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Master Dissertation

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Jo Vearey, University of the Witwatersrand

Second Examiner: Prof. Dr. Widad Al-Rahman, Ahfad University for Women

## Master Dissertation

*Daily Stressors and the Psychosocial Well-Being of Forced Migrant  
Learners at the Three2Six Project – A Case Study of an Educational  
Intervention in Johannesburg, South Africa*

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**Katja Korhonen**

Ollilantie 20  
90440 Kempele  
Finland

E-Mail: [katja.korhonen90@gmail.com](mailto:katja.korhonen90@gmail.com)

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## Declaration of authenticity

I hereby declare that the dissertation submitted is my own and that all passages and ideas that are not mine have been fully and properly acknowledged. I am aware that I will fail the entire dissertation should I include passages and ideas from other sources and present them as if they were my own.

Name: Katja Korhonen

Date and Place: 30.6.2019, Johannesburg

Signature: 

# Abstract

South Africa has a large number of forced migrants residing in the country. Despite several initiatives aimed at providing equal access to education, the reality is that forced migrant children face significant challenges in accessing schools. While education can have positive impacts on children's psychosocial well-being there are various education related daily stressors that forced migrant learners face that can hinder these impacts. The daily stressors and psychosocial well-being of forced migrant learners in South Africa remain an under researched topic.

This study was set out to explore if an educational intervention – the Three2Six project – addresses the psychosocial well-being and daily stressors of forced migrant learners, and if so, how. The data consisted of secondary data, comprising fifteen questionnaires and nine interviews carried out with former Three2Six learners. An additional two interviews with project employees were conducted and the researcher's field notes were included in the study. Qualitative content analysis worked as the analysis method.

The study findings identified that forced migrant learners experience daily stressors during their time at the Three2Six project, as well as after their graduation from the project when enrolled in mainstream schools. The Three2Six project seems to address the daily stressors and psychosocial needs of forced migrant learners, which contributes to forced migrant learners' psychosocial well-being. Participant recommendations on how to improve the project to better respond to forced migrant learners' psychosocial needs were strongly connected to improved resource allocation.

This study indicates that the Three2Six project advocates for the psychosocial well-being of forced migrant learners, to the extent that the South African social structures enable. Furthermore, alternative actions to be taken are suggested, in order to facilitate the psychosocial well-being and daily stressors of forced migrant learners better.

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## List of Acronyms

CoRMSA	Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
ICRC	International Convention on the Rights of the Child
IOM	International Organization for Migration
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
RSA	Republic of South Africa
SDH	Social Determinants of Health
SSA	Statistics South Africa
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
WHO	World Health Organization

## Definition of Terms

Academic Cultural Dissonance	Differences between different academic cultures. Creese et al. (2011) describe academic cultural dissonance taking place when children and youth must adapt to a new culture, in order to fit in a school.
Acculturation	"Acculturation is proposed as a multidimensional process consisting of the confluence among heritage-cultural and receiving-cultural practices, values, and identifications" (Schwartz et al. 2010, 237).
Asylum Seeker	Someone waiting for the decision on the application for refugee status (IOM 2011, 12).
Daily Stressor	Stressful social and material conditions experienced on a daily basis, that further determine one's psychosocial well-being (El-Awad et al. 2017; Miller & Rasmussen 2016; Rasmussen et al. 2010; Schick et al. 2018; Vearey & Nunez 2011).
Forced Migrant Children	Forced migrants under 18 years old.
Forced Migrant Learners	Forced migrant children and youth who are enrolled in an education institution.
Forced Migrants	Refugees and asylum seekers threatened by natural or man-made causes in their home-regions, leading to involuntary reasons for migration, as well as those still waiting for the decision on their application for an asylum seeker permit (IOM 2011).
Immigrant	A migrant who has moved across international borders (IOM 2011, 49).
Migrant	A person who is moving or has moved from a country or region to another (IOM 2011, 61-62).
Psychosocial Well-being	A state of overall well-being, comprises of mental, physical, social and material dimensions (Minkinen 2013).
Refugee	"A person owing to a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinions, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself to the protection of the country." (IOM 2011, 79)
Social Determinants of Health	Well-being is determined socially, economically, demographically and/or geographically through

	social determinants, such as education and employment, that may be clustered among people in vulnerable positions (Ataguba 2015; Solar & Irwin 2010).
Structural Violence	State structures preventing citizens' equal access to well-being. The inequities of well-being are founded in weak governance that is unable to address the social determinants of health in its decision making. (Rautenback 2010; Solar & Irwin 2010.)
Xenophobia	The fear of the “other” that may result in violent expression against non-nationals, and may take place in individual, state and inter-state levels (Hopstock & de Jager 2011; Tella 2016, 156).

# 1. INTRODUCTION

The positive impact that education has on people's lives calls for equally accessible schooling (Thomas & Collier 1997, 13). Education supports gender empowerment (Mandal 2013), helps in fighting against poverty (Knight et al. 2010), improves economic growth (Kocourek & Nedomlelová 2018) and has been shown to assist in lowering levels of conflict (McCulloch & Brewis 2016). Inaccessible education represents a daily stressor for any child, thus it affects the psychosocial wellbeing of children (Fazel & Betancourt 2017, 2; Miller & Rasmussen 2009; Schick et al. 2018).

This study focuses on forced migrant learners, referring to refugees and asylum seekers, as well as those still waiting for the decision on their application for an asylum seeker permit, in South Africa. The word learners refers to children and youth enrolled in an educational institution. The term will be further detailed in *1.2 Forced Migrant Children*. Studies have shown how forced migrant learners perceive education as their main driver for their adaptation to the new host region (e.g. Perumal 2015). In the case of forced migrant learners, the Women's Refugee Commission (2011) lists four reasons why education is important. Firstly, education is a human right and secondly, it is a tool of protection - in the short term as well as in the long term. Thirdly, education assists in ensuring one's psychosocial needs are met. Fourthly, it promotes one's resilience as well as social and economic development through increasing human capital (see also: Global Education Monitoring Report 2018; Meda et al. 2012). With the latter being said, schools and education systems are obliged to meet the needs of diverse migrant learners with various immigration statuses, such as forced migrants (Pinson & Arnot 2010).

South Africa is associated with a large number of forced migrants, and since South Africa's democratic reconfiguration in 1994, forced migrants have arrived to South Africa from various African countries fleeing wars, drought and poverty (Hemson 2011). The South African government is obliged to provide education for all children - including forced migrant children - by several conventions (Baatjes et al. 2012). However, forced migrant children experience numerous challenges and barriers to access education. Many of these children are refused access to state schools due to bureaucracy, insufficient individual or state school resources, and language difficulties (Motha & Ramadiro 2005; Buckland 2011).

What is needed is an approach where the interplay of societal and educational structures and contexts are explored and their influence on learning is further studied (Nieto & Bode 2008, 44). Even though this interplay of education, social structures and well-being is acknowledged (Solar & Irwin 2010, Kanu 2008), the educational organization of forced migrant learners in South Africa, from the perspective of psychosocial well-being, remains under researched. However, forced migrant learners' educational experiences remain a rather under-researched topic (see Hemson 2011; Spreen & Vally 2012). The relevance of this study will be detailed in the following section.

### **1.1 Relevance**

Because forced migrants seem to face additional challenges that impact their psychosocial well-being (Due et al. 2015; Hajdukova et al. 2017), Schick et al. (2018) promote the need for interventions which prevent stressful material and social conditions. Such interventions can eventually contribute in the promotion of psychosocial well-being. Previous studies have acknowledged the potential of education to improve children's well-being (e.g. Fazel & Betancourt 2017, 2; Miller & Rasmussen 2009; Schick et al. 2018), and school based interventions have been found out to decrease learners' distress (e.g. Ruini et al. 2009). Forced migrant children are supposed to benefit from school-based interventions that support their psychosocial well-being and future success (Silove et al. 2017; Solar & Irwin 2010; Tyrer & Fazel 2014). With this being said, there is a justifiable demand for host-societies to support service providers to meet the needs of forced migrants, also outside the health-care or medical sectors (Ataguba et al. 2015; Schink et al. 2018).

The lack of goods and resources result largely from institutional inabilities to support the livelihood strategies of people - in other words, from structural violence (Chireshe 2010; see also Solar & Irwin 2010). Miller and Rasmussen (2016) emphasize the need to find out new forms of social support to improve the psychosocial well-being of forced migrants. The authors address the post-migration context and social structures having crucial roles in impending one's recovery from pre-migration trauma, which together with the experienced daily stressors affects one's psychosocial well-being. Solar & Irwin (2010) and

Ataguba et al. (2015) promote educational accessibility as a tool to overcome the social determinants of health that deteriorate one's well-being.

Unfortunately, South Africa sets an example of an educational institution where policies and laws do not meet the reality. Educational barriers persist and children remain unable to access education, especially in relation to their legal status (Global Education Monitoring Report 2018). Palmary (2009) criticizes the implementation of governmental policies that address education for remaining vague and neglecting the rights of migrant children in South Africa. Spreen and Vally (2012) emphasize the field of education and migration to benefit from a micro-level approach, where migrant students' experiences would form the scope for the research. However, hearing the voice of forced migrant children themselves has previously been neglected in the field of studies (Hemson 2011; Spreen & Vally 2012), and educational practices related to the psychosocial well-being of forced migrant learners as well as the educational paths of migrant children still remain under-researched topics.

This study will focus on the perceptions and experiences of forced migrant learners in South Africa, who have been outside the national education system. Their experiences of daily stressors and psychosocial well-being are studied. A case study approach focusing on an educational intervention called the Three2Six project has been chosen. Next, I will take a look at forced migrants and education in the context of South Africa, elaborating the case of forced migrant learners. I start by defining the concept of forced migrant children, moving on to the context of Johannesburg, South Africa, and lastly explain my personal connection to the topic.

