related to language literacies.

Literacy needs at isolation stage in 2010

As can be deduced from Table 10 below, literacy difficulties may be associated with corresponding literacy needs. As a result, the lack of information on various areas of activity the ASRs may be involved in seems to be linked to the fact that they do not speak English the language of administration and law in South Africa.

Table 10: Literacies needs of ASRs at isolation stage in 2010

LITERACIES	*NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS*	*%*
Language barriers/ English	***17***	***56***
Language barriers/ Zulu	***12***	***40***
Communicative literacies related to legal status	***16***	***53***

This isolation and/or resistance happens at the language, cultural, and literacy levels. Isolation may originate from the fact that certain Local communities also isolate these newcomers often after the first contact when communication fails or simply through the AS's attire and manners, as newcomers often dress in 'typical Congolese ways'. ASRs also withdraw because they feel that they are or may be victims of xenophobic verbal or physical attacks; this is the case of Tsotsis who recognize and target foreigners, according to Jean-Marie. ASRs therefore consciously or unconsciously withdraw from any contacts with local populations; but, often, not for long because they find themselves forced to lead a productive life either to study or work.

4.2.2. Engagement

The second stage, engagement or confrontation, occurs when both the AS and the host communities realise they need one another for one or another activity or purpose. Thomas for instance started running an Internet Café, which several members of his community used. He said they respected, loved and were often very friendly with him, even when his English was still very poor. But, it was not only the host communities that made the first steps, ASRs were also predisposed to not only change their attitudes, but also alter, upgrade or even abandon their main home literacies for the sake of survival in Johannesburg; these could be their occupation, profession, trade or skill or their home language, culture, cultural features or social relationships. Sidonie for instance stated that when she took up employment she felt obliged to develop social relationships with her colleagues and learned to speak Zulu fluently in the process. I say 'fluently' because she claimed she started learning the language whilst still at the shelter in Bertrams several years back.

Literacy difficulties at engagement stage in 2005

Table 11 below shows that the literacy difficulties of ASRs at the engagement stage in 2005 include language barriers, English for work and occupation and local languages for social interactions, communicative literacies related to administrative procedures and documents, and communicative literacies related to legal status.

Table 11: Literacies difficulties of ASRs at the engagement stage in 2005

LITERACIES	*%*
Language barriers	***70***
English	***54***
Local languages for social interactions	***40***
Communicative literacies related to administrative procedures and documents	***53***
Communicative literacies related to legal status	***30***

The Table foregrounds the literacies related to procedures and documents for legal status in South Africa and English as the main literacy barriers for these ASRs, besides the difficulties related to local languages. These are described further in this section.

Most ASR's in 2005 insisted that learning South African languages, such as Zulu, Sotho and Tswana, seemed to be the literacies that they needed the most. Corine complained that at the beginning English seemed to be the language needed for communication in Johannesburg, but later at clinics and other places, especially in taxis and in the street, "people always try to force you to speak in isiZulu or in isiSotho". Though very fluent in English, Coppens also emphasized the need to understand and speak one of the local languages spoken in Johannesburg, in order to 'be accepted'. Simon as well thought that he was in a way isolated, especially at break times, at his workplace because of his inability to understand and speak the local languages his colleagues are used to. He asserted that two of his colleagues who were Mozambican nationals have been adopted due to their ability to communicate in Shangani and Zulu.

Computer Literacies: computer end-user literacies, Internet

The literacies in this category undoubtedly share a direct relationship with communicative and language literacies within the scope of this investigation. Approximately thirty percent of the respondents stated that they learned how to use the Internet, mostly sending and receiving e-mails, before coming to South Africa. A few like Solange, who had a very limited knowledge of the Internet back home, acquired Internet skills in Johannesburg and claimed that these skills had assisted them a great deal in the new environment. Others such as Thomas, Chantal and Daniel had a more advanced computer literacy level. Thomas was a computer instructor and operator in Bukavu (DRC), Goma (DRC), Bujumbura (Burundi), who works in an Internet café in Troyeville, Johannesburg, 'to save money for his Medical studies in the near future'; he stated that his advanced computer skills, which helped him in Central Africa, were still of great use to him in South Africa. Chantal, a computer programmer and repairer in Kinshasa, stated that her computer skills had not helped her in Johannesburg as she had expected. In her opinion, for her to use the skills, she had to learn new programming languages that were more commonly in use in this new context. Daniel on the other side mentioned a more specialized sort of computer literacy: the use of prospection and mining computer programmes and equipment. He stated that his Internet and computer literacy helped him for communication and for earning a living, but the more specialized computer skills were unusable.

Apart from Thomas, Chantal and Daniel, 50% of the respondents declared they regularly used the Internet only for communication purposes to maintain contact with their families and friends back home in the DRC. These ASR claimed to have advanced skills in the use of the Internet. That meant that they not only sent and received e-mails, but also surfed the net for news and information, games and chat rooms. They on the other hand had no practical knowledge of the other computer programmes such as Microsoft Word, Excel, Access or PowerPoint, to name but a few, supposedly in order to get a job. This shows that they consciously or unconsciously focused on learning the computer skills that were necessary and vital for their immediate needs back at home and in Johannesburg. This assumption will be discussed further in the data discussion section.

Pascaline and Alain who had above average computer skills and who worked as computer programmers in the D.R. Congo asserted that they needed to learn other programming languages that were commonly used in South Africa and those that were the most recent on the market.

Technical literacies and occupational (knowledge and use of machines, apparels, tools and materials for a profession, a trade or/and a skills)

Thirty percent (30 %) of the respondents declared that they use their professions, trades and skills from the DRC in Johannesburg. Daniel, a mining engineer and electrical technician, Alain, an electrician, Albert, a photographer, Stella, a tailor, Gregoire, a mechanic, and Thomas, claimed that their professions, trades and skills from Congo have helped them find or create an income generating occupation in Johannesburg. Daniel makes a living in repairing electrical home appliances and cold rooms and fridges. Alain fixes home appliances and does all sorts of electrical installations and repairs in Yeoville, Berea and other places where 'customers call or send him'. Albert works as a 'street' and 'sport' photographer in Gauteng: he works with ordinary people and soccer players of whom he takes snaps 'at special occasions' that they buy from him later. He claims that his job provides him with countless opportunities to interact with the local populations and 'he loves it'. Stella makes clothes both for women and men in Rosettenville. She has both South African and foreign clientele and stated that her tailoring skills have helped her since the first day she arrived in Johannesburg. Gregoire fixes cars in Bruma while Thomas keeps an Internet café in Troyeville. These ASRs insisted that they used some of the knowledge, skills and literacies acquired in the DRC in the context of Johannesburg.

Albert cited photography and aviation radio communication. While photography seems 'very practical and helps him to make a living' and though he is not sure whether his aviation radio communication skills will help him one day, Albert hopes that his communication skills might help him in the near future as ' he intend to take a short course in journalism, reporting and photography'.

Ten percent (10 %) of respondents spoke of small business and trading skills as one of the literacies that have assisted them in Johannesburg. Half of these have stalls in town or in Yeoville market where they sell various articles. The other half either sells door-to-door or send and receive merchandises to and from the DRC through the various airport freight agencies

operating between Congolese cities such as Kinshasa and Lubumbashi and Johannesburg. Elalie, who was a non-governmental organisation official in the DRC and who has a stall in Johannesburg inner city, explained:

> *in the DRC, government and public companies have not been paying their employees for years. Yet, these women and men kept on going to work daily from 7 am to 4 pm, without pay. One would ask how could they keep going to work for months without pay? The answer is that these people's concern was to keep their jobs as not going to work would result in job losses. They kept the jobs with the hope that things would get better in a near future. As a result of the non-payment of salaries and wages, civil servants, teachers and nurses developed strategies for earning a living by keeping small business that their families took care of or themselves did it after day's work on the government or company job. These small businesses could be: a small grocery shop in the front of their yard; an hairdressing corner in the garage; door-to-door sales of various articles (on credit after down-payment); trading of smoked or salted fish and meat from the rural areas to the cities, and so on. I [Elalie] do the same here in Johannesburg: I have a stall on a pavement in Johannesburg inner city and I also send and receive articles to and from my sisters in the DRC. They sell the article I send them there, and buy the articles that people need here and send them here.*

In one of the interview sessions, Thomas reported that once he had tried to send merchandise for sale in Goma, but the business failed, as he never received any feedback. Thomas also asserted that small business or trading required people or families to develop the selling, buying, saving and other skills necessary to run such or such other sort of business or trade.

It therefore appears that successful running of a small business and trading requires a certain type of skill depending on its nature, location and time. In the case of most of the concerned respondents, this type of skill was acquired, not at university or college, but on the street or in family with time and practice.

Among the literacies that were revealed to be unhelpful were also professions, trades and skills that normally fell under the authority of a given body or association and of which the practice

was conditioned by membership to such bodies: some of the respondents cited professions of lawyers, nurses, journalists, and teachers. They also cited trades such as electricians and photographers; and skills like gardening, pedicure, manicure, hairdressing, building, knitting and shoemaking. With regard to some of these professions, Francine (lawyer), Marie Paul (lawyer) and Yvonne (primary school teacher and nurse) asserted that the obstacle was the complexity of administrative and legal procedures to follow before being registered with the appropriate legal, nursing or teaching body for employment in South Africa.