## **1.2 Forced Migrant Children**

This study will use the term forced migrant learners, referring to forced migrant children and youth, who are enrolled in an educational institution. However, forced migrant children are referred to in the literature review and conceptual framework of this study, as the literature seems to use the stated term, often referring to both youth and children. I want to emphasize my intention is not to rethink this terminology, but to work on the best ways to articulate the relevant literature in my literature review and conceptual framework. Nevertheless, in order to engage with my research question, it is necessary to

focus on youth as well. Therefore the concept of forced migrant learners will be used further in the *research methodology* -chapter and in the *study findings and discussion* and *conclusions* -chapter.

International Organization for Migration (IOM, 2011) defines a migrant as an individual who is moving or has moved to another country or region. This is a general definition, enclosing migrants with different legal statuses and reasons for replacement, moving voluntarily, despite the length of stay. By immigrants I refer to migrants who have moved across international borders. This study uses the term forced migrants to refer to refugees and asylum seekers, as well as those still waiting for the decision on their application for an asylum seeker permit, in South Africa. A child refers to a person under 18 years old, since a person becomes legally an adult at the age of 18 in South Africa (Legal Aid South Africa 2016).

The Republic of South Africa (2019) states, “if you have fled your country of origin for fear of persecution, and you do not have legal documents such as a passport or visa, you must apply for an asylum seeker’s permit --. The asylum seeker’s permit is a temporary permit which you are given pending a decision on your application for refugee status or for asylum.” According to IOM (2011, 12; 79), an asylum seeker is someone waiting for the decision on the application for refugee status, whereas a refugee refers to a person who, “owing to a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinions, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country.”

Bringing these terms together, forced migration refers to migration that is caused by “threats to life and livelihood, arising from natural or man-made causes” (IOM 2011). Meda et al. (2012, 154) define forced migrants being mobile “involuntarily”, which leads to different levels of psychological and pragmatic post-migration unpreparedness. When enclosing forced migrants under such a term, there is a danger of mapping a too broad range of individuals with individual needs under one category (Turton 2003). As the definition of forced migrants in this study is not straight forward, referring to Turton (2003), one should bear in mind the complexity of all migration related decision making

processes, having elements from both compulsion and choices. The problematique of the term forced migrants will be discussed in the section *3.5 Limitations*.

Children are often framed as a vulnerable group. According to Lansdown (1994), children may be perceived as a vulnerable group in a society due to two reasons. Firstly, children are physically weak, and they may lack knowledge and experiences. However, this should not be generalized, as some children may have experienced far more than adults (see Catani et al. 2009; Clacherty 2019). Yu & Lieu (1986) promote forced migrants' actual feelings of vulnerability, consequenting from challenging pre-migration experiences, whereas Abubakar et al. (2018) note the stressful migration process itself should not be derogated. Secondly, Lansdown (1994) explains children being structurally vulnerable, as they do not have political or economic power, and their civil rights are minor. In other words, forced migrant children may be considered vulnerable due to their restricted political, economic, geographic and social status (see Solar & Irwin 2010). However, this framing should be problematised. Portraying children in such a way may understate their agency (Clacherty 2019). The narrative of vulnerable children might reduce the responsibility of the state to provide equal civil rights for all, as this portrayal seems to support the legacy of restricting the rights of children and silencing them. In this study, the children's vulnerability, resulting from state structures, is acknowledged (see *2.2 Structural Violence and Education in South Africa*). Nevertheless, forced migrant children's voices are heard and focused on, which might help to understand and overcome the state structures that enhance forced migrant children's vulnerability in a society.

Having defined what is meant by forced migrant children and learners, in the next section I will move on to discuss the context of South Africa and Johannesburg, followed by a review on my personal connection on the studied topic.

### **1.3 Context of Johannesburg, South Africa**

Le Roux (2000, 19) refers to South Africa as "a dynamic ethnic mosaic", where cultural and linguistic diversity is rich and ties human rights and language issues into the dominant national discourses. Internationally, the migration number rose to 258 million in 2017 (United Nations 2017). In South Africa, there are estimations referring to approximately 4

million foreign born people currently residing in the country (Maluleke 2018), whereas Statistics South Africa carried out a Community Survey in 2016, reporting an immigrant population of 1,6 million in the country, which of approximately 175 000 are stated to be children. Johannesburg is located in the Gauteng province, where the total population is roughly 13,4 million. Statistics South Africa (2016) has predicted a net immigration of 1,02 million between the years 2016 and 2021 to South Africa, which of 47,5% are estimated to settle in the Gauteng province.

In the end of year 2017, there were approximately 68,5 million forced migrants globally (UNHCR 2018). In 2015, UNHCR reportage (2016) detailed 121 645 refugees in South Africa. At the end of 2015, South Africa held 1 096 063 pending asylum cases, making the country the host for the biggest number of asylum-seekers (UNHCR 2016). Globally, more than half of the forced migrants are estimated to be under 18 years old (Global Education Monitoring Report 2018). Nevertheless, one must remember the problematique of giving such numbers, and Landau (2006) points out the problems in stating exact migration numbers in South Africa. Firstly, the borders of the provinces and the state are broad and secondly, the migrants seem to have a rational logic behind their effort to stay invisible: this way deportation and discrimination might be avoided.

Since people are continuously on the move, schools and education systems are obliged to meet the needs of diverse migrant students and accommodate the students equally (Global Education Monitoring Report 2018; Pinson & Arnot 2010). Nevertheless, South Africa is struggling with an unequal education system, where the reality of schooling is shaped by the student's geographic location, language, wealth and ethnic background (Spaull 2013).

In 2008, the Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa reported 35% of the school-aged cross-border migrant children not attending schools in the country<sup>1</sup>. In terms of numerous support service providers to access schools, cross-border migrants residing in Johannesburg are stated to have a relatively good situation in South Africa (Baatjes et al. 2012). However, Johannesburg is situated in the Gauteng province, which has the lowest rates of people over 5 years old attending educational institutions (SSA 2016), although

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<sup>1</sup> More recent data has not been found. Anecdotal reporting indicates this still being a considerable problem.

<sup>2</sup> The numbers of students, their grades and their ages have been inquired from a Three2Six

since 1994 the South African government policies have elaborated education. Xenophobia seems to find expression in the denial of the rights of refugees to access services such as education and health in South Africa. (Perumal 2015; CoRMSA 2008.) Xenophobia refers to the fear of the “other”, which can result in violent expression against non-nationals (Hopstock & de Jager 2011). Xenophobia is described as pervasive, taking place on an individual, state and inter-state level in South Africa, where extreme nationalism embodies the inter-state level (Tella 2016, 156).

Thinking about the realities forced migrant children face when settling in Johannesburg, one must note the urban environment and the intensity of immigration to the area; the Gauteng province is attracting the highest number of immigrants in South Africa (Landau 2009; Statistics South Africa 2018). Besides, South Africa has no refugee camps, following the proposal by the Refugee Act (1998). The absence of camps may have led to the deficiency of targeted social services for forced migrants (Landau 2006), arguably affecting forced migrant children’s and youth’s educational realities and well-being (see Greyling 2016; Palmary 2009; Portes & Rumbaut 1990). For instance, Golden (2016) addresses immigrant children’s access to social services being significantly lower than the South African citizens’.

Baatjes et al. (2012) note the South African government being obliged to provide education for all; including the forced migrant children from various backgrounds; by several conventions. These conventions include the Refugee Act No. 30 (1998), the International Convention on the Rights of the Child (ICRC), the Geneva Convention and the Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees - not to mention the policies by the Public School Policy Guide, the Constitution’s Bill of Rights or the South African Schools Act, set by the South African government itself. Nevertheless, immigrant children are facing multiple stressors related to education in the country - one of them being the inability to access government schools.

#### **1.4 Personal Connection to Research**

As the government is unable to work according to its conventions to provide education for all children, non-governmental acts have taken responsibility in South Africa. This study

has a case study design, focusing on the Three2Six project. The Three2Six project has been operating since 2008 and it offers forced migrant children, who are unable to access state schooling, access to education. This section will introduce the Three2Six project. Some of the information has not been available online (see Three2Six 2019), and in such cases the information has been gained in personal communication with a Three2Six teacher coordinator or from an electronic Three2Six database.

Forced migrant children are likely to benefit from school-based interventions, as those support their current and future well-being (Tyrer & Fazel 2014), and the Three2Six project operates at three schools in Johannesburg: Sacred Heart College, Observatory Girls Primary School and Holy Family College. Students currently enrolled are between 6 and 13 years old, studying in grade 1 to grade 6. Students are provided with lessons between 3pm and 6pm in Math, Life Orientation and English, and they are granted with school uniforms, transport and food. Teachers have refugee backgrounds themselves, and the project acknowledges their home-country qualifications. If necessary, additional teacher training is supported with. The project currently benefits 225 children, and since inception, over 600 children in total have been able to register at state schools with the help of the project. (see Three2Six 2019, <sup>2</sup>.)

Most of the project students are undocumented. One percent of all the learners enrolled in the project has an asylum seeker permit, which of only five percent will manage to gain a refugee status. However, all students enrolling in the project have applied for an asylum seeker permit. Talking about internal migrants, only one exception has been made, allowing a South African child with no immigrant parent to enrol in the project. The project coordinator emphasizes the project being targeted for cross-border migrants, so at least one parent needs to be an immigrant. <sup>3</sup>

The project is helping its students in the transition into government schools, and one of its main aims is to make this transition as quickly as possible. Besides aiming to bridge the educational gap between the learners at Three2Six and state schools, unlike schools the

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<sup>2</sup> The numbers of students, their grades and their ages have been inquired from a Three2Six teacher coordinator.

<sup>3</sup> Paragraph information gained in a personal communication with a Three2Six teacher coordinator.

Three2Six project assists its students in the process of accessing state schools. However, the provided help is not a mandate, but more of a voluntary initiative by the project employees, done for the sake of the children. As addressed in a study by Ntsepo (2016), one of the most pervasive challenges to access schools is the lack of adequate information or the limited accessibility of it.

Ideally, when a child enrolls in the Three2Six project, as little time as possible should be spent in the project. However, students often seem to stay in the project until they graduate from it on the highest grade their Three2Six campus provides. During the time of enrolment, the student acquires the necessary knowledge and skills for entering a school, and in the meantime, the parents are supposed to work on the required documentation for their children to access schools, which the project staff in some cases assists with. The project coordinators can help in finding these children school placements, even though it is not written in their job description.<sup>4</sup>

I carried out an internship at the Three2Six project from September until December 2018. As a part of my internship, I implemented an internal evaluation of the project. This evaluation focused on previous Three2Six students' academic paths and the project's contribution on those paths, as well as previous students' perceptions regarding the project. It occurred this educational intervention seems to relate to its learners' daily stressors and well-being. The findings of the internal evaluation, that this study builds on, will be deliberated at the end of the *Literature Review and Conceptual Framework*-chapter (2.8 *Building on the Internal Evaluation*).

The following part of this paper moves on to describe the literature review and conceptual framework of this study in greater detail, starting from looking into the social determinants of health and reflecting on the structural violence and education in South Africa. After, psychosocial well-being, psychosocial needs and daily stressors are explored, discussing these terms from the perspective of forced migrant children. Following this, education is brought to the nexus of forced migrant children, daily stressors and

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<sup>4</sup> Paragraph information gained in a personal communication with a Three2Six teacher coordinator and from the project database.

psychosocial well-being. The chapter will be finished with a look into the previously realised internal evaluation of the Three2Six project.

## **2. LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK**

The terms “well-being” and “health” seem to be used interchangeably in the field of health and migration studies. In this report I will use the term “well-being”, and focus on the psychosocial aspects of well-being. Psychosocial refers to overall well-being, and the mental, material and social dimensions (see Minkkinen 2013) will be elaborated on in this study. In the following pages I will present the theoretical framework of this study. I start by exploring the social determinants of health, and move on to deliberate education in relation to structural violence in South Africa. I then discuss the concept of psychosocial well-being, resulting in an operationalization of the concept for this study. Following that I deliberate the psychosocial needs and daily stressors from the perspective of forced migrant children. Having explored the latter, education, daily stressors and psychosocial well-being will be discussed concurrently. Lastly, I bridge the internal evaluation of the Three2Six project with this study.

### **2.1 A look into Social Determinants of Health**

Equal access to health and social services can be beneficial for societies at large. Abubakar et al. (2018, 2622) state that “safeguarding the health of migrants is noted to have positive effects for global well-being”. However, people do not have equal access to good healthcare or social services. The inequities in well-being are mainly founded on structural determinants, stemming from weak governance and governments being unable to address social determinants of health in their decision making (Solar & Irwin 2010). In this section I briefly take a look at the social determinants of health (SDH), moving on to discuss structural violence. Perspectives of forced migrant children and education in South Africa are then elaborated on.

According to the social determinants of health, well-being is a social phenomenon. South Africa sets an example of large health disparities that stem from the social determinants of health, and these determinants may be listed as income and poverty, knowledge and education, housing and infrastructure, community and infrastructure, social protection and

employment, and gender norms (Ataguba et al. 2015). Community and infrastructure include factors such as safety and waste management by local authorities, whereas housing and infrastructure refer to good sanitation and electricity, for instance. To give an example of knowledge and education, the level of completed education represents a determinant for health. The most significant determinants of unequal health in South Africa are listed as social protection and employment, education, and housing and community. (Ataguba et al. 2015.) Considering these points, a conceptual framework of social determinants of health, by Solar & Irwin in a publication for World Health Organization (2010), was composed. The aim of the conceptual framework is to help reduce well-being inequities between population groups that are defined socially, economically, demographically or geographically. The authors emphasize the importance of addressing contextual aspects, such as education, when analyzing the social determinants' impacts on well-being (Solar & Irwin 2010; 34, 62).

The social determinants of health -framework policy objectives suggest to work for a more equal and accessible education system, in order to mitigate health deteriorating factors, and the objectives promote the intermediary effects of institutional accessibility in general for one's well-being (Solar & Irwin 2010). Thus, the state is responsible for facilitating access to services. As education is a social determinant of health, besides its short and long term influence on well-being, it is also a continuous well-being variable that reflects material, intellectual and other resources (Solar & Irwin 2010, 31).

Focusing on forced migrant learners, I want to elaborate on the vulnerable state of forced migrant children (see also *1.2 Forced Migrant Children*). Abubakar et al. (2018, 2618) point out the toxic influences of social exclusion and discrimination that are present at all stages of migration processes: "migration related discrimination is a profound determinant of health, especially mental health and social well-being". Accordingly, many of the determinants are clustered among people in vulnerable positions, such as forced migrant children. UNICEF (2010) stresses that migrant children suffer from their invisibility in societies, and that policies and laws often lack effective and comprehensive procedures to be carried out, resulting in discrimination, dearth of rights and exploitation of forced migrant children.

Building on the social determinants of health, it may be argued that well-being is a complex social phenomenon to define as it represents a consequence of multiple social determinants and state structures. Moreover, well-being itself influences the social determinants of health and their effectiveness, resulting in a two way circle. (Solar & Irwin 2010.) It may be concluded that the social determinants of health are interconnected and should always be explored in their contexts. All in all, from the perspective of the social determinants of health, it seems vital to address education as a social determinant of health to understand the well-being of forced migrant children better. Next, I will review the reality of forced migrant children's education in South Africa as a representation of structural violence.

## **2.2 Structural Violence and Education in South Africa**

The Global Education Monitoring Report (2018) states that education is moving towards all-inclusive national systems globally. This is supported by the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (2000, 12) who note that "all migrants are entitled to equal access to preventive, curative and palliative health care and rights to the underlying social, political, economic, and cultural determinants of physical and mental health." The Global Education Monitoring Report (2018) generally places an emphasis on education having an impact on children's intellectual and cognitive development, which determine their well-being (see Erikson et al. 1959). Furthermore, Yule (2002) argues that community level well-being enhancement is a consequence of improvement in areas such as education. These studies support the notion that education should be a priority for governance and policy-actions because national education systems affect politics and governance (Chisholm 2005). Structural violence refers to state structures which prevent citizens from having equal access to well-being. As stated previously, the inequalities of well-being may be founded on governance that is unable to address the social determinants of health in its decision making. (Rautenback 2010; Solar & Irwin 2010.)

There is a disparity in South Africa between the policies relating to education, and the educational system. For example, the South African Constitution (section 29(1)), states that all children have the right to basic education. However, educational barriers persist and children remain unable to access education, especially in relation to their legal status.

School administrators seem to justify the inaccessibility of education by nonexistent laws requiring perfect documentation of a child (Global Education Monitoring Report 2018). The education system is only partially open and inclusive and is considered as highly discriminative on different socio-economical backgrounds, thus there are considerable differences between South African regions (SSA 2016; South African Schools Act No. 84 of 1996). All children between 7 and 15 years old should be enrolled in schools, yet 57 000 children were not enrolled in 2014 (Republic of South Africa 2016). However, the latest data shows an increase in the country's literacy rates: the adult literacy rate is 79,3%, whereas the youth literacy rate is 93,9% (SSA 2016).

Talking about forced migrant children, the Immigration Act 13 of 2002 (section 39) embodies immigrants' inaccessible education, as it gives room for educational institutions not to provide training or instruction to "illegal foreigners". Furthermore, principals letting "illegal foreigners" enrol in their schools may be charged, justified by the Act. In other words, a child's migration status works as a starting point for the school enrolment process in South Africa, predetermining the steps to be completed before enrolment. The lack of adequate information is affecting the resettlement process, often leaving the school processes and legal processes related to education unfamiliar for forced migrants. Furthermore, forced migrant families are often exploited by schools and other officials, in terms of concealing information and providing false information on necessary documents. (Ntsepo 2016.) As noted earlier, it may be supposed that the absence of targeted social services for forced migrants affects the educational reality of forced migrant children and youth in South Africa (see Portes & Rumbaut 1990).

Nevertheless, the biggest obstacle for forced migrant children's schooling in South Africa relates to documentation. Documents from home countries are hard to obtain, and permits issued by the department of Home Affairs may take a long time to acquire. The process might also get expensive, as people are obliged to transport themselves into named Home Affairs centres and might have to bribe officials. (Ntsepo 2016; CoRMSA 2008.) In order to enrol in a state school in Gauteng province, the following documents are required: the child's birth certificate from the home country, both parents IDs issued by the department of Home Affairs, a proof of residential address, and the latest report from school or from

the Three2Six project<sup>5</sup>. Lastly, children from grade R up to grade 3 have to provide schools with immunisation cards. In the case of forced migrant children, if the child is admitted an asylum seeker permit or a refugee status, the child is supposed to get access to education under the permitted status. (Gauteng Department of Education 2019.) Moreover, timing may be insufficient as many children move to South Africa at odd times during the year and miss the deadline for registration at state schools. Xenophobia takes place, individual and state school resources are scarce, and immigrant students' language skills might be limited to study in mainstream schools. (Motha & Ramadiro 2005; Buckland 2011.)

Why does this kind of structural violence occur in the first place? Societies may perceive migrants as a problem, and as an unfortunate solution, policies promoting the exclusion of diversity are carried out (Cummins 2000). Kymlicka (2012) refers to this as desecuritization of ethnic relations, where immigrants are seen as a threat for the state security, affecting the multiculturalist existence of a society. When the native population is afraid for the loss of its own educational status, the outcome may result in educational exclusion of immigrants. These exclusive policies are created in certain political-institutional frameworks that reason unequal educational systems between minority and majority populations, also referred to when discussing the social determinants of health (Schlicht-Schmälzle & Möller 2012; 1051, 1060).

To note, the barriers of forced migrant children's schooling are also a consequence of inadequate funding. Only one third of the necessary funding for the education of forced migrant learners is currently covered globally, and so the resources remain insufficient for accessible and inclusive schooling. (Global Education Monitoring Report 2018; see also Rossiter et al. 2015.) Kanu (2008) points out insufficient resources for education being an impairment for relevant agencies to provide necessary services for forced migrant children.

As stated before, forced migrants are facing multiple barriers to access education in South Africa. These barriers are reflections of an unequal education system; a consequence of weak implementation of policies and laws. The unequal education system embodies

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<sup>5</sup> Information regarding the Three2Six report gained in a personal communication with a Three2Six teacher coordinator.

structural violence, resulting from the government being unable to efficiently address social determinants of health in its decision making. In the case of forced migrant learners, their ethnicity as well as social class interacts with their educational paths, as South African education struggles with the above introduced obstacles; from xenophobic attitudes to complex documentation requirements (see: Buckland 2011; Motha & Ramadiro 2005; Perumal 2015).