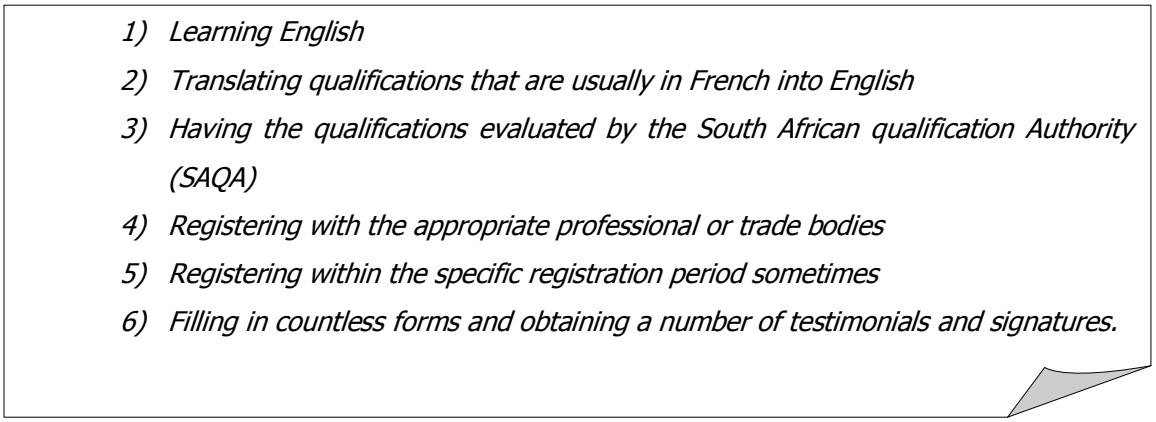
As for the trades, respondents like Simon (electrician), Albert (photographer), Gregoire (mechanic), Kizito (computer programmer), Stella (tailor), Pascaline (Hairdresser) and Pita (mechanic) declared that their difficulty resides in the fact that potential employers discard their skills before even testing them, because they were foreigners and because of the lack of fluency in English. For many of the respondents who had skills, lack of knowledge of the local South African languages revealed to be detrimental to their attempt to use their skills at the grassroots level. The local population either rejected them or the respondents themselves failed to engage effectively with them due to communication breakdown. Simon asserted that the local populations considered the respondents' inability to communicate in Zulu or Sotho or any other of the local languages as a 'deliberate' refusal to associate with them and as a sign of pride.

Even when in possession of the proper documentation, some of the ASRs' skills could be unusable in the new environment. Bruno for instance found that his shoemaking skills would not be of any assistance without modern equipment. According to him, the manual techniques, tools and materials he used in Lubumbashi would "not take him a long way in Johannesburg with the fierce competition from cheap Chinese importations". He continued to say that in Johannesburg, people preferred "buying low cost seasonal shoes that they replace the next season, whereas in Congo, people preferred buying hard leather that they use for many years". His argument was that in such an environment he needed modern equipment to work fast and efficiently. The 'literacy' he has acquired, it seems to me, is a better understanding of the shoe trade and what affects it in the SA context.

Yvone argued that as a nurse one would need time and training to learn how the profession is exercised here because of the differences in diseases and their treatment, as well as the nursing

and medical techniques used and the medicines. Francine highlighted the fact that various African legal codes used specific and different legal codes depending on their colonial legacy: the DRC follows a model adapted from the Belgian legal code, where South Africa's legal system is based on the British one. In Francine's opinion, an asylum seeker seeking employment faces several main barriers, some of which are listed below:

Figure 4: Francine's note listing main barriers to recognition of professional literacies



Of course one would argue that even South Africans are subjected to most of these requirements, but the difficulty for asylum seekers is that most of the time they are new in the country and cannot even read or understand the requirements.

In Francine's terms, it is not only that lawyers, teachers and nurses needed to register with appropriate bodies but they also had to find an institution in which they would work and train for a certain period before getting employed. That kind of training would familiarise them with the local cases and technicalities.

Cultural difference

Both Coppen and Marie Paul pointed out that misunderstanding of cultural differences may lead to miscommunication and even serious conflicts. In their opinion, there is evidence that the context of Johannesburg forces Congolese asylum seekers to learn new ways of interacting both with the local population and with their children, relatives and others. ASRs in this research generally cited the viewing, understanding and discussion with South African soapies, and media in general, as means that may assist in starting to understand some of the cultural differences that

may exist between their cultures and the South African ones. Other ASRs stated that their conversations with their friends and families revolved around themes and topics from various media texts: this meant that once in South Africa these ASRs saw South African media and entertainment industry as a source of information and awareness building about the South African people and environment.

Literacy difficulties of ASRs at engagement in 2010

The ASRs' literacy difficulties in 2005 remain the same those of newcomer ASRs in 2010, but change for ASRs that have been longer than one year in Johannesburg. As shown in Table 12, not being able to speak English has been indicted as one of the major shortcomings in this category, after literacies related to legal status:

Table 12: Literacies difficulties of ASRs at the engagement stage in 2010

LITERACIES	*NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS*	*%*
Language barriers/ Zulu	***8***	***26***
English	***14***	***46***
Communicative literacies related to administrative procedures and documents	***4***	***0.2***
Communicative literacies related to legal status	***16***	***53***

Language barriers: English

In 2010, forty-six percent of ASRs stated that they had communication difficulties as they were required to speak English at work and in most places: a language which they are not yet very conversant in. Tendai, a twenty six year old from Lubumbashi, working as a telesales agent, stated 'if you are a non-South African, you need to know how to speak English. This makes it simpler for one to communicate with surrounding people not from this nation'.

The percentages of ASRs citing English and local languages as the major difficulties is higher in 2005 than in 2010. The literacies related to legal status seems to almost the same percentage in for both research works.

Literacy needs of ASRs at engagement stage in 2005

ASRs also mentioned a number of literacy needs for the engagement stage.

Table 13: Literacies needs of ASRs at the engagement stage in 2005

LITERACIES	*%*
English	***70***
Local languages	***30***
Internet literacies	***50***
Computer skills	***30***
Communicative literacies related to legal status	***27***

As can be seen from the Table above, English and Internet literacies are the most needed literacies, followed by local languages, computer skills and literacies related to legal status. These are described in details in the following paragraphs.

Local African Languages

A number of ASR's stated that some of the Congolese languages, such as Lingala, Swahili, Chiluba, Kiluba, kikongo, Kitabwa and Kisanga brought from the DRC, were useful in the Johannesburg setting. In the respondents' opinion, these languages, though not practically spoken in the city by the local communities, assisted them indirectly in facilitating the understanding and learning of South African local languages. Francine, for instance, declared that certain semantic, phonetic or morphologic similarities between her Congolese home language and some of the South African local languages facilitated her understanding and learning of Sotho and Tswana. She stressed that her ability to understand and speak these two languages were made possible by the similarity of a number of words in these languages and those in KiTabwa, her home language. Sidonie also argued that Zulu and Sotho are seemingly related to Swahili, Lingala and Chiluba. Coppens also stated that most words especially in Zulu, were also found in Lingala, Chiluba or Swahili, either with exactly the same or with different meanings, but the morphology is the same in most instances. Bijou who speaks Chiluba, a language spoken in the Kasai province, central part of the DRC, claimed that a number of words

in Zulu sounded like those in Chiluba and had exactly the same meaning. She asserted that very few had similar sounds but different meanings. All in all, over 40% of the respondents pointed out Congolese national languages like Lingala, kiSwahili, Kikongo, kiBemba and kitabwa, as factors that led them to believe that it was possible to learn South African languages.

English

Among those who claimed the English language has been of a great assistance in Johannesburg, 10% of the respondents claimed they learned and were able to speak English before coming to South Africa. Yvone learned English from a language centre in Kinshasa and improved her command of the language at the International Community Centre of the Jesuit refugee Service in Hillbrow, Johannesburg. She also asserted that though her communicative competence left a lot to be desired her feeble knowledge of the language has assisted her tremendously for daily communication interactions in Johannesburg, especially during her first days in the city. Bruno, who repaired shoes to pay for his studies at the Teacher Training College in Lubumbashi, graduated as a teacher of English in Lubumbashi and earns a living in South Africa making and repairing shoes. He also said that the knowledge of English is greatly beneficial especially for communication purposes with his customers: some of these customers are shoe shop owners and the rest are members of his community in Bertrams. Elalie, a trained English teacher who worked as a project coordinator for the USAid in Bukavu, keeps a small business in Johannesburg. According to her statement, English equally revealed itself to be of a great assistance in her new environment, especially in her small business dealings. Ability to communicate in English, that is, the understanding and/or speaking the language, has thus been pinpointed as one of the literacies brought from the Congo which are of prime importance in Johannesburg.

Solange posited that though she learned English at a centre in Lubumbashi, she felt the need to 'relearn it', because the learning she did in the DRC was 'somehow bookish'. The need "she started to feel in Johannesburg was that of 'a practical English language skill': new words and expressions used in Johannesburg". Several other respondents also stated that they needed to learn English and some of the local languages in addition to their literacies.

Symbols and signs in public places

Answering to the question about the literacies that the asylum seekers and refugees in this research acquired, knew or used from the Congo, sixty-three percent of them mentioned road traffic, public health department, scientific and technical signs, symbols and formulas, which they insisted were the same as the ones they used in Johannesburg.

Jean-Marie declared:

> *"I don't have any problem to read sign posts and symbols used in public places and buildings. There almost all the same with those in Congo. Those that I can't understand are difficult for me not because I don't know them, but because of language: maybe the English used is new or they are in Afrikaans".*

Elie also asserted that though she used to drive in the DRC, she was more or less hesitant to start driving in Johannesburg: a reason for this hesitation was that she felt she needed some time to re-learn and understand the signs and instructions used here. She also stated that her fear was based on what she had heard and seen on the roads of Johannesburg: 'the reckless and dangerous driving habits of taxi-drivers' and also the high number of vehicles on roads[5]. Justifying her emphasis on the importance of knowing road traffic signs of Johannesburg, Elie also stated that though a few signs seemed different from those used in the DRC, several of them were the same: they were simply written or drawn in a different way or language. It can be asserted that the cause of Elie's fear of driving on the roads of Johannesburg is not new road traffic signs, but her preconceived ideas that driving is 'bad and dangerous in the city'.

In overall, ninety percent of respondents agreed that the non-verbal literacies, such as signs and symbols used in public places or for the public in Johannesburg were exactly the same as those used in the DRC, and claimed that they met few or no difficulties in understanding and/ or using them.

It transpires that some of the ASRs made use of Congolese Literacies in Johannesburg. These were two kinds of literacies: those that directly relate to communication such as speaking,

[5] Translated from French

listening, reading and writing a language, and computer literacies related to communication such as opening, reading, writing and sending e-mails.

Thirty percent of the respondents brought from the DRC Literacies that allowed them to earn a living in Johannesburg. For most of the ASR's, the only obstacles were related to language and communities: they brought a potentially income-generating trade, skill or occupation, but of which the use remained hampered for lack of language skill. Some of the ASR's eventually spoke their way to integration with broken English and other enrolled at one of the Jesuit refugee Service language programmes to learn the language. Among the useful skills brought from the DRC are: hairdressing, photography, mechanics, computer skills, tailoring, shoemaking, and trading. These were mainly income-generating skills, which needed little or no upgrade or modification for use in the context of Johannesburg, but required an understanding of how they could be best used in the SA context.