When denying the educational right of children, the state is not taking full responsibility to accommodate all citizens' rights equally. For instance, the state refuses to do its best in supporting integration and preventing conflict. The social integration of an immigrant is heavily influenced by the relationship between his/her educational achievements and his/her migrant background. (Schlicht-Schmälzle & Möller 2012, 1045.) Yet, social conflicts are best prevented when giving all immigrants full rights in the host society – including the right to education (Castles 1995, 307). Looking at the context of Johannesburg, South Africa, and the intersection of laws, policies, human rights, constitution and reality, there is a call for non-governmental actors to take a stand fighting structural violence – to provide education for all children, and so to support general well-being.

As South African governance seems to fail in ensuring access to positive determinants for all, there is a call for policy actions targeted at disadvantaged groups. Intersectoral policy approaches seem necessary to demolish the structural determinants as barriers of well-being. According to Silove et al. (2017, 137), “- - the reality is that, in these contexts, no single agency can provide for all the inter-related psychosocial needs of refugees.” In such circumstances, effective interventions for enhancing well-being such as free education, improved resource allocation, programs promoting school accessibility, and support for social networks formulation are universally proposed (Silove et al. 2017; Solar & Irwin 2010, 62). In this study I focus on the education related factors, as the various education related stressors cumulate with psychosocial well-being (see Fegert et al. 2018; Kanu 2008).

The Constitution of South Africa stands for diversity. Unfortunately, it may be argued efficient legislation has failed to ensure the ideals and aspirations of the South African Constitution to be executed, and implementation of policies has failed to realise equality

and human dignity for all (Rautenbach 2010, 174). There seems to be a need for interventions advocating for accessible and equal education in South Africa, such as the Three2Six project. Such interventions do not only benefit the children's rights, but can possibly contribute to forced migrant children's general well-being. The next section will define the concept of psychosocial well-being, operationalizing it for this study.

### **2.3 Psychosocial Well-Being**

According to the World Health Organization (1946), "health is a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity", having the "enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of health". It seems in the study field of health and migration, the concepts of mental health, psychosocial health and psychosocial well-being are used interchangeably. This study will use the term well-being instead of health, in order to exclude a clinical-medical approach that emphasizes physical health.

The term psychosocial well-being has been in a continuous reformation, and different authors have operationalized it in various ways. Before moving on to operationalizing the term for this study, a few pioneer scholars on the field will be introduced. Starting with Diener (1984), who addresses terms such as happiness, satisfaction, morale and positive affect having been used interchangeably with well-being. In his pioneer work on overviewing measurement, causal factors, and theory of subjective well-being, Diener (1984) names diverse factors influencing the level of one's well-being. These factors include biological influences, personality, income and other demographic variables, for instance. On the note of subjective well-being, the meaning of satisfying relationships - in other words social support - is stated to contribute to overall well-being in complex ways (Barrera et al. 1981; Siedlecki et al. 2013).

Psychosocial has formerly been understood as ways of psychological human development, taking place in interaction with the social environment (Erikson 1950). Furthermore, the work by Erik Erikson on psychosocial development stages (see Erikson et al. 1959; Erikson 1968) is widely acknowledged on the field. Erikson et al. (1959) addressed psychosocial development taking place on different stages of life, based on one's age. For example, childhood psychosocial development is stated to be heavily influenced by the child's peer-

groups, that further affect his/her self-esteem and behavior, and socially competent children are respected. At the stage of adolescence, feelings of independence influence one's identity formation, and the person starts to assess his/her feelings of belonging in a community and society more critically (Erikson 1968). Erikson et al. (1959) state how healthy psychosocial development takes place when all stages – including the two introduced above - are successfully completed.

In addition, the bio-ecological theory of Bronfenbrenner (2005) describes human development as a consequence of interaction between one's intrapersonal characteristics; such as cognitive and emotional features; and environmental systems. He describes how the individual operates in different environmental systems that also operate in relation to each other. These environmental systems relate to structural determinants of health, such as access to education and housing (see Ataguba et al. 2015; Solar & Irwin 2010). According to Bronfenbrenner (2005), psychosocial development is rooted in the individual, and the following environmental systems affect the individual's development:

1. *The micro-system* (where the individual interacts directly, e.g. with family, school, friends).
2. *The meso-system* (where two or more micro-systems interact, e.g. friends and school).
3. *The exo-system* (influences an individual's behavior and development, even though the individual is not directly involved in this level, e.g. school policies).
4. *The macro-system* (furthest from the individual; where e.g. institutions, cultural ideologies and governance in terms of laws and policies take place).

Depending on the individual, receptivity and response to diverse environmental systems change. With this being said, Bronfenbrenner (2005) describes learning as an intercourse of the active individual and the immediate environment, and learners should be viewed holistically within different social contexts. In addition, the bio-ecological theory establishes the concept of “significant others” for individual development, referring to significant relationships (see also Bronfenbrenner 1979). The bio-ecological model may provide important insights when considering the intersection of social structures, education and psychosocial well-being of forced migrant learners in South Africa.

In this study, I will utilize the definition of psychosocial well-being by Minkkinen (2013). The author defines psychosocial well-being as a good state in the individual's material, mental, physical and social dimensions. By using the term psychosocial, I want to emphasize the focus being on overall well-being. This study elaborates the mental, material and social dimensions of psychosocial well-being. Nevertheless, it is acknowledged that these three dimensions are connected with the physical well-being, which is not emphasized in this study (see Minkkinen 2013). As my approach is not psychological, the dimensions of mental and social will not be decentralized into more specific domains. However, the material, mental and social dimensions will be explained, to ensure that the concept of psychosocial well-being is mutually understood as operationalized for this study. I will also take a look at the physical dimension, to respect Minkkinen's (2013) definition of psychosocial well-being.

Physical well-being "comprises health, the absence of disease, and proper physical functionality" (Minkkinen 2013, 4). As I have explained above, my target is not to have a clinical-medical approach, and therefore physical health or physical well-being are not elaborated in this study.

Applying the definition of the same author (Minkkinen 2013, 5), material well-being indicates a "positive material situation in life", meaning available material resources for a certain standard of life in a child's living environment. For example, food and shelter are prerequisites for material well-being.

By mental well-being I refer to a positive mental situation that builds from emotional and cognitive well-being. When talking about a child's mental well-being, the child's own perceptions of personal happiness and life satisfaction are emphasized, and the past, present and future are interconnected. (Minkkinen 2013.) Additionally, social well-being refers to a positive situation a person has with the people in his/her life – in this case a child has with the parents, friends, caregivers and teachers, for instance. The child's ability to create relationships and to have social competence are addressed as preconditions for social well-being. Moreover, social activity and child interaction form a bidirectional dependence. (Minkkinen 2013.)

This section operationalized the concept of psychosocial well-being for this study. The definition of child well-being by Minkkinen (2013) was emphasized, and the material, mental and social domains of psychosocial well-being were elaborated accordingly. In the next section I will move on to deliberate psychosocial needs and the concept of daily stressors.

## **2.4 Daily Stressors and Psychosocial Needs**

As outlined previously, this study focuses on the psychosocial well-being of forced migrant learners, referring to children and youth. Influencing their psychosocial well-being, daily stressors take place. Daily stressors may be defined as challenging social and material conditions, and they seem to be at least as effective determinants of psychosocial well-being of forced migrants as the pre-migration stressors (El-Awad et al. 2017; Miller & Rasmussen 2016; Rasmussen et al. 2010; Schick et al. 2018; Vearey & Nunez 2011). The psychosocial well-being of forced migrants is understood to be determined by the pre-migration (traumatic) stressors and post-migration daily stressors that interact with each other, simultaneously determining one's psychosocial well-being (Fazel & Betancourt 2017, 2; Miller & Rasmussen 2009; Schick et al. 2018). Nonetheless, the stressors taking place during the migration phase should not be underestimated (see Abubakar et al. 2018; Miller & Rasmussen 2009; Schick et al. 2018).

In a study by Nakeyar, Esses and Reid (2017), the psychosocial needs of forced migrant children and youth were identified, as well as the best practices to meet the needs. The four themes regarding the psychosocial needs of forced migrant children and youth are: social support, security, culture, and education. Furthermore, social support was identified to have three sub-themes (community, family, friends) and security to have two sub-themes (asylum status, discrimination) (Nakeyar et al. 2017). Even though the study was carried out focusing on the resettlement of forced migrants in a Western context, the identified needs of forced migrant children and youth seem transferrable to other regions too. The discovered psychosocial needs -themes overlap with the literature addressed previously (see Bronfenbrenner 2005; Diener 1984; Erikson et al. 1959; Erikson 1968; Minkkinen 2013).