There was also mention of non-income generating Literacies which were useful in Johannesburg, such as the reading and understanding of safety, public health, traffic and other public service short messages and signs used in public places, televisions programmes, soapies, movies, magazines, newspapers, different kinds of music including the traditional ones, the sending and receiving of e-mails, the use of the Internet for surfing, playing games or listening to music, to name but a few. The usefulness of most of these Literacies resided in their enabling the AS to read and understand the Johannesburg and South African society better and find a sense of entertainment, 'enjoyment' or a feeling of 'security through information' about the new and 'strange' environment. Marie-Paul for instance declared

> *'South Africans are very different from Congolese in the way they dress, as well as in the way they behave. They are very difficult to understand. I try to understand the themes and the messages in their songs and in their soapies for example, to try and understand the people. I read South African history in Congo and listened to Brenda, Yvonne Chaka Chaka, and other South African singers, and find that the South Africa I discover is very different from the one I had in mind".*

In effect, Marie-Paul like ninety percent of the ASR's mentioned watching television, reading and understanding South African music movies, soapies, music, plays, magazines and newspapers. They claimed these played an important role in their lives in Johannesburg.

Thirty percent mentioned their home cultures, referring specifically to African traditional folklore, that is dance, music, language, attire and manners, as Literacies that enabled them to understand black communities in Johannesburg. Francine, Jean-Marie, Sidonie, Albert, Bruno, Alain, Simon, Bijou and Aminata, all insisted their home African tradition or culture enabled them to understand and learn Tswana, or Sotho, Zulu or, a given music, or any other particular cultural feature.

Nevertheless, some other home Literacies and skills were altered, adapted or 'upgraded' to fit the new environment. Thomas for example learned computer networking in order to work in the Internet Café; whereas in the DRC he could only use the Microsoft Word programme, and send and receive E-mails. Daniel, who worked as a mining engineer, earned a living fixing fridges and cold rooms; and Alain, an electrician, started repairing home appliances in Yeoville. Eulalie, an English teacher, taught English at the JRS English language programme in Hillbrow, as a way to be and remain active, earn a living and also adapt to life in the city.

Cultural literacies

Cultural literacies here refer to Congolese cultures, youth cultures, popular music, Christian music and many others. Referring to C**ongolese Culture,** Coppens also mentioned black South African 'ways of doings things' and cultures as some of the literacies he felt 'out of place' without. When I asked him what he meant by 'the South African way of doing things', he mentioned the way things were done in 'black' South African cultures. For example, as an 'outsider', and especially as a black person, in many instances he was expected to greet any other black South African person in a 'black' language, to show 'solidarity' and respect. Yvone also asserted that it was extremely difficult to know what was expected of "you as a 'foreigner' and a fellow black person". During the interview, Sidonie asserted that it was nearly impossible for the asylum seekers and the refugees to predict what were the expectations of the local urban population towards them. For her, it was interesting to notice, from the accounts of the South Africans from rural areas, that most customs in rural South Africa had several points of similarity

with the Congolese rural ones. I understood that not all ASRs would find themselves in the same situation, and it cannot be said that some of those from the rural areas in the D.R. Congo would easily socialise with people from the rural South Africa, nor can it be said that Congolese from Congolese urban areas would understand the South African urban cultures and or subcultures. Definitely, it transpired that most of these ASRs believe that as a matter of survival they had to 'confront', understand, and even adopt some of the Johannesburg urban cultural practices'

Also referring to the literacies perceived as most important, Bruno, who worked as an English teacher in the DRC, mentioned his passion for Tabwa traditional music instruments and sounds as the factor that has helped him develop a 'love' for South African local music. He also states that it has helped him embrace and adopt South African 'ways of being and enjoying life'. Francine also cited Tabwa Black South African wedding and funeral ceremonies and other cultural practices and songs, as 'reminding her of her village of birth'. This element seems important as, paraphrasing Francine, it engenders in the 'foreigner', a sense of 'closeness' to the black South African populations.

As for Jean-Marie, the way South African youth use language to demarcate themselves from other groups of society seems exactly the same as the way the Congolese do. He explained that youths in Kinshasa make use of a specialised jargon, a mixture of French, Lingala and even British and American English. This jargon seemed almost incomprehensible for an outsider and was learned through membership to the group and practice. Jean Marie insisted that understanding such a language in Lubumbashi and Kinshasa has helped him understand the way the South Africans use everyday language and body language to express themselves. He asserted that understanding of such coded communication 'saved him several times from attacks from tsotsis': 'he could quickly spot tsotsis who were getting ready to attack him and were communication using fingers and eyes'. Jean Marie further added that the awareness of the existence of such a coded communication seemed enough to help anybody understand bits of it.

Other ASRs mentioned other useful ways of using cultural knowledge at the engagement stage. For Marie Paul, for example, listening to songs and watching videos by South African artists such as Yvonne Chaka Chaka and Brenda, whilst still in the DRC, informed her about South African people and music. She also said that because of that she came to South Africa an

immense expectation to meet these idols and the South African music culture. In Johannesburg, she went to two or three concerts and the evenings were great and fulfilling.

Again, the contact with South African music whilst in the Congo appears to have prepared Marie paul's contact with the South African music and culture.

Alain insisted that the encounter with South African music, local ways of dressing, and other cultural features peculiar to the South African communities in Johannesburg, raised his consciousness about Congolese cultural features which he was not conscious of until then. He mentioned Congolese attires such as Abacost and Sariana, Congolese popular music dances such as Ndombolo and Kwasa Kwasa, which have been borrowed and appropriated by a number of South African singers. The Abacost, a sort of jacket with long sleeves, several buttons, six to eight, and Chinese collars, was imposed and widely worn during Mobutu's dictatorial regime from the 1973 to 1990 as part of the politics of Zaïrianisation or authenticity movement, the return to Congolese culture advocated by Mobutu. It was abandoned at the advent of democratic change and due to the tremendous influence of Mikhail Gorbatchev's Perestroika. Mobutu's dignitaries and party cadres also wore the Sariana, a short sleeved sort of Safari shirt, which most of the people started to wear as it was associated with a higher social status. In Alain's terms, a better understanding of the distinctive South African cultural features has increased his own awareness of and has helped him appreciate Congolese cultures more.

Literacies needs of ASRs at engagement stage in 2010

This research has shown that in 2010 the literacy needs of old ASRs, meaning those who arrived more than one year ago, differed from those of the 2005 ASRs, as shown in Table 14 below:

Table 14: Literacies needs of ASRs at the engagement stage in 2010 for old ASRs

LITERACIES	*NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS*	*%*
English	***18***	***70***
Computer literacies	***16***	***53***
Local languages	***18***	***60***

The data above highlights English, local languages and computer literacies as the most needed literacies in Johannesburg, at engagement level. For these ASRs, it is when one decides to venture outside their 'comfort zone', out of isolation, that one gets the real extent of the need to learn and be able to speak English: for jobs, trading and social relationships. The respective natures of these literacies at engagement level are describes in the following paragraphs.

English

Eddy, twenty-seven years old, food technologist from Lubumbashi, working as a printing machine operator in Johannesburg stated 'I need all literacy can help me to grow in knowledge of English first and after local languages'. English is important at this stage not only because of the needs not only to communicate at the social level, but also for work and the acquisition of other literacies.

Computer literacies

More than fifty per cent of ASRs in 2010 emphasised computer literacies as one of the literacies needed in their effort to live a productive life in Johannesburg. Tendai, Eddy and some other ASRs all insisted these literacies would assist them in getting employment, while such as Mona claimed it would help them get admission at university and further their studies.

Local language literacies

Gynska, Falonne, Mona, Michel and Kimo all stated that learning and speaking a local language would facilitate the acquisition of social literacies. Michel said 'my need is to learn a local language in order to be able to communicate well with South Africans'. Mona also said that 'it will be more fruitful to communicate with South Africans in a language other than English'. She explained that surely South Africans will show appreciation that one has been able to go an extra mile in learning 'foreign' languages. The comments made by most of the 2010 subject are similar to the ones made by ASRs in 2005, as some of them are newcomers in Johannesburg.

The differences in findings between the 2005 and 2010 data only becomes noticeable when one compares and contracts the 2010 old ASRs data with/against the 2005 ASRs, most of whom were relative new in Johannesburg at the time of the research. These similarities and differences are discussed in details under the section on the literacy needs of ASRs at integration level in 2010.

It has been demonstrated that ASRs' literacy difficulties during the integration process may be linked to corresponding literacy needs. The engagement stage is successful if the ASRs has used or adapted home literacies or learned new literacies in their new environment.

4.2.3. Integration Stage

As alluded to in the previous section, amidst these 'major changes characterizing today's world' which 'create new ways with words, new literacies and new forms of learning', and against the profound complexity and multicultural as well as multilingual diversity of the 'world' of Johannesburg, most Congolese asylum seekers forcibly interacted with forms of communication and media texts, some of which were new for several of them, while some were simply used in new ways for others. These 'new' literacies can be said to have a tremendous influence on their identities and behaviour: Schieffelin and Gilmore assert that 'there were issues of change of identity for the person who becomes literate, as well as changes in social responsibility' (The Acquisition of Literacy, 1986: xii). For instance, the majority of these migrants asserted that they rely on the Internet mail to communicate with their families and friends in other parts of the world, because of the low cost and speed of e-mail compared to postal, telephone and mobile phone or fax. The use of this technology definitely influenced their identities and communicative

behaviour in several ways. On line, for example, several have argued that they have more space and can say more than on the mobile phone the use of which was limited by time constraints. It was in this perspective that this research endeavoured to highlight the effects that the literacies that the Congolese asylum seekers encountered in Johannesburg have on their identities, lives and communities.

While thirty percent of the ASRs both in 2005 and 2010 used the literacies form the DRC to integrate into the Johannesburg communities, and twenty percent of them upgraded their literacy to earn a living in the new context, fifty percent of them, who had literally no exploitable literacy practices and skills, learned new Literacies to help themselves: they can be said have practically reinvented themselves.

Thomas for instance presented the advantage of mastering computer skills, a literacy that appeared extremely vital for asylum seekers in Johannesburg. Other asylum seekers like Daniel, Yvonne and Pita referred to computer and technology skills as being of utmost importance for asylum seekers. Daniel affirmed that he "would also like to learn computer programming and scientific applications of computer programmes", emphasizing in so doing the significant nature of computer literacy. Pita, one of the asylum seekers who filled in questionnaire in the survey stage wrote, "My brother bought me a laptop computer, but I don't know how to use it. I would like to learn Information Technology so that I can start making money out of my knowledge of computers because I like it"[6].