This study focuses on the post-migration daily stressors that further influence the forced migrant learners' social, mental and material needs, and their psychosocial well-being. On one hand, the psychosocial needs are influenced by experienced daily stressors, and on the other, the psychosocial needs affect how the daily stressors are experienced. In this study, psychosocial well-being is determined through one's psychosocial needs and daily stressors. The psychosocial needs are interconnected, as are the daily stressors. Even though physical needs are not elaborated, this domain's interconnectedness with the mental, social and material needs must be remembered. Figure 1 represents the interconnectedness of the determinants; psychosocial needs and daily stressors; of psychosocial well-being of forced migrant learners, as operationalized for this study, following the definition of child well-being by Minkkinen (2013):

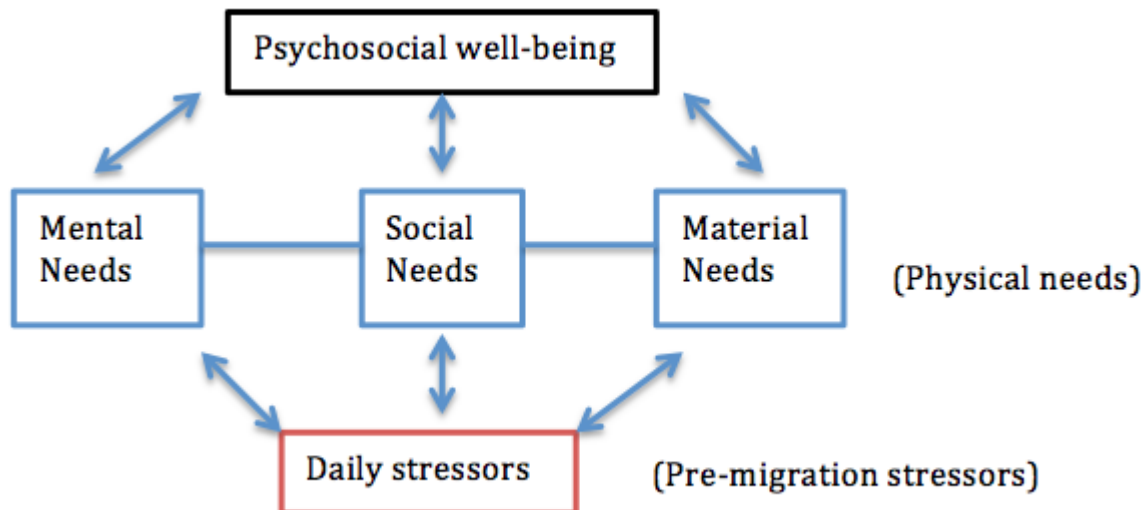


FIGURE 1. *The connection between the daily stressors, psychosocial needs and psychosocial well-being of forced migrant learners, drawing on Minkkinen (2013) (see also Miller & Rasmussen 2009; Murray 2019; Schick et al. 2018).*

The following section moves on to describe the forced migrant children's psychosocial well-being in greater detail, followed by a more detailed exploration into forced migrant children's daily stressors. Education is then brought into the nexus of psychosocial well-being and daily stressors, elaborating the perspective of forced migrant children.

## **2.5 Forced Migrant Children's Psychosocial Well-Being**

The UNHCR (1996, 4) has stated that “children have special physical, psychological and social needs that must be met for them to grow and develop normally”. In terms of forced migrant children, the definitions of well-being are lacking the discovery of the forced migrant children's own experiences (Due et al. 2015). Hajdukova et al. (2017) join in promoting the necessity of hearing the forced migrant children and youth when defining their well-being, and remind about the continuous change of well-being resulting from changing individual and social contexts (see also Taylor & Sidhu 2012). With this being said, this section discusses children's well-being, elaborating forced migrant perspectives.

In a study on children's own conceptualization of well-being, themes such as positive experiences, feeling safe and secure, positive feelings regarding yourself, positive physical environment, material resources, and agency were promoted (Fattore et al. 2006; see also Diener 1984). Additionally, children have promoted the school contexts impacting their well-being. Educational opportunities are connected with well-being, as education relates to better utilization of personal chances by enhancing one's future prosperity, for instance. Talking about well-being factors in schools, sharing religion, language and culture is found to contribute to students' well-being. (Due et al. 2015; Hajdukova et al. 2017; see also Diener 1984.)

Children's well-being is also affected by their families. Very often those children who are forcibly displaced live in families with accumulated stress from previous experiences, or their families have poor coping capabilities. Children may adapt these deficient coping manners and simultaneously lack a supportive family environment, both indicating risks for poorer well-being. (Ajdukovic & Ajdukovic 1998.) Moreover, Betancourt et al. (2015) detail how in the case of forced migrant families, often long working hours do not leave enough time for parents to emotionally support their children appropriately. Practical connections in the new host-regions are identified necessary in terms of forced migrant families' resettlement and the children's well-being (Shallow & Whittington 2014).

As children go through adolescence, the social determinants of health, such as education and employment (see Ataguba et al. 2015; Solar & Irwin 2010) impact their lives even

more directly than in childhood, as the role of families is diminished. Forced migrant adolescents, in turn, are more sensitive to stigma and social exclusion, causing emotional distress and anxiety. It seems that youth find material resources, such as money, meaningful for their well-being, because money is connected to advanced educational opportunities for instance. (Abubakar et al. 2018; Hajdukova et al. 2017; see also Erikson et al. 1959.)

The psychosocial needs of forced migrant children fall under the social, mental and material dimensions of psychosocial well-being (Minkkinen 2013). When translating the conceptualization of children's psychosocial well-being into psychosocial needs, many of the needs seem to be related to positive experiences: need to feel safe and secure, to feel positive about yourself, to have a positive physical environment, to have material resources, and to feel a sense of belonging and inclusion. In terms of a school context, it seems that forced migrant children would benefit from experiencing educational opportunities that reflect future prosperity; in addition, experiences of shared religion, language and culture would be beneficial (Due et al. 2015; Hajdukova et al. 2017). Moreover, the family influences the psychosocial needs and well-being of forced migrant children (Ajdukovic & Ajdukovic 1998; Betancourt et al. 2015; Kanu 2008; Shallow & Whittington 2014). Recognition of these needs support in addressing forced migrant children's psychosocial well-being (Murray 2019). As stated earlier, the levels of these needs are connected to experienced daily stressors. Next, the daily stressors are discussed from the perspective of forced migrant children.

## **2.6 Forced Migrant Children and Daily Stressors**

Forced migrant children face additional challenges impacting not only their schooling, but also their well-being (Due et al. 2015; Hajdukova et al. 2017). One way to look at these challenges is to address the daily stressors forced migrant children experience, as briefly stated in *2.4 Daily Stressors and Psychosocial Needs*. Abubakar et al. (2018) emphasize childhood as being a sensitive phase in terms of migration-related stressors and their impact for later life well-being. Luckily, children seem to adapt well into new environments, especially when education is promoted and supportive, stable and caring

relationships are established (Abubakar et al. 2018). This section looks into the daily stressors forced migrant children experience.

Rutter (1999) promotes the necessity to identify and distinguish “risk indicators”, such as forced migration and state structures, and “risk mechanisms”, such as exclusion and isolation, when talking about psychosocial well-being. In this study, these “risk mechanisms” are defined as daily stressors, and the “risk indicators” are founded in the structures of the society (see section 2.2 *Structural Violence and Education in South Africa*). Furthermore, Rutter (1999) defines resilience as relative resistance to these psychosocial “risks” – daily stressors. According to the author, it all comes down to an individual temper, which together with success on an area, such as academic achievement, lifts one’s self-esteem and self-efficacy. He states that positive opportunities are key to breaking someone’s circle of negative events.

In the case of forced migrants, the commonly experienced daily stressors are listed as social marginalization, isolation, discrimination, material shortages, language barriers and changes in family structures in the new host-country (Miller & Rasmussen 2016; Schick et al. 2018; Vearey & Nunez 2011). In addition, Burns (2011) uses the term “real life factors”, referring to stressors such as illiteracy, war and displacement, social exclusion, and ethnic discrimination. Looking at the daily stressors forced migrant children may face, it is inevitable that they are connected with psychosocial well-being.

Concluding this section, the daily stressors forced migrant children experience influence their psychosocial well-being, and their psychosocial well-being may be promoted through addressing forced migrant children’s psychosocial needs (El-Awad et al. 2017; Miller & Rasmussen 2016; Murray 2019; Rasmussen et al. 2010; Schick et al. 2018; Vearey & Nunez 2011). As education has already been promoted as a factor positively impacting children’s and adolescents’ psychosocial well-being (e.g. Abubakar et al. 2018; Ataguba et al. 2015; Hajdukova et al. 2017), the following section explores education in more detail, and also in relation to daily stressors.

## **2.7 Education Related Daily Stressors**

As pointed out earlier, education is a determinant for a child's current and future well-being (e.g. Ataguba et al. 2015; Minkkinen 2013; Nakyear et al. 2017; Solar & Irwin 2010) and it assists in ensuring that one's psychosocial needs and psychosocial rights are met (Meda et al. 2012, 153; UNHCR 2016). However, pre-migration conflicts, such as war, challenge one's social and educational realities and influence one's psychosocial needs and well-being in complex ways. As acknowledged before, these pre-migration stressors interact with the experienced daily stressors, influencing forced migrants' psychosocial well-being. (Miller & Rasmussen 2009; Schick et al. 2018.) Focusing on post-migration, previous research promotes schools as potential contexts to advocate for forced migrants' psychosocial well-being in diverse ways (e.g. Abubakar et al. 2018; Due et al. 2015). This section discusses education in relation to the daily stressors forced migrant children experience.

The daily stressors forced migrant children experience are simultaneously influenced by educational contexts that in the worst cases lack cultural sensitivity and freedom from discrimination (Meda et al. 2012, 155-156; see also Buckland 2011). The educational challenges forced migrant learners experience may be divided into psychosocial, academic and economic challenges (Kanu 2008). By psychosocial, Kanu (2008) refers to experiences of continuous stress caused by isolation, exclusion and loneliness, further affecting the individual's sense of self and safety. Moreover, the author details the psychosocial stress possibly originating from an acculturation process of a family, as has been noted earlier in this study. By acculturation I refer to a definition by Schwartz et al. (2010, 237); "acculturation is proposed as a multidimensional process consisting of the confluence among heritage-cultural and receiving-cultural practices, values, and identifications"; and I adapt the authors' recognition of a personal acculturation process influencing one's psychosocial well-being.

The academic challenges include academic cultural dissonance, acculturation stress, limited language proficiency, and academic gaps, as well as separation from family, lack of academic support at home, fast-paced curriculum, fear of teachers or of speaking in class, and unsuitable grade placement based on one's age and language assessment rather than

one's academic skills (Kanu 2008). In addition, academic challenges such as unsuitable schooling materials, incompetent teachers, hardship in adapting to a new school environment and finding peers (Abubakar et al. 2018; Fazel & Stein 2002) may decrease a child's well-being, and may be included to the academic challenges, defined by Kanu (2008). To introduce the concept of academic cultural dissonance, it may be classified on the basis of differences in the academic culture of a mainstream school and the ThreeSix project. Creese et al. (2011) describe academic cultural dissonance as taking place when children and youth must adapt to a new culture, in order to fit in a school.