Literacy difficulties and literacies perceived as important by ASRs at the integration stage both in 2005 and 2010

The following paragraphs are a discussion of the literacy difficulties of ASRs and those perceived as most important during the integration stage. Both the difficulties and the literacies perceived as important differ from the literacies discussed in the previous stages of integration in the sense that they represent more specialised, if not more advanced, literacies, be they language, technological or other. The Tables below present the literacy difficulties for 2005 and 2010. Data

[6] Translated from French

from both data collection fieldworks show similar figures and demonstrate that the literacy difficulties of ASRs do not change over time at the integration stage.

Table 15: Literacies difficulties of ASRs at the integration stage in 2005

LITERACIES	*%*
English for more specific purposes	***30***
Local languages for social integration	***60***
Communicative literacies related to legal status	***70***
Communicative literacies related to the need to adapt home occupation, trade, professions	***70***

As can be seen from the above table which includes a new category, 'Eng for specific purposes', at the integration stage ASRs who then engage fully with South African organisations, institutions and individuals need more specific skills and literacies.

Table 16: Literacies difficulties of ASRs at the integration stage in 2010

LITERACIES	*%*
English for more specific purposes	***40***
Local languages for social integration	***30***
Communicative literacies related to the need to adapt home occupation, trade, professions	***70***

As can be seen from the table's communicative literacies to the need to adapt home occupation, trade, professions and skills remain a major challenge for ASRs in both research samples.

The literacies in both tables are described below:

Communicative literacies related to legal status

Most ASRs (70%) indicated that they struggled with knowledge, know-how and practical skills related to the procedures and documents necessary to obtain legal status in the country and have one's home professional, trade or skill endorsed by local authorities to allow the ASR to exercise

them in South Africa. I classify these two items together for the reason that the latter may also be seen as a legal requirement. As amply discussed in 2005 data description, ASRs indicated that medical doctors, nurses and lawyers all fall into this category.

Local languages

As part of the 2010 research, Falonne, Michel, Mona and Michel also felt speaking a local language increases one's chances of establishing an acceptable rapport with and having successful communication interactions with local people. Falonne said 'the problem is that most of the time South Africans like to speak their vernacular language, sometimes Zulu, twsana'. Mona also stated that she needs to learn local languages to effectively communicate with South Africans. Perhaps what both Falonne and Mona imply is that though communication may always take place in English where possible, speaking Zulu for instance would allow the ASR to connect with their interlocutor.

English for more specific purposes

A number of ASRs who did not speak English felt they would not be able to engage effectively with local communities and/or colleagues at work. Worse, some like Eddy, a food technologist who graduated at the University of Technology of Lubumbashi, felt there was a need for him to learn technical English before even starting to think of looking for work or further education in his line of work. Eddy, who was quoted in the section on the literacy needs for engagement, expressed the need to 'grow in the knowledge of English': perhaps, the use of the word 'grow' implies going beyond his current competence level in English. Sapu, a self-employed thirty-five year-old from Kinshasa, indicated he needed to learn business English as he sometimes needed to write business letters and attend meetings. A number of other respondents also indicated they felt their competence level in English was not sufficient and that they needed to improve it.

At the integration stage, these ASRs' literacy needs become more specialised as indicated in the Table below.

Table 17: Literacies needs of ASRs at the integration stage in 2005

LITERACIES	*%*
English for specific purposes/medical/ commercial/ technical etc.	*66*
Communicative literacies related to the need to adapt home occupation, trade, profession	*66*
Local languages for social integration/ need for more contact with/ acceptance with local people	*40*
Communicative literacies related to legal status	*64*

Compared to Table 10 and Table 13, Table 17 shows that literacies such English and local languages (Zulu and others) become respectively English for specific purposes and local language for social relationships. The percentage of ASRs who perceived the English language as one of the most important literacies for their integration also increases from 56% to 66%; this perhaps an indication that an additional portion of subjects has now come to agree that English is important after engagement with South African communities and organisations.

ASRs at this stage seem to concur that the basic level of fluency in English may not be sufficient for integration in Johannesburg. Thomas understands Zulu, but he does speak it the way he speaks English and that is why his South African clients at the Internet Café, even the regulars who knew he understood Zulu, addressed him in English. Nevertheless, during the participant observation, I could observe that, more than twice, Thomas greeted and joked with some of clients in Zulu and used the language to break the ice and initiate conversations with them, though he could not sustain a conversation in the local language. This means that he could probably get more results if he sustained a longer conversation in Zulu or Sotho, for instance.

As for local languages, Françoise indicated that ASRs with medical doctor or nursing qualifications indicated they needed local languages, because a medical practitioner needs to communicate with patients in their own language for a successful medical intervention; and even because it is a requirement in South Africa that the local doctor speaks at least one of the local languages spoken in the region.

In effect, speaking and understanding Local languages such as Zulu, Sotho or Afrikaans appeared from the survey and the interviews to the participant observation some of the most important literacies. For Sidonie, speaking Zulu appeared as the most important literacy an asylum seeker or a refugee had to learn and utilize in Johannesburg. She completely relied on her Zulu language skills to communicate at work with her immediate supervisor who was a Zulu speaking South Africa Black man. She insisted that good communication and socializing skills remained the basis of the good relationship she and her husband had established with the other workers at the company. During the day at work, Sidonie interacted with several of her Zulu speaking workmates, expressing herself effortlessly and fluently in the language. At different periods of the day, especially during the breaks, she was a centre of attention for nearly all her women workmates in her section.

Sidonie and her family started speaking local languages as the only way to gain the acceptance in the local community and to find shelter and an opportunity to start a new life. Years on, she stated "we started speaking it and are very fluent in the language today. To be honest, it has been of great help to us".

She emphasized that it is always in the migrant's interest to make use of local languages for his/her own development. For Sidonie, this can be done without abandoning one's home language, the utilization of which continues for the most part in family and friend circles. She as a result foresaw no danger of losing her home language, as she ensured she remained in touch with Congolese family members, friends and neighbours.

At home, Sidonie spoke to her children in English all times, though she and her husband communicated in Swahili. She said that that is how she had learned English in the first place: through her children; who had learned it at school and by talking to friends. Daniel, Bruno and Pita on the other hand all asserted that it was impossible to learn English without taking language classes.

All-in-all, it transpires from the 2005 literacy needs that at the integration stage basic literacies are no longer sufficient and that the ASRs learn new literacies and/or adapt home literacies.

This is even more so for the literacy needs of ASRs at integration stage in 2010, when the most important literacies seem to be more specialised English, more advanced computer and/or Internet skills and advanced literacies related to specific professions, occupations, trades or skills, as shown below.

Literacy needs of ASRs at integration stage in 2010

As discussed in the preceding section, the ASRs' literacies needs become more specific as they attempt to integrate into their communities, seeking work or better work, trying to establish more sustainable trading activities, making friends and more sustainable relationships with individual outside their ethnic groups, and so on. The following table shows the percentages of ASRs for each one of these literacies:

Table 18: Literacies needs of ASRs at the integration stage in 2010

LITERACIES	*%*
More specialised English	***70***
Advanced computer/ internet skills	***54***
Advanced techniques related to trade, occupation, professional, skill	***60***

Sapu quoted earlier said he aimed to learn business English. Rebecca stated that 'computer skills and the internet skills have helped find a job in a call centre and make her job easier'. The last part of the preceding sentence makes all the difference between this statement and statements such as 'I would like to learn English to find a job', made during the engagement stage in 2005. Rebecca has a job and she can speak English: because she works in a call centre, it would be beneficial and make her job easier to speak better English or the English of the field.

Mukoka stated that she needs to learn to speak Zulu and other local languages because this is the most spoken language in Johannesburg. This shows that these ASRs have gauged 'waters', meaning the environment and now know exactly 'how much' local language they should speak and for which reason. The Zulu Mukoka aimed to learn not only for greeting purposes, but to establish 'durable' social relationships, perhaps.

Captain, Sidonie's husband, a tailor and carpenter, a supervisor in the upholstery work section at their place of employment, who took end-user computing classes in 2004 and information technology classes in 2005, indicated that he needed to learn a new computer program known as C.A.D. (Computer Assisted Drawing), because he would like to use the skill at work to come up with new designs of furniture, models of upholstery and sculptures shapes into furniture.

It can therefore be inferred that the literacy needs of ASRs change over time, because firstly this research has demonstrated that the literacy needs of newcomer ASRs in 2005 are the same as those of the newcomer ASRs in 2010. Secondly, the literacies of the newcomer ASRs of 2005, who have now been living in Johannesburg for more or less five years, have changed. I found it useful to also ask ASRs for clarification questions on specific aspects of their answered questionnaires; and asked Captain whether he thought the literacy needs of ASRs change over time. He agreed that the literacy needs change over time and said that his nephew, a newcomer AS in 2005 took classes in Information technology hoping to find a job soon after that. He remained unemployed for three years in spite of efforts to find employment and only found work in a different industry. Captain insisted that literacies perceived as the most important ones by newcomer ASRs, such as English, computer and Internet literacies, may not be sufficient per se to help them secure a job and may assist only in addition to a marketable profession, trade or skill.

In this regard other 2005 respondents also approached in 2010 mentioned they needed to take classes in computer graphic design, electricity (to become electrical technician), kitchen units fitting, tiling and business management.

Also linked to this need to specialise is the need to communicate more efficiently. Sidonie emphasised that newcomer ASRs should first aim to be able to communicate in the context of Johannesburg and learn English and be able to survive. However, this may not be enough as they also often need to learn a trade or find an occupation that can allow them to earn an income.

The process of integration as it has been described in this Chapter represents an ASR's journey of discovery in a new literacy environment that may culminate either in successful integration or further isolation depending on the actions and reactions of not only the concerned ASR but also those of the local community. However, the data in this research shows that ninety per cent of

ASRs in 2005, the same may be true for the 2010 ASRs, do not see further isolation as an option, as the literacies mentioned are almost always intended for the ASRs' survival in Johannesburg. Besides, seventy per cent of these ASRs do not foresee their integration independently from South Africans in their host communities: most of them desire to be able to speak at least one local language one day.

This research has shown that at the isolation stage newcomer ASRs entertain stereotypes about South Africans and 'the typical South African' that they eventually clear as the engagement stage progresses, and completely discard towards the end of the integration stage, though one may not exactly when the integration stage really comes to an end. During the integration stage, ASRs 'redefine' themselves and their relationships with South Africans in order to adapt in the new context of Johannesburg.

It has been shown in this report that asylum seekers such Thomas, Daniel, Sidonie and Chantal have used certain literacies such as computer literacies, technical literacies, and language literacies to render services to the local communities which facilitated their social integration. Such literacies played the role of catalyst of social relations that could not have been initiated otherwise: the asylum seekers and the local people are forced to interact with each other due to the dependency on each other to benefit from certain goods and services; this was illustrated in the case of Thomas and his South African customers at the Internet Café.

CHAPTER FIVE

GENERAL CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. GENERAL CONCLUSION

Introduction

This research aimed to offer an indication of the literacy needs of Congolese ASRs in Johannesburg and ascertain whether these needs change over time or not. It used three main methods in 2005: a survey, interviews and participant observations. The instruments used were a questionnaire for the survey, guiding questions for the interviews and the participant observations. Thirty participants were administered the survey questionnaires. Five respondents were chosen from the survey sample for the interviews based on the amount of data I could retrieve from their responses, and two for the participant observations, narrowing the sample after each stage. In 2010, a survey questionnaire which aimed to find out whether these needs changed over time was administered to thirty respondents and their answers were analysed.

5.1.1 The ASRs' Literacies and the Stages of Integration

For both the 2005 and 2010 fieldworks, the collected data was analysed based on, firstly, two main research questions which investigated the literacy difficulties and the literacies needs and, secondly, on the three stages of integration of these ASRs into their host community, that is, isolation or resistance, engagement or confrontation and integration. At the **isolation stage**, ASRs resist the new environment and its literacies, those perceived as different from home literacies: the ASRs withdraw to circles of family and friends, or simply those of individuals speaking their home languages such as French, Lingala and/or Swahili. They use the internet to keep in touch with friends and family in other South African cities, in the DRC or other countries in the world. Some do not feel the need to find employment or an income generating activity at this stage, their most basic needs being taken care of by friends, family members or acquaintances, for their first days or weeks in Johannesburg.

Results showed that during the isolation stage the ASRs' literacy difficulties remained the same for 2005 and 2010 newcomer-ASRs and only changed for ASRs who had lived in Johannesburg for a relatively longer period of time at integration stage; I chose here not to engage into

speculations pertaining to the period of time from which the ASRs may no longer be considered as 'newcomers'. This is also due to the fact that, at the isolation stage, the ASRs have surface-level knowledge of the work, economic and social realities of their host environment or are held back by stereotypical views or 'beliefs commonly shared', such as xenophobia, among ASRs about local people. They only start questioning some of these beliefs at the engagement stage.

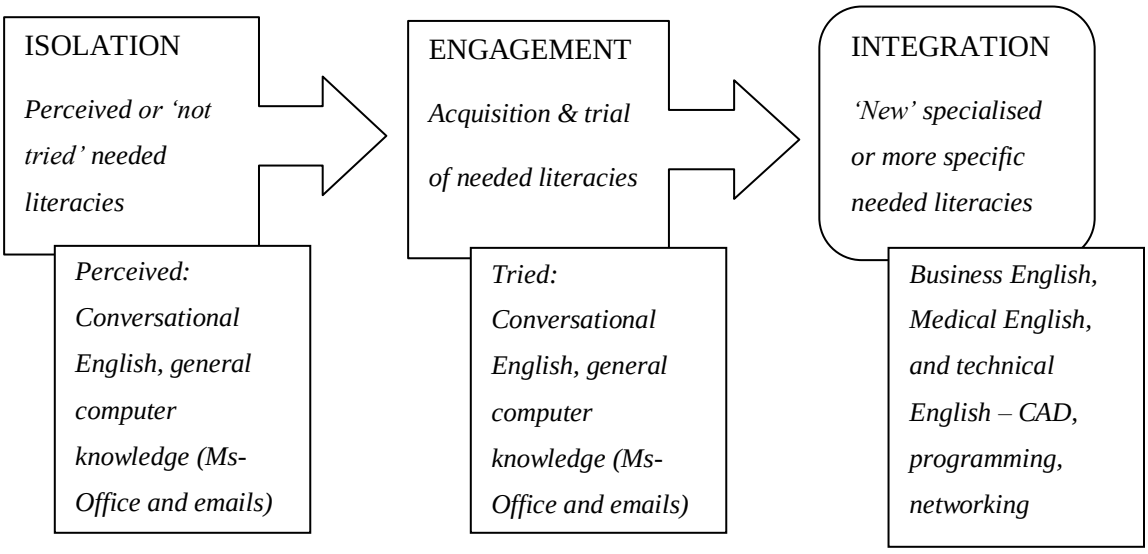
At the **engagement stage**, ASRs come out of isolation, usually when resources are depleted or if a few days or week after the ASRs arrival in Johannesburg, their family or friends cannot continue supporting them or simply urge them to also find an income generating activity to help meet the household's needs or simply to meet their personal needs. Coming out of isolation was also said to be the result of a realisation that 'they cannot stay in isolation forever'; in any case, at this stage, they went out with the aim of finding work or trading or simply for initial social networking with locals. Some of them stated that the situation practically 'forced' them to interact with locals through their daily activities such visiting the local grocery stores, clinic, bank, or police station, where they 'are bound' to try and speak English or any of the local languages spoken in their communities. It was after they had engaged in these interactions and activities that the integration process really began.

At the **integration stage,** ASRs have gone through the isolation and engagement stages, meaning they have gone out to find employment or any other income generating activity or even simply to socialise, and have encountered literacy difficulties of one nature or the other. They in the process have attempted to find solutions to some of the literacy problems and most of them stated that it was at this point that they got an idea of the literacies that were really needed 'on the ground'. Still they went on to make efforts to make use of home literacies or adapt them, or learn the literacies initially perceived as the most important for them. Another equally important observation is that these ASRs tried several literacies in their attempts to engage their new environment. They constantly reassessed the relevance and efficiency in their quest for skills and literacies susceptible of facilitating their survival in Johannesburg. They abandoned or upgraded or added to some of the literacies depending on the 'feedback' from the new milieu.

This work has demonstrated that while some of the ASRs' important literacies almost remained the same throughout the integration process, these required literacies and/or literacies became rather specialised towards the last stage of the process as is further explained below. The specialisation or specification in literacy needs may be caused by the fact that ASRs having had an opportunity to look for work spend some time in employment or trading activity, and/or attempted to establish social relationships with locals, gained a greater knowledge of the work environment and opportunities in Johannesburg. This specialisation or specification in literacies may also be said to be driven by the need to find 'better' employment, or more favourable financial and living conditions; if not by the fact of ASRs have gained greater confidence with experience and exposure. Above all, this may be said to be an indication that there is indeed progress in the integration process.

Throughout the three stages, these ASRs basically identified English, local languages and computer literacies as being the most important literacy needs.

Figure 5: Integration process and change in Literacy needs



5.1.2. English Language

Some of the newcomer-ASR felt English was the literacy they needed for their life in Johannesburg. Those forced to look after themselves owing to certain circumstances, such as not having a relative in Johannesburg, learned English early enough. ASRs in this case indicated that English is needed if one is to find employment, engage in any trading activities or communicate

with locals in stores, shops, clinics and even at one's children's school, and as far as bureaucracy is concerned at the police station, home affairs, municipality and others. These literacies were needed mainly for survival in the new environment. A comparison between the 2005 and 2010 fieldwork results reveal that the ASRs' perception of their literacy needs remain the same highlighting once more the importance of literacies related to communication for interactions, as described in the isolation section.

The main finding here is that literacy needs remain the same throughout the integration process, except that towards the last stage the needs become more specific. This is true both for English and local languages (discussed in the next section). Overall, most of them realised they needed to acquire or develop their literacies further: the need for basic English is replaced by the need for English for specific purposes, Business English, medical English or technical English or even English for Law. Some of the plausible reasons for this are mentioned in the previous section. However, some were forced to take a language course, a course to learn a new skill or simply make efforts to learn a local language where they had initially thought English would be sufficient.

5.1.3. Local Languages

Not all ASRs found family, friends or acquaintances that could take care of them on arrival in Johannesburg; some found themselves in environments where from day-one they only interacted with locals for their survival. ASRs in this situation said they were forced to learn local languages such as Zulu or Tswana early enough in Johannesburg. It can be said that these ASRs skipped the isolation stage, having been practically forced to engage with local literacies. At the integration stage, while some other ASRs aimed to learn the most spoken local languages such as Zulu, Sotho, Xhosa and Afrikaans, most of them realised they needed a different one depending on the South African person or ethnic group they had established contact with.

The need for local languages was in most cases necessitated by the need for deeper or broader social relationships in the ASRs neighbourhood, place of work or daily life. Some such as Sidonie affirmed a given local language helped them maintain more harmonious relationships with colleagues at work. She also expressed her desire to learn Venda, as some other co-workers spoke it and because it was different from other South African vernaculars. While making efforts

to learn local languages for communication with South Africans, these ASRs also kept in touch with family and friend outside South Africa by means of the Internet.

5.1.4. Computer Literacies and Internet

For the most part, the Computer and Internet literacies featured on the list of the most needed literacies throughout all stages of integration. Perhaps because most ASRs assumed one could not operate in Johannesburg or South Africa without English and computer literacies, given its relatively higher levels of development in comparison to the DRC. Captain emphasised that 'the importance of Information technology was over-exaggerated in the early 21st century due to globalisation' and that 'it's only after a decade that people and refugees realised they needed a basic skill or trade that they would complement with computer and Internet literacy'. Captain admitted that he was also among the ASRs who took courses in Microsoft Office (or end-user computing) in 2003. Again this relates to the discussion in the integration section earlier in this report. This research has shown that those who had taken a basic computer course before including MS office and Internet, realised they needed more advanced computer skills such as computer programming, PC engineering (Computer Architecture and Networking), or Computer Assisted Drawing (CAD), in the case of Captain, an upholstery work supervisor, at a later stage.