Talking about economic challenges, Kanu (2008, 929) notes that a "lack of economic resources available to the forced migrant students and their families posed a severe challenge for social integration and educational success for the students." The author explains that when the experienced challenges, psychosocial, academic and/or material, are combined with continuous experiences of marginalization and discrimination in schools, negative feelings such as inadequacy and frustration, even leading to dropping out from schools, may be expected.

### **2.7.1 Educational Contexts in Addressing Psychosocial Well-being**

As may be concluded, educational contexts have the potential to advocate for the psychosocial well-being of forced migrant children by addressing their psychosocial needs and daily stressors, for instance. This may take place through competent teachers, for instance (Hek 2005; Murray 2019). Hek (2005) points out that academic achievement and resettlement of forced migrant learners are facilitated by competent teachers, that in the best case have similar cultural backgrounds with the forced migrant learners. The author explains that teachers' attitudes towards forced migrants has an influence on the learners' goal setting and ambition. Ryan and Patrick (2001) found out that immigrant students' relationships with teachers, as well as with peers at schools, are significant in the transition phases of schooling because good relationships were found to increase motivation and school engagement. Engagement is important because schooling creates a baseline for social and emotional development, not to forget integration (Werner & Smith 1982).

In terms of hardship in adapting to a new school environment, Hek (2005) promotes the importance of creating a culturally sensitive school climate, noting that this can be achieved by implementing effective school policies which promote awareness of school staff and students forced migration related experiences. Hek (2005) argues that this kind of sensitive school climate can prevent xenophobia-related behavior, such as discrimination and bullying.

Rutter (1999) emphasizes the importance of positive opportunities in overcoming negative psychosocial stressors. Schools have potential to address the psychosocial needs of children by offering such opportunities, as opportunities are generally embodied in social contexts (see e.g. Abubakar et al. 2018; Due et al. 2015; Hajdukova et al. 2017). Supportively, Meda et al. (2012) address educational opportunities to promote one's self-trust as well as social and economic development.

Furthermore, educational initiatives seem to have a positive impact on forced migrant learners' psychosocial well-being. To give an example, Murray (2019) suggests that educators have the potential to recognize the psychosocial needs of forced migrant learners and to facilitate the needs by working on effective interventions in favor of resilience, promoting a sense of community, and providing a sensitive schooling environment. These so called non-specific interventions for well-being are stated to help in creating a sense of safety and promoting future perspectives and possibilities of a child, and to relieve post-trauma stress (Barenbaum et al. 2004). Due et al. (2015) found that forced migrant and immigrant students' well-being increased during an educational intervention phase, yet decreased during the first year of mainstream schooling. Interventions focusing on social conditions, such as education, are advocated to promote forced migrants' psychosocial well-being comprehensively (Silove et al. 2017). To reach all educational potential in practice, implementations providing educational opportunities fostering peer-relationships and increasing teacher-student engagement are endorsed (Fazel & Betancourt 2017, 4). Due et al. (2015) emphasize that such interventions are necessary for supporting students in the transition phase to mainstream schooling and advocate for the well-being of forced migrant learners by reducing daily stressors.

This section discussed education from the perspective of forced migrant learners' psychosocial well-being and needs, as well as the daily stressors forced migrant learners potentially experience. Nevertheless, because there is a lack of research into the opinions of forced migrant children and youth in resettlement countries, problematic consequences may be expected. The educational contexts remain unaware of forced migrant children's pre-migration and post-migration challenges, such as language, dislocation, discrimination and adaptation. (Taylor & Sidhu 2012.) It has been conferred that education has potential to address forced migrant children's psychosocial well-being and daily stressors. Nonetheless, one must remember the non-education related psychosocial needs and daily stressors influencing forced migrant children's psychosocial well-being. Next, I introduce the findings from an internal evaluation, carried out in late 2018, and how it has worked as a baseline for this study.

## **2.8 Building on the Internal Evaluation**

The Three2Six project was introduced earlier, and the core objectives of the Three2Six project are listed as follows:

1. *To provide safe, quality education to primary school refugee children who cannot access public education.*
2. *To build the children's resilience and prepare them to leave the project and enter the mainstream schools.*
3. *To provide employment and professional development for refugee teachers.*
4. *To advocate for the rights of refugee children.*

As indicated in the *Introduction*-chapter (see *1.4 Personal Connection to Research*), the internal evaluation demonstrates previous Three2Six students' academic paths and the project's contribution on those paths, as well as previous students' perceptions regarding the project. The core objectives of the Three2Six project set the baseline for the internal evaluation, elaborating the second one: *to build the children's resilience and prepare them to leave the project and enter the mainstream schools*. Five main conclusions were done:

1. Students have relatively high grades when leaving the project, and they seem to maintain their academic performance level in schools in Math, English and Life Orientation.

2. Three2Six adults are perceived caring and supportive.
3. Three2Six is perceived as a safe space.
4. The transition from the project to a mainstream school is challenging.
5. Three2Six is perceived necessary for the students.

Besides the evaluation focus, the forced migrant learners participating in the internal evaluation referred to diverse daily stressors connected to their education.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, a forced migrant child's psychosocial well-being, psychosocial needs and daily stressors may be connected to education (Due et al. 2015; Hajdukova et al. 2017), bearing in mind the impact of the broader social context for one's well-being (Fattore et al. 2006; Hajdukova et al. 2017). It seems that the interconnectedness of the educational reality, daily stressors and psychosocial well-being of forced migrant learners is also determined by the structures of the society (see Solar & Irwin 2010). These structures may prevent forced migrant children's access to schools, resulting from one's legal status, for instance (Global Education Monitoring Report 2018). The Three2Six project, an educational intervention, takes a stand to respond to the structural violence in South Africa. Forced migrant children that are unable to access state schools are provided with education and assisted to enrol in the state schools with the help of the project. The Three2Six project works as a case study when discovering if and how an educational intervention addresses the daily stressors and psychosocial well-being of forced migrant learners. In the section that follows, I present a short summary of the framework of this study, before moving on to the next chapter construing the research methodology.

## **2.9 Summary of Literature Review and Conceptual Framework**

To summarize this chapter, the concept of psychosocial well-being refers to a complete state of material, mental and social well-being; a person enjoying the highest attainable standard of it (see Minkkinen 2013, WHO 1946). Psychosocial well-being is construed through successful complementation of different psychosocial developmental stages, taking place at different age periods (Erikson et al. 1959; Erikson 1968), where also environmental factors impact the individual's well-being (Bronfenbrenner 2005; Solar &

Irwin 2010). Nevertheless, the subjectivity of one's well-being should never be understated (Diener 1984; Minkkinen 2013), and therefore this study took notice of children's own conceptualizations of well-being (see Fattore et al. 2006).

The psychosocial needs of forced migrant learners were conceptualised focusing on the study by Minkkinen (2013), and enriched with more detailed information regarding children's and youth's well-being (see Due et al. 2015; Erikson et al. 1959; Erikson 1968; Fattore et al. 2006; Hajdukova et al. 2017; Nakeyar et al. 2017). Furthermore, the studies concerning daily stressors of forced migrants were adhered (see Burns 2011; Kanu 2008; Miller & Rasmussen 2016, 2009; Schick et al. 2018).

In addition, educational contexts and interventions, such as the Three2Six project, are stated to advocate for the right of forced migrant children and youth to receive education, thus have the potential to address their daily stressors and psychosocial well-being (e.g. Barenbaum et al. 2004; Due et al. 2015; Murray 2019; Silove et al. 2017). Having defined the intersection between education, daily stressors and psychosocial well-being with the forced migrant learners in Johannesburg, South Africa, the following chapter will move on to discuss the methodology of this study.

### **3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.1 Aims, Objectives and Questions**

The aim of this study is to explore if and how an educational intervention - the Three2Six project - addresses the psychosocial needs and daily stressors of forced migrant learners. To do so, the following question is asked: *Does the Three2Six project address the daily stressors and psychosocial well-being of forced migrant learners, and if so, how?*

The goal is to identify the daily stressors forced migrant learners currently involved in the project, and those who left the project between 2011-2017, experience, and how the project contributes to its learners' psychosocial well-being during and after enrolment. Furthermore, recommendations on how to improve the project in terms of supporting forced migrant learners' well-being better will be given. The objectives are:

1. To identify the daily stressors current and former forced migrant learners at Three2Six experience.
2. To determine if and how the project addresses the psychosocial needs of forced migrant learners.
3. To provide recommendations on how to improve the project to better respond to the psychosocial needs of forced migrant learners.

#### **3.2 Methods of Analysis and Data Collection**

This study has a qualitative approach. A secondary data analysis was carried out for data that was collected through semi-structured interviews and questionnaires as a part of an internal evaluation. All of the internal evaluation participants were former Three2Six learners. An additional two semi-structured interviews were carried out for project employees, and my field notes and observations were included in the study to reach a comprehensive understanding of the topic. As having worked at the project since July 2018, I have been exposed to various observations regarding my topic and more. Besides, I have taken part in multiple interactive situations with project staff and students. Content analysis was used as an analysis tool for the secondary data; the transcribed interviews

and excel format coded questionnaires; as well as for the semi-structured interviews that were targeted for project employees.

Shortly, the data analysis process followed the following steps: familiarization with the data, highlighting and listing relevant phrases, reducing phrases, grouping the phrases and finding categories within each group, re-evaluating the groups, and lastly writing up the findings. An exception was made regarding the data from staff interviews, as the interview guide (see appendix 2) was designed after having concluded the initial findings from the secondary data analysis. The process of merging the data will be detailed below. The following sections will detail content analysis, the plan of data collection, and implementation of data analysis. After, I will look into the ethical considerations and limitations of this study.

### **3.2.1 Content Analysis**

Content analysis is a tool to study meanings and matters constructed by text (Potter & Levine-Donnerstein 1999) and it makes access to structures of individual perceptions possible (Duriau, Reger & Pfaffer 2007). Systematic grouping and categorization of findings are made, to subscribe data and topic of interest in a condensed form (Flick 2014; Gbrich 2007; Latvala & Vanhanen-Nuutinen 2003; Mayring 2000; Pietilä 1973; Potter & Levine-Donnerstein 1999; Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2011). By using content analysis, this study is able to explore a great amount of textual information that represents the trends and patterns relevant for the research questions (Gbrich 2007; Krippendorff 2004). The analysis was problem-driven, which Krippendorff (2004) describes a process where currently inaccessible knowledge is aimed to be created, believing a systematic reading of relevant text provides the answers.

In this study, a partially deductive logic and an inductive analysis logic were used mixed, as Grönfors (2011) emphasizes these logics always being interconnected when carrying out qualitative studies. However, the analysis started by following the inductive content analysis logic detailed by Mayring (2000) and Tuomi & Sarajärvi (2011). According to Tuomi & Sarajärvi (2011), the analysis process may be roughly divided into five steps. Firstly, the data for the analysis is chosen and familiarized with. Secondly, the data is

reduced, which leads into grouping. After, the interpretations are made and lastly, the reliability is examined.

Mayring (2000) presents a step model of inductive category development. Different from the process breakdown introduced above, the author elaborates the interaction between developing a research question and the analysis process - bidirectionally, the research question guides the process, and the interpretation of results may result in reformation of the research question. Mayring (2000) also promotes formative checks of reliability of analysis by revising categories during the analysis process.

As stated earlier, partially deductive logic was used. Krippendorff (2004) and Grönfors (2011) detail how the researcher always has contextual knowledge on the study topic, which allows the researcher to see the data more in-depth, which already indicates the inevitable deductive nature of the analysis logic. In this case, no predetermined categories or groups were made, as I wanted to stay sensitive and open towards the data. However, I simultaneously utilized the literature review regarding daily stressors (see Burns 2011; Kanu 2008; Miller & Rasmussen 2016, 2009; Schick et al. 2018) and conceptualization of children's psychosocial needs and well-being (see Due et al. 2015; Erikson et al. 1959, Erikson 1968; Fattore et al. 2006; Hajdukova et al. 2017; Minkkinen 2013; Nakeyar et al. 2017) to guide the grouping process as well as category formation. Nevertheless, I want to emphasize that the categories and groups emerged from the data (inductive), but the main themes were established in respect of the three objectives of this study (deductive).

Content analysis is a tool to organize and analyse data collected through qualitative methods, but it cannot be used solely for conclusions. Content analysis is stated to produce the particles for further theoretical discussion, which is dependent on the researcher's thinking. (Grönfors 2011.) Similarly, in this study the findings were written after organizing the data, drawing from the grouping process, but eventually written by me, the researcher.

### 3.2.2 Secondary Data Collection

The secondary data was collected in March, October, November and December 2018 as a part of an internal evaluation, that was undertaken by me, as a part of an internship at the Three2Six project. Besides the questionnaires that were collected in March 2018, I have collected all data. As discussed earlier, the internal evaluation focused on previous Three2Six students' academic paths and the project's contribution to those paths, as well as previous students' perceptions regarding the project. A preliminary evaluation design that had been made as a part of the Three2Six project in early 2018 contributed to the internal framework of the evaluation, indicating the contents of questionnaires and interviews. Twenty-four past Three2Six learners participated in the internal evaluation.

The secondary data used consists of fifteen electronic questionnaires as well as nine semi-structured interviews entailing nine electronic background questionnaires. Nine questionnaires were collected in March 2018 by another researcher and were included in the data. The structure of the other questionnaires and interviews adhered to this formerly designed questionnaire. The rest of the questionnaires were completed in December 2018, and the interviews were held in October and November 2018 as a part of the internal evaluation process.

All twenty-four participants represent previous Three2Six students, who graduated from the project between the years 2011 and 2017, from grades 1, 3, 4, 5, and 6. At the time of interviews and questionnaires, their ages varied between 12 and 20 years. All participants were selected to the study in terms of their accessibility, as they were actively taking part in activities organized by the Three2Six project. A more detailed look into the participants' backgrounds will be made in the section *4.1. Participants' Backgrounds*.

The interviews were always carried out one-on-one. The interview session started with the participant filling out a background questionnaire, using a laptop. The background questionnaire asked about the participant's contact information as well as his/her ethnic origins (country of birth, parents home country, mother tongue, and year of moving to South Africa) as well as his/her current education: school, grade of enrolment and marks (see appendix 3).

Following this, the participant was interviewed. The interview focused on the participant's perceptions regarding the Three2Six project and his/her schooling. The interviews were semi-structured, as this method has potential to obtain a more holistic picture of the respondents' perceptions and views that might be difficult to obtain through only a questionnaire or structured interviews. In addition, this form of interview gives the interviewee flexibility in directing the conversation and allows interviewees time to organise their thoughts. Semi-structured interviews also let respondents express themselves in a way that is natural to them which in turn increases the authenticity of respondents' answers (Qu & Dumay 2011). To ensure consistency and adherence to the research topic throughout the interviews, an interview guide consisting of a number of open-ended questions was designed (see appendix 1). As mentioned earlier, this guide was informed by the tools formerly used in the internal evaluation.

All interviews were audio-recorded and notes made simultaneously, when found informative. I transcribed all audio data. The textual input was elaborated, as I, as the researcher, was aware of the possible additional information gained through gestures, tones of speech and other environmental factors that might be important to note in the analysis process.

The questionnaire was designed to gather a comprehensive review about the participants' backgrounds, current academic situations as well as their perceptions about the project and its contribution in their academic paths. The questionnaires were implemented with the help of laptops and iPads. The structure of the questionnaire was divided into five different sections: *general information*, *time before Three2Six*, *time during Three2Six*, *time after Three2Six*, and *evaluation*. In the first section, *general information*, participants were asked about their contact information as well as their ethnic origins (country of birth, parents home country, mother tongue, and year of moving to South Africa). The three following sections; *time before Three2Six*, *time during Three2Six*, and *time after Three2Six*; were aiming to create a summary of participants' educational paths. The last section, *evaluation*, was targeted for exploring the participants' schooling and academic experiences and outcomes after graduating from the Three2Six project. In order to collect data comparable to formerly (March 2018) questionnaire-collected data, the last section

included questions regarding living arrangements, free time activities and improvement ideas for the Three2Six project as well as additional comments. This section also discovered participants' academic achievements at school, elaborating grades (see appendix 4).

Bridging from the secondary data collection methods and findings, the interview guide targeted for staff representatives was planned and will be introduced next.

### **3.2.3 Staff Interviews**

There were two semi-structured interviews carried out in April 2019 for employees at the Three2Six project. The interview questions were formed according to the initial findings from the secondary data analysis. The aim was to explore the initial findings, gained from previous project learners, that could gain more validity from further perspectives, or when another insight might be beneficial for a comprehensive understanding of the topic. This way the research question, as well as the three study objectives, could be answered considering a larger perspective.

An interview guide was developed, asking open ended but targeted questions regarding the initial findings from the secondary data (see appendix 2). Backgrounds of these participants were also explored, but will not be detailed in this report, so that the anonymization of participants will be ensured.

The staff interviews were recorded by taking paper-pen notes during the interview situation. As a backup, the interviews were audio-recorded, to ensure no pivotal information would be missed. The notes were written to an electronic word document immediately after each interview, and the points where informative quotations were given were marked in the notes. Only when the notes indicated an informative quote, this part of the interview was transcribed.

### **3.2.4 Field Notes and Observations**

Fieldwork and the data analysis process are stated to take place at the same time, simultaneously complementing each other (Grönfors 2011, 85). I volunteered for the

Three2Six project between July and September 2018, and have been working for the project in terms of an internship and thesis writing since September 2018. Besides formerly introduced data, when interpreting study findings I will bring my own field notes and observations into the study, in order to understand the topic as much in depth as possible. My volunteering took place at the Holy Family College campus, whereas my thesis writing process and my internship mainly took place in the Three2Six office at the Sacred Heart College campus, hence being exposed to various observations regarding my topic and more. Besides, I have taken part in multiple interactive situations with project staff and students.

Referring to Grönfors (2011), the method of field observations and notes is an ongoing process, where the researcher is in charge of making notes of those observations found relevant for a study. Since August 2018 I have written down field notes about my observations, in a separate field note diary. As has been suggested by Grönfors (2011), the notes have been written down after each observation situation as soon as possible. The notes were always made so that the people involved would not be disturbed. If any names were mentioned, determined pseudonyms were used consistently. The field notes and observations will be brought into this study in the *study findings and discussion* -chapter, when complementing the themes and/or categories.

### **3.3 Analysis Process**

The analysis started by working on the secondary data. Each interview and the answers for questionnaires were read through, in order to get immersed in the data again. Before starting the analysis, an initial decision to focus on the research question, as well as the objectives of the study during the analysis process, was made. Drawing from this, three main themes were identified, and data organized under these themes: *daily stressors forced migrant learners experience at Three2Six*, *the project addressing its learners psychosocial needs*, and *participant recommendations on how to improve the project*. All participants were given pseudonyms before starting the analysis process.

After, each interview was read individually, simultaneously highlighting relevant phrases for this study topic. Baptiste (2001) describes this analysis phase as tagging, where

information relevant for the study is chosen. The highlighted phrases indicated information that would fall under the predetermined themes. Similarly, the data collected through questionnaires was read through, and relevant data highlighted.

As going through the data and highlighting phrases indicating experienced daily stressors, it appeared the participants referred to experiences of daily stressors after their graduation from the Three2Six project as well. Thinking about the first study objective; *identify the daily stressors current and former forced migrant learners at Three2Six experience*; it must be clarified that the data demonstrated experiences of daily stressors after graduation too. A decision to include the experienced daily stressors after graduation from the Three2Six project to the analysis process was made and therefore a fourth theme, *daily stressors forced migrant learners experience after graduation from Three2Six*, was included.

Krippendorff (2004, 349) explains a way to manage text for analysis is to break it into smaller parts, and to read and analyse the parts separately. In the next step each transcript was read again, focusing on the highlighted phrases. Each participant's highlighted quotes were copy pasted to a participant targeted word-document. After, each quote was reduced. When reducing, the informativeness of each quote was retained, and the quotes were kept short when possible. The four given themes were kept in mind, as well as the ways the quote was describing such a theme.