5.1.5. Communicative Literacies related to administrative, bureaucratic and legal procedures and documents

For the isolation stage, newcomer-ASRs in 2005 mentioned literacy difficulties such as the language barrier, with the almost indispensable need to learn English, a literacy closely related to the lack of important information. The latter originates from the lack of bureaucratic know-how; not knowing how to acquire the information needed and how to perform basic administrative and legal procedures, such as filling in certain documents, for instance. This need has transpired through all the three stages, but in the integration stage, ASRs refer to specific administrative or legal procedures related to membership of professional bodies for example. ASRs with medical doctor, nursing, law and teaching qualifications, to name a few, fall, into this category. At the isolation and engagement stages some of these professionals and other ASRs with specific skills and trades took up employment or exercised activities in areas not related to their qualifications. After the engagement stage, after coming to grip with the realities of Johannesburg and gaining

greater understanding of the environment, they were in a better position to identify the specific literacies they needed for better professional prospects.

Still in this category, some other ASRs who were involved in street trading and other small businesses activities went on and took small business management courses sponsored by the JRS and other agencies in Johannesburg.

5.1.6. Other Findings

One must remember that these ASRs also brought a number of literacies from home, some of which were useful in their original form to the ASRs in Johannesburg. Speaking a Congolese language such as Kitabwa enabled Pascaline to easily learn Tswana, thanks to the similarities existing between the two languages both at lexical and phonological levels. Other literacies such as those related to professional skills, computer networking in Thomas' case, and trades, such as Daniel's electrical engineering techniques, were adapted for use in Johannesburg; while other literacies such as French had to be replaced with new ones. Another noteworthy point is that some of the literacies that were not so helpful for certain ASRs came in very handy for others.

This research has also shown that certain home literacies such as French may be useful under certain circumstances and not so beneficial on other occasions. This is also the case for cultural literacies and religious ones. As stated before ASRs first focused on learning literacies that assisted them for their immediate survival, especially at the isolation stage and the engagement stage.

Overall the findings of this research are significant in the sense that they have highlighted the key literacies these ASRs felt were vital for their integration in their new environment and how these literacy needs changed over time. It has also been found that ASRs consciously or unconsciously make use of specific strategies for integration into their communities, some of which are precisely making use of their literacies or learning new ones.

Another important aspect that transpires though the data is the ASR's firm predisposition to learn local literacies that appear to be important for their survival and integration in their host communities. This was also evidenced by the fact that their literacy needs changed depending on the ASRs' experience and their rapport with their host communities, colleagues at work and/or business or trading clients or partners.

5.2. RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

The above findings demonstrate that ASRs are confronted with new literacies, namely English, local languages and new computer skills that directly or indirectly influence their life at their place of residence or work within the confines of Johannesburg. Whether the South African department of Home affairs is going to confine them to a refugee camp, repatriate them or embark on an integration effort of ASRs (Landau 2004) or not, the fact remains that the individual ASRs and their literacies equally have a positive impact on their respective Johannesburg communities.

Recommendations

The following are some of the recommendations that can be made based on the findings of this investigation:

1. Local authorities should work towards facilitating the ASRs' acquisition of the needed literacies; this would definitely contribute to the advancement of and improvement of the quality of life of the ASRs and that of their South African counterparts. To this end, authorities can create and maintain language learning centres across the city with the aim of teaching English and as many local languages as possible. These centres to be efficient must cater for both South Africans who need to learn English and other local languages other than theirs and ASRs. This will also contribute to efforts aimed at getting locals and ASRs to interact and gain knowledge about each other, decreasing in the process the feeling of rejection and isolation felt by ASRs and the fear entertained by South Africans vis-à-vis ASRs in general. Both parties will surely in this way be afforded the opportunity to deal with their 'alleged' respective stereotypical views of the 'others'.
2. While it is important to acknowledge that since 2005 a lot has been achieved by some of the local governments within Johannesburg in the sense of creating one-stop-shop information desks and centres for ASRs, it is also important to acknowledge that information about these centres has not reached ASRs. In the 2010 survey, some of the ASRs still claimed that 'information regarding refugee services was difficult to find due to the lack of information centres'. In most cases, these local government agencies,

perhaps assuming that migrants are not computer literate to look for information on the Internet whereas most of them use Internet for communication with relatives and friends abroad and for other purposes such as job-hunting, trading and social networking, focused on creating localised help desks and centres. In effect, findings have shown that ninety per cent of these ASRs used the Internet and E-mails for information and communication: for example, Thomas insisted that his Internet café was utilized mostly by non-South Africans who, in most cases, needed to communicate with family and friends back home and in other country in the world, though a few South Africans also used the café to e-mail their résumés for job hunting and browse the Net for information and entertainment [though not essentially]. Consequently, authorities should create a website that provides ASRs with all necessary information regarding the governmental and non-governmental organisations and/or services that are available for ASRs within the city. Research in Forced Migrations has shown that currently information about the information centres, which are also for the most part located on single floors of high-rise buildings in the Central Johannesburg, has not reached ASRs. As a result, a website will definitely go a long way in ensuring that more intended recipients of the information and/or services are reached and served. By way of implication, the government of South Africa and the various local governments should create and maintain websites dedicated to ASRs affairs and which could also a platform to inform local communities about ASRs affairs: at this juncture of the 21st century, the Internet is definitely one of the most efficient ways to inform and educate asylum seekers, refugees, and even the local communities.

3. As for communicative literacies related to administrative and legal procedures and documents, authorities may also work with organisations involved ASRs affairs to hold information sessions whereby ASRs may be introduced to some of the majors issues, problems, challenges and requirements they may be faced with in Johannesburg and present them with ways of dealings with them. For instance, local government can make presentations about some of the main administrative or legal documents ASRs may have to fill in and how to do this, or ASRs can attend a presentation on some of the traits, ways of doing things, or even expectations of South Africans and those of the local government

towards ASRs. These sessions can also focus on the usual legal requirements for professional ASRs to exercise professions such as teachers, doctors, nurses and lawyers. ASRs can be assisted to learn the literacy necessary to help them acquire the documentation. These presentations can also offer practical help in learning the ropes or acquiring some 'literacy' in the bureaucratic and legal procedures and language. There are many issues and opportunities that these presentations can focus on.

4. ASRs showed a readiness to learn not only the Literacies that are vital for their survival in Johannesburg, but also those of the local communities for a harmonious integration. Local government can also include some of the deserving ASRs, not all of them lest this is done at the expense of locals, in targeted skills programmes where they could adapt their home literacies and even learn new ones. ASRs with scarce skills and trades experiences can even be used to train locals and work in pilot projects aimed at creating employment for more South Africans.

It is not within the scope of this research to make recommendations about a change in legal provisions to be made by national government to provide ASRs with proper identity documentation, though some of these ASRs attributed the difficulties they went through to the lack of documentation, which Moses in his response believed '*created an unimaginable number of other difficulties including difficulty to access services such as schooling and medical care, especially for women and children'*. Proper documentation means a document other than the Asylum Seeker's Permit, nor the Refugee Identity Card or the Smart Card, as these would still isolate these migrants from the rest of the population in the city, and expose them to discrimination, xenophobia and other unfair and detrimental treatment (Timngum 2001). Some refugees stated that the government should regulate and facilitate the process of naturalization of AS: presently obtaining a Permanent Residence Status is a process way too difficult and long. It is important to mention that, even though this is not one of the concerns of this research, the possession of widely recognized identity documents would allow ASRs to integrate fully and play a most important role in the improvement of the standard of living in Johannesburg and South Africa.

In conclusion, ASRs in this investigation mentioned the English language, local languages and computer and Internet literacies as the most important literacies needed for integration in their respective Johannesburg communities, and that the literacies perceived as most important become more specialised with time. These findings have shown that these literacies bring three main parties together, namely the Congolese ASRs, their host communities and the local authorities, who all play a major role in the acquisition and/or use of literacies that can be important for all parties involved. All-in-all, this project has further highlighted the need for more research to further investigate the impact of ASRs home literacies on their host communities and in their workplace. The onus is then on local authorities and official of all agencies involved in services to ASRs to initiate, sponsor and coordinate such research.

APPENDIX 1: CONSENT LETTER

A. ENGLISH VERSION

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

PRIVATE BAG 3, WITS 2050, SOUTH AFRICA**.**

RESEARCH IN LITERACIES

Dear participant

I would like you to participate in a research project conducted by myself in fulfilment of academic pursuit of my master's degree in English education at the University of the Witwatersrand. I am conducting the research into the Literacies that the Congolese adult asylum seekers have at their arrival in Johannesburg and those that they have to acquire for their survival and life in this city.

Participation is entirely voluntary. It will involve you answering a questionnaire which will take you approximately 15 minutes to complete. If you do not choose to participate you will not be disadvantaged in any way. If you do choose to participate you may withdraw from answering the questionnaire at any point without penalty.

Your name will not be recorded and your anonymity is guaranteed.

This research is purely for academic pursuit and is conducted with the approval of, and in accordance with the principles laid down by the University's committee for research on human subjects (Humanities)

(Circler the applicable option)

Do you wish to participate? **Yes** **No**

Full Name: ……..Signature: ……

If you do choose to participate, thank you sincerely for your help.

Regards

Kabinga Shabanza

MA Student

Wits University

Johannesburg

APPENDIX 2: CONSENT LETTER **FRENCH VERSION**

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

PRIVATE BAG 3, WITS 2050, SOUTH AFRICA**.**

RESEARCH IN LITERACIES

Cher Participant,

Par la présente, je sollicite votre participation dans mon travail de recherche en vue de l'obtention de mon diplôme de Maîtrise en Anglais et Education a l'Université de Witwatersrand. Cette recherche est basée sur les connaissances pratiques ou instructions (en Anglais 'Literacies') que les demandeurs d'asile Congolais amènent avec eux a Johannesburg et celles qu'ils apprennent sur place après leur arrivée dans la ville.

La participation sollicitée est entièrement volontaire. Il vous sera demande de prendre à peu près 15 minutes pour remplir un formulaire. Vous êtes entièrement libre et vous pouvez choisir de ne pas participer sans conséquence. Même si vous choisissez de participer, vous pouvez arrêter votre participation et vous pouvez vous retirer a tout moment sans sanction.

Votre participation sera a titre anonyme et votre nom ne sera pas divulgué ou écrit publiquement. Cette recherché, qui est purement pour de raisons académiques, a été approuvée par le comité pour la recherché sur la protection des sujets humain dans le Humanités de l'Université de Witwatersrand.

(Encercler la mention utile)

Acceptez-vous de participer? Oui Non

Noms complet : ……..Signature: ……

Si vous avez choisi de participer, nous vous remercions d'avance pour votre assistance.

Veuillez agréer l'expression de notre profonde gratitude.

Kabinga Shabanza

Kabinga Shabanza

Etudiant de Maîtrise en Anglais

Université de Witwatersrand

Johannesburg

APPENDIX 3 : SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

Research Topic

THE LITERACIES OF CONGOLESE ADULT ASYLUM SEEKERS IN JOHANNESBURG: A CASE STUDY

Questionnaire[7]

General Information:

What is a 'Literacy'?

A 'Literacy' is any kind of knowledge or knowledges in the form of a sign, an indication, a language or simply a particular system of communication, which can be linguistic, visual, cultural, products of multimedia technologies and so forth, and which is essential to successfully transmit, receive, understand and interpret information in given communication situations.

Examples: knowing how to use a computer (computer literacy), use the Internet (e-literacy), understand business terms and do business (business literacy), understand certain cultural features and practices (Cultural Literacy), understand and use Mathematical signs and operations (Mathematical Literacy), know and practice music (musical Literacy), read, understand and interpret visual signs and messages (visual literacy), understand and speak a language (language or linguistic literacy) etc. But, there are also other literacies that have not yet been clearly identified and named; some of which you unconsciously use. This research is intended to identify the literacies that adult Congolese asylum seekers used in their home country and those that they need in Johannesburg.

In asking you to fill in the following questionnaire, I want you to tell me about the literacies or knowledge/s that you have used once or that you use in your life, first in your home country and second in Johannesburg.

Please complete the following questionnaire. Your identity and answers will remain confidential.

[7] Circle the correct answer. Feel free to answer in French, Lingala or Kiswahili, where you do not know how to say the answer in English.

Full name[8]: _____

Personal details: (Please tick the appropriate boxes below).

1) Gender: ☐Male/ ☐Female

2) Age group: ☐Under 21 ☐21 – 25 ☐25 – 34 ☐35 – 44 ☐45 and over

2) Marital Status: ☐Married/ ☐Single/ ☐divorced/ ☐separated/ ☐widow(er)

3) Do you have any children? ☐Yes/ ☐No.
If yes, how many? _____

4) City/ Town/ Province in the DRC
_____

5) Highest educational level reached: ☐Primary School ☐Secondary School ☐Technical ☐ Training College ☐Polytechnic ☐University
☐Other specify _____

6) What is your home language? _____

a) Name the languages(s) you use in daily communication in Johannesburg

☐French ☐Lingala ☐Chiluba ☐Kikongo

☐Swahili ☐Other language(s) (please specify)
_____

(b) In which language(s) can you read?

☐French ☐Lingala ☐Chiluba ☐Kikongo

☐Swahili ☐Other language(s) (please specify)
_____

[8] Your name is asked in order for the researcher to be to contact you for any further information, but it will not be made public: to protect you privacy, the researcher will use a pseudonym in the report.

(c) In which language(s) can you write?

☐French ☐Lingala ☐Chiluba ☐Kikongo

☐Swahili ☐Other language(s) (please specify)
_____

7) Date of arrival in Johannesburg: Year _____/ Month _____/ Day _____

8) Suburb/ municipality/ neighbourhood in Johannesburg:
_____

9) What is your occupation? _____

10) If you are employed what is the name of employer?
_____

11) What is your profession _____

12) What are the things that you do in your profession?

_____
_____
_____

13) What is your answer to the following statement: 'I enjoy my job'. Do you:

Strongly agree☐ Agree☐Strongly disagree☐ disagree ☐not sure

Reason/s
_____
_____

14) What are the attitudes of your fellow workers and customers towards you at the work place or at school?

_____
_____

15) Do you think your use of language or the way you do certain things affects the attitudes of people towards you in the workplace?

_____
_____
_____

What language or things?
_____
_____
_____

How?
_____
_____

16) If you are unemployed, how do you think you could improve your possibilities of getting a job?

_____
_____
_____

17) If you are a student what is the name of the institution?

_____

18) What are the things that you learn to do and what are the operations or things that you do as part of the learning process?

_____
_____
_____

Literacies

The Literacies brought from the DRC

19) Which of these literacies did you possess before coming to Johannesburg

Language Literacies

☐ Reading (specify the language/s)

_____

☐ Writing (specify the language/s)

_____

☐ Understanding a language (specify the language/s)

_____
_____

☐ Watching and understanding movies. Specify what kind of movies if necessary

_____
_____

☐ Reading road or other kinds of signs. Specify which ones

_____
_____

Where/ when

_____
_____

☐ Reading any other kind of text/ diagram/ document/ symbol or other. Specify which one/s

_____
_____
_____

Where/when?

_____
_____
_____

Anything else you would like to say

_____
_____
_____

Cultural Literacies

☐Understanding a cultural song/ attire/ ceremony/ communication or other. Specify which ones.

_____
_____
_____
_____

☐Interpreting or reading any sort of images/ coded communication or language/gestures. Specify

_____
_____
_____

Media, computer, Internet and other Literacies

☐Using the internet

☐Using e-mail (sending and receiving)

☐Using a computer for work. Specify which work

_____
_____

☐Using a computer for work. Specify which work

_____
_____

How did you use the computer?

_____
_____
_____
_____

Is there something that you knew exceptionally or did not know well? What?

_____
_____
_____
_____

☐Using a computer for leisure. Specify

_____
_____
_____

List below other literacies that you knew (you can use another sheet of paper to specify the literacy/ies):

☐_____

_____

☐_____

_____

☐_____

_____

. ☐_____

_____

☐_____

_____

20) From this list, choose and describe the things (literacies) that in your opinion played a considerable role in the exercise of your profession or skill in the DRC. Give the place, the occasion, what you did and what others did, as well as the result.

Literacy one:

_____
_____
_____

Literacy two:

_____
_____
_____

Literacy three:

_____
_____
_____

21) From the same list or from others that you might remember, choose and describe the literacies that you think played a considerable role in your family life, in your relationship with friend and acquaintances. Give the place, what you did and the result.

Literacy one:

_____
_____
_____

Literacy two:

_____
_____
_____

Literacy three:

_____
_____
_____
_____

Literacies from the DRC and Johannesburg

22) Have any of the literacies (things that you did or knew, skills or knowledge) you brought from the DRC helped you in Johannesburg? ☐Yes/ ☐No

23) If yes. List the ones that have helped you and say how they have help you.

(1)_____
_____

(2)_____
_____

(3)_____
_____

(4)_____
_____

24) List those literacies (things that you did or knew, skills or knowledge) that have not helped you in Johannesburg and say why you think they have not helped you.

(1)_____
_____

(2)_____
_____

(3)_____
_____

(4)_____
_____

Literacies encountered in Johannesburg

If you **do not** work or study, answer questions from (25) to (33)

Are there literacies that you have encountered in Johannesburg and which you do not have? ☐Yes/ ☐No

25) Tick literacies that you have encountered in Johannesburg

Language Literacies

☐Reading (specify the language/s) _____

☐Writing (specify the language/s) _____

☐Understanding a language (specify the language/s)

_____
_____

☐Watching and understanding movies. Specify what kind of movies if necessary

_____
_____

☐Reading road or other kinds of signs. Specify which ones

_____
_____

Where/ when

_____
_____

☐Reading any other kind of text/ diagram/ document/ symbol or other. Specify which one/s

_____
_____

Where/when?

_____
_____

Anything else you would like to say about the literacies encountered in Johannesburg?

_____
_____

Cultural Literacies

☐Understanding a cultural song/ attire/ ceremony/ communication or other. Specify which ones.

_____
_____
_____

☐Interpreting or reading any sort of images/ coded communication or language/ gestures.

Specify

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Media, computer and Internet and other Literacies

☐Using the internet

☐Using e-mail (sending and receiving)

☐Using a computer for work. Specify which work

_____

How do you use the computer?

_____
_____
_____

Is there something that you know exceptionally or do not know well? What?

_____
_____
_____

☐Using a computer for leisure. Specify

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

List below other literacies that you know (you can use another sheet of paper to specify the literacy/ies):

☐_____

_____

☐_____

_____

☐_____

_____

. ☐_____

_____

☐_____

_____

26) From this list, choose and describe the things (literacies) that in your opinion play a considerable role in the exercise of your profession or in your life in Johannesburg. Give the place, the occasion you use the literacies, what you do and what others do, as well as the result.

Literacy one:

_____
_____

Literacy two:

_____
_____
_____

Literacy three:

_____
_____
_____

27) From the same list or from others that you might remember, choose and describe those that you think play a considerable role in your family life, in your relationship with friend and acquaintances. Give the place, what you do and the result.

Literacy one:

_____
_____

Literacy two:

_____
_____
_____

Literacy three:

_____
_____
_____

28) What are the literacies that you need in Johannesburg and which you do not have?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

29) Have you learned or acquired any of the literacies you need in Johannesburg? ☐Yes/ ☐No

30) If no. What are the main obstacles or difficulties preventing you from learning or acquiring them?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

31) What do you need to acquire or learn them?

_____
_____
_____
_____

32) Have you encountered in Johannesburg literacies which are necessary, not for work but for your daily life in Johannesburg? ☐Yes/ ☐No

33) If yes which ones?

_____
_____
_____
_____

34) Have you learned or acquired them? ☐Yes/ ☐No

35) If no. What are the main obstacles preventing you from learning or acquiring them?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

If you work, answer question from (37) and 38)

36) What are the literacy difficulties (difficulties related to things that you have to know or do) that you have in the exercise of your profession and/ or are there skills (or any knowledge) which are necessary for your profession and that you do not have or do not master? Yes☐ No☐

37) If yes. Which ones?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

If you study, answer question from (39) to (40)

38) What are the literacy difficulties that you have in your studies, and/ or are there literacies which are necessary for you to study properly and succeed and which you do not have or do not master?
Yes☐ No☐

If yes. Which ones?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

APPENDIX 4: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

The guiding questions and the literacy investigated are the following for each informant:

Sidonie (Zulu):

1) What is the literacy or knowledge that you think you need the most in Johannesburg?
2) Between English and Zulu, which language do you think should come first on the list of things to learn?
3) So you think that Congolese asylum seekers need to learn local South African languages depending on where they live and on the nature of their needs?

Daniel (appliances repair and English):

1) What the most important literacy and knowledge for your life in Johannesburg?
2) Do you think that what that made those interviews unsuccessful is your Congolese qualifications?
3) What about the problem of language? Don't you think they also look at your level of English?
4) Do you South African languages and or cultures are important for a foreigner who chooses to live in Johannesburg?
5) In your opinion, how can South African languages and or cultures be of any help to an asylum seeker?

Francine (Tswana):

1) What is the literacy or knowledge that you think you need the most for your life in Johannesburg?
2) Why is it important for you to learn in the context of class with classmates and not alone?
3) Once you have acquired sufficient knowledge of the South African legal system and terms, what do you will need next?
4) Do you think there are other barriers that could arise in spite of your learning and speaking one of the local languages?
5) Apart from the knowledge of the legal system and terms, you spoke about as a prerequisite for you to work as a lawyer, what are the other major barriers that you can think of or that you have met?
6) Have you had difficulties related to cultural literacies?
7) What do you think about the survival of your culture and languages?
8) Do you think that you risk losing your cultural literacies so far from home?

Simon (Zulu)

1) What is the literacy or knowledge that you think you need the most in Johannesburg?
2) Between English and Zulu, which one do you think should come first on the list of things to learn?
3) So you think that Congolese asylum seekers need to learn local South African languages?
4) Do you think that by essentially using South African language you risk losing your Congolese language, culture and identity?

Thomas (Computer literacies):

1) What is the literacy that you think you need the most in Johannesburg?
2) Why don't you consider doing computer science or Information Technology instead of switching to medicine?
3) Can I say that you're working in the Internet Café just for paying the bills and that you will not be doing this in the future?
4) What language or languages do you use for communication with your customers?
5) Do you think that you need South African local languages such as Zulu, Sotho or Afrikaans?
6) In your opinion, what literacy or knowledge do you think Congolese asylum seekers need the most for their life in Johannesburg?

APPENDIX 5: PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION SCHEDULE

The questions posed to Sidonie to investigate the importance of her ability to speak Zulu at work:

1) When do you speak Zulu?
2) Whom do you speak Zulu with?
3) How do you speak it?
4) How does your ability to speak Zulu help you at work?
5) What literacy difficulties are you able to surmount using Zulu?
6) To which extend does Zulu facilitate your integration in the circles of South African individuals?
7) What are your other literacy difficulties?
8) What helped you learn to speak Zulu?
9) What is your attitude towards South Africans?
10) What is South Africans attitude towards you (as one of the speakers of Zulu)?

The questions below were posed to Thomas to investigate computer and Internet literacies:

1) Have computer and/or internet skills helped in Johannesburg?
2) How have they helped you?
3) What are the difficulties you have come across in relation to computer and internet skills?
4) Have these skills helped you in your relationship/communication with South Africans?
5) How have these skills helped with in your relationship with South Africans?
6) What are the needs that you have in relation to these skills?
7) What are your literacy needs for your integration in Johannesburg?

APPENDIX 6: CONSENT LETTRE 2010 (ENGLISH)

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

PRIVATE BAG 3, WITS 2050, SOUTH AFRICA.

RESEARCH IN LITERACIES

CONSENT LETTER

ENGLISH VERSION

Dear participant

I would like you to participate in a research project conducted by myself in fulfillment of my master's degree in English education at the University of the Witwatersrand. I am conducting the research into the Literacy needs of Congolese Asylum seekers and Refugees (ARS) in Johannesburg.

Participation is entirely voluntary. It will involve you answering a questionnaire which will take you approximately 15 minutes to complete. If you do not choose to participate you will not be disadvantaged in any way. If you do choose to participate you may withdraw from answering the questionnaire at any point without penalty.

Your name will not be recorded and your anonymity is guaranteed.

This research is purely for academic purposes and is conducted with the approval of, and in accordance with the principles laid down by the University's committee for research on human subjects (Humanities)

(Please tick the applicable option)

Do you wish to participate? **Yes**☐ **No** ☐

Full Names: _____ **Signature:** _____

If you do choose to participate, thank you sincerely for your help.

Regards

Kabinga Shabanza

MA Student

WitsUniversity

Johannesburg

APPENDIX 7: CONSENT LETTRE 2010 (FRENCH)

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

PRIVATE BAG 3, WITS 2050, SOUTH AFRICA**.**

RESEARCH IN LITERACIES

CONSENT LETTER (FRENCH VERSION)

Cher Participant,

Par la présente, je sollicite votre participation dans mon travail de recherche en vue de l'obtention de mon diplôme de Maîtrise en Anglais et Education a l'Université de Witwatersrand. Cette recherche est basée sur les connaissance pratiques ou instructions (en Anglais 'Literacies') que les demandeurs d'asile et refugiés Congolais ont appris ou utilisent à Johannesburg.

La participation sollicitée est entièrement volontaire. Il vous sera demandé de prendre à peu près 15 minutes pour remplir un formulaire. Vous êtes entièrement libre de choisir de ne pas y participer, sans aucune conséquence. Même si vous choisissez de participer, vous pouvez arrêter votre participation et pouvez vous retirer à tout moment sans sanction.

Votre participation sera à titre anonyme et votre nom ne sera pas divulgué ou écrit publiquement. Cette recherche, qui est purement pour de raisons académiques, a été approuvée par le comité pour la recherché sur la protection des sujets humain dans le Humanités de l'Université de Witwatersrand.

(Veuillez tiquer la mention utile)

Acceptez-vous de participer? **Oui** ☐ **Non**☐

Noms complets : _____ **Signature:** _____

Si vous avez choisi de participer, nous vous remercions d'avance pour votre assistance.

Veuillez agréer l'expression de notre profonde gratitude.

Kabinga Shabanza

Etudiant de Maîtrise en Anglais

Université de Witwatersrand de Johannesburg

APPENDIX 8: SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE 2010

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

PRIVATE BAG 3, WITS 2050, SOUTH AFRICA**.**

RESEARCH IN LITERACIES

Please take time to fill in the following questionnaire:

1. PERSONAL DETAILS

Full names				
Gender	Male☐		Female☐	
Age group	Under 25☐	25 - 34☐	35 - 44☐	45 and over☐
What is your province/City/Town in the DR Congo?				
What is your highest level of education? (already reached)	Primary school☐	Secondary school☐	Technical college☐	University☐
	Other (specify)			
What is/are your home Language(s)?	French ☐	Lingala☐	Swahili☐	Chiluba☐	Kikongo☐
	Other (specify)			
In which Suburb/ Municipality/ Neighborhood/Area of Johannesburg do you live?				
What is the exact date/month/year when you arrived in South Africa?				
What is your occupation in Johannesburg?				

I enjoy my job	**Greatly**☐	**Very much**☐	**Not really**☐	**Not at all**☐
I communicate ____ with South Africans	**Excellently**☐	**Well**☐	**Fairly well**☐	**Poorly/unsuccessfully**☐
I need help with communication	**Not at all**☐	**Yes, I do**☐	**Only here and there**☐	**I need help badly**☐

2. LANGUAGE/COMMUNICATION RELATED LITERACIES MOST NEEDED/USED IN JOHANNESBURG

What language you speak/use in your life in Johannesburg?						
What local language(s) do you speak/use in Johannesburg?	English ☐	Afrikaans ☐	Sotho☐	isiZulu☐	Tswana☐	
	Other (specify):					
Local language difficulties (if any)?						
Local language spoken at work?						
General Reading	**Newspapers☐**	**Magazines ☐**	**Fiction novels☐**	**Posters ☐**		
	Books☐	**Other/specify/comments:**				
Reading of Signs/symbols	**Road signs☐**	**Technical signs☐**	**Popular gestures/body language☐**	**diagrams☐**		
	other☐	**Other/specify/comments:**				
Cultural literacies	**Local songs☐**	**Locals movies☐**	**Ceremonies/practices☐**	**Attires☐**		
	Stories☐	**Other/specify/comments:**				
Media	**Acting ☐**	**Photography ☐**	**Advertising ☐**	**Plays ☐**		
	Music ☐	**Other/Specify/comments:**				

Computer	**Typing** ☐	**Ms office** ☐	**PC for work** ☐	**PC for entertainment** ☐
	PC repair/ programming/assembling ☐	**Other/specify/comments:**		
Internet	**Sending/ receiving emails** ☐	**Surfing the net** ☐	**News on the net** ☐	**Games on the net** ☐
	General knowledge ☐	**Other/specify/comments:**		
Other literacies needed in Johannesburg	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**
	5	**Other/specify/comments:**		

3. SOUTH AFRICAN ENGLISH AND LOCAL LANGUAGES

3.1. Tick all applicable boxes below

Language[9]	Understand	Speak	Read	Write
English	☐	☐	☐	☐
Afrikaans	☐	☐	☐	☐
Zulu	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sotho	☐	☐	☐	☐
Tswana	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ndebele	☐	☐	☐	☐
Other	☐	☐	☐	☐

3.2. What help do you need to learn South African local languages? Specify

4. INTERNET LITERACIES

4.1. Do you ever use a personal computer?

4.1.1.If NO, why?

[9] This table only lists languages mentioned by respondents in the research

4.1.2. If YES, proceed with the next questions

4.2. What do you use a personal computer (PC) for?

4.2.1. Word processing ☐
4.2.2. Spreadsheets/ excel ☐
4.2.3. PowerPoint ☐
4.2.4. Access ☐
4.2.5. Receiving and sending e-mails ☐
4.2.6. Other ☐ (specify): I also used it for(use the space bellow)

4.3. What do you do on the internet?

4.3.1. Communication (i.e. e-mails only) ☐
4.3.2. Communication (i.e. Skype, Face book…) ☐
4.3.3. News and information ☐
4.3.4. General knowledge ☐
4.3.5. Specialist knowledge ☐ (specify):
4.3.6. Research ☐ (specify):
4.3.7. Entertainment ☐ (specify):
4.3.8. Games ☐ (specify):
4.3.9. Other ☐ (specify below)

4.4. Do you use the Internet for work? (describe the task and the programme used)

4.5. Has knowing how to use the Internet assisted you for your integration in Johannesburg? How?

4.6. What help do you need to learn/use the internet? Specify

5. FURTHER ANSWERS/COMMENTS:

5.1. Say in your own words what is/are the literacy/ies you <u>USE</u> the most in Johannesburg? How?

5.2. Say in your own words what is/are the literacy/ies you <u>NEED</u> the most in Johannesburg? How?

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