Similarly, the quotes from questionnaires were copy-pasted to one word-document. and reduced, if necessary. Participants' pseudonyms were included after each quote/reduced phrase.

Next, the grouping phase started. Each quote/reduced phrase was labelled with a colour code, depending whether it indicated a daily stressor, the project addressing psychosocial needs of its learners, or recommendations. At this point, the questionnaire data was merged with the interview data, and participants' quotes were mixed. Accordingly, each quote and reduced phrase was copy-pasted to a worksheet, based on its label. The worksheets were named according to the themes, except when grouping the daily stressors. In this case, the quotes and reduced phrases were first grouped together. After

going through all highlighted data, the daily stressors -worksheet was divided into the two predetermined themes: *daily stressors forced migrant learners experience at Three2Six* and *daily stressors forced migrant learners experience after graduation from Three2Six*, and data was sorted accordingly. The participants' pseudonyms were included after each quote/reduced phrase.

After, I continued working by grouping similar phrases together within the four themes. No specific grouping guide was implemented, even though all groups were eventually founded in the data. Krippendorff (2004) details how the researcher already has knowledge about the topic in the analysis phase, which actually allows the researcher to analyse the relevant parts of the data. Each quote, followed by a reduced phrase, was grouped together with similar ones. After completing this stage, each group was given a definition, to ensure that the grouping was made systematically. The definitions of the groups were made with the help of the literature review and conceptual framework. This was followed by giving representative group names. After finalizing the grouping, all quotes/ reduced phrases were checked to follow the given group definition, and necessary re-grouping and/or editing was carried out.

After finishing the grouping and taking a broader look at each group's definition, similar categories were looked for, representing the final step of the grouping process:

1. Grouping quotes under predetermined themes
2. Grouping similar quotes/reduced phrases together, under a predetermined theme
3. Giving the group a definition
4. Naming the group
5. Checking and re-evaluating quotes/reduced phrases to follow the given group definition, making necessary changes
6. Looking for similar groups to form categories

In terms of daily stressors experienced during enrolment in the Three2Six project, no additional categories were formed. When looking at the groups within the *daily stressors forced migrant learners experience after graduation from Three2Six* -theme altogether, two categories were found: *acculturation stressors* and *material shortages*.

Similar grouping processes were carried out for the theme *the Three2Six project addressing psychosocial needs of forced migrant learners*. This time, three categories were constructed from the groups: *project enhancing educational opportunities*, *advocacy for other psychosocial needs* and *support after graduation*.

The grouping process of the theme *participant recommendations* was following the same procedure as the three other themes. Again, in the last phase of grouping, categories were looked for, but not formed within this theme.

After the grouping process was completed, all themes, categories and groups were evaluated critically. Mayring (2000) promotes reliability checks for categories during the analysis process, and Tuomi & Sarajärvi (2011) list this procedure as one of the analysis process steps. Whether each quote/reduced phrase represented its group, the descriptive category, and the predetermined theme was assessed. If any names were mentioned in the included quotes and reduced phrases, the names were replaced with determined pseudonyms.

After this, initial interpretations of the data were made based on these themes, categories and groups. The initial findings were written down, re-evaluated and edited several times. The writing process followed the structure of the predetermined themes, as well as the categories and groups within the themes. These initial findings worked as a baseline for the design of the interview guide targeted for the Three2Six project staff.

After carrying out the staff interviews, the analysis started by writing the paper-pen notes into a word document. Next, the written electronic notes were read, simultaneously highlighting the quotes that indicated any of the predetermined themes: *daily stressors forced migrant learners experience during the Three2Six project*, *daily stressors forced migrant learners experience after graduation from Three2Six*, *the project addressing its learners' psychosocial needs*, or *participant recommendations on how to improve the project*. Each quote representing a theme was highlighted with a labelled colour; each colour representing a theme. After this was done, the highlighted quotes were compared to their themes' grouping definitions that were made as a part of the secondary data analysis, and

included in a group when relevant. If there were new groups occurring from the staff interview data, the previously created groups and/or categories were updated.

When the staff participants' answers indicated information regarding the study objectives, they were included in the writing of the initial findings. A decision to merge the written staff interview findings together with the secondary data findings was made. However, I wanted to make a distinction between the answers of the previous project learners and staff members in the reportage. This was done with the help of predetermined pseudonyms, and staff participants were called *Beth* and *Nicole*. In this way, the staff participants' personal views and experiences could be presented.

Moving on, the next section will discuss the ethical considerations, followed by a section addressing the limitations of this study.

### **3.4 Ethical Considerations**

Before starting the data collection process as a part of my internship in September-December 2018, which represents the secondary data for this study, an ethics application was submitted for the ethics committee at the University of the Witwatersrand. As the data was collected in terms of an internal evaluation, the ethics application worked as a practice for the Masters thesis, and also as a confirmation for all ethical considerations to be addressed carefully. Another ethics application was provided for the committee when starting to work only on the thesis, as additional data was included in the study: staff interviews and field notes. The ethics application was reviewed and approved at the African Centre for Migration and Society. The following paragraphs introduce the ethical considerations in detail.

My position as a volunteer, intern and researcher can be considered as an ethical concern (see Grönfors 2011). Benefitting this study, I was able to create trusting relationships with people working in the Three2Six project, as well as with the current and past project learners, already during my volunteering period in June-September 2018. At times my role in the project has been blurred. People at the project have not necessarily been aware of my position as a researcher, and I might have gotten a chance of gaining additional

information in terms of field observations. People involved in this study have not been aware of my observational work on the field, which may appear as an ethical struggle when deciding what data to include in this study. Grönfors (2011) suggests to exclude the data that participants might wish to be removed, or could cause any harm, such as humiliation, for the participants. As a part of this study, no sensitive material has been published, and participants' as well as all other involved individuals' anonymity and honor have been respected. No notes that might offend or threaten one's rights or anonymity were published.

Another major ethical consideration is working with forced migrant children. Forced migrant children may be defined as a vulnerable group from the social, geographic, demographic and economic perspectives (Solar & Irwin 2010). The studies tend to conceptualise children so that they are portrayed as objects rather than active subjects (Clacherty 2019; Morrow & Richards 1996). In this study, the participants' perceptions and experiences were inquired. As children's competencies differ (Morrow & Richards 1996), this study has considered the consents, data collection methods and data interpretations having the specific group in mind.

As a researcher I have made a choice to have forced migrant learners at the Three2Six project as my target group. However, the participating staff representatives also speak for a vulnerable group; forced migrants. It must be noted that the staff participants might have experienced they should have been included in the scope of this or an additional study. This might have affected their responses. Nevertheless, the staff participants were informed about the study topic when acquiring consent and their willingness to participate. They had the freedom not to partake. The value of their personal experiences and perceptions for this study was elaborated.

Informed consent was obtained from all participants. If the participant was under 18 years old, the consent was obtained from a guardian, and assent from the child. An information sheet targeted for the child and an additional one for the guardian were created. When acquiring consent from participants, the information sheet was verbally clarified. The nature of the interviews and questionnaires was explained, as well as the participants' rights to withdraw consent or end the interview or questionnaire at any stage. Referring to Grönfors (2011), the researcher has to clarify his/her role to the people taking part in the

study. In terms of interviews and questionnaires, this was always taken care of, having been detailed in the information sheets as well.

Furthermore, participants' identities have been protected. Complete anonymisation of all participants has been ensured by using pseudonyms for the previous project learners, as well as for the staff participants. If any names occurred in the data, they were replaced with designated pseudonyms as well.

Thus far I have looked into the ethical considerations of this study, and how those considerations were addressed. I want to note that particular caution in all study actions was adhered, in order to avoid any sort of exploitation. Concluding by referring to Grönfors (2011), responsibility has been taken by treating all involved people with human respect, without any level of exploitation. Next I will move on to look into the limitations of this study.

### **3.5 Limitations**

Turning now to the limitations of this study, issues such as the researcher's positionality and methodological shortcomings are discussed. Despite the below introduced limitations, I believe this study has potential to increase the understanding on how an educational intervention may address the daily stressors and psychosocial well-being of forced migrant learners. This study may further indicate some shortcomings of the educational organization in South Africa, from the perspective of psychosocial well-being of forced migrant learners. Furthermore, alternative actions to be taken on the field of education may be suggested, in order to facilitate the psychosocial needs of forced migrant learners better. As said, there are limitations to address, and this is to be done below.

As outlined previously, I have been taking part in the Three2Six project since July 2018, working as a volunteer and as a research intern. I have been involved with the children, currently and previously enrolled in the Three2Six project, weekly, as well as with the project staff on a daily basis. The participants taking part in interviews and questionnaires knew about my position and tasks within the project, which may have interfered with the given answers. Nonetheless, multiple interviewees (e.g. Gift, James) seemed to perceive me

as someone outside the Three2Six project. I would not consider this limitation resulting in a biased study, as in the case of an “outsider-researcher” the participants are supposed to feel more free to express their negative thoughts and feelings about the topic. The study participants pointed out challenges related to the project, too.

The analysis process was carried out completely by me. My position as a researcher may have affected the data contents, the analysis process, as well as the interpretation of the study findings. Especially in observational studies, there is potential for a bias from the researcher’s own subjectivity (Flick 2014). As a response, this study used various data collection methods, also known as triangulation, which is stated to promote the reliability of a study (Flick 2006; Gabb 2009; Greene et al. 1989), and possibly enables a study to capture a more complex picture of a topic (Greene et al. 1989).

The way the data is collected may represent another limitation for a study (Eskola & Suoranta 2008). In this study, the interviews were held on the premises of the Three2Six project. The sites where the interviews and questionnaires were carried out do not represent a neutral space for the participants. All former Three2Six learners’ interviews and questionnaires were carried out at the campus of Sacred Heart College, and the staff interviews took place on the named Three2Six campuses as well. These sites may have triggered certain feelings and schemes of answering for the participants, and besides, the chosen data collection sites represent power-relations between the researcher and the participants (Elwood & Martin 2000). Elwood & Martin (2000) promote the researcher’s reflection, as well as conscious observation, regarding the decision making process on the interview location(s). This study did not inquire any sensitive information from the participants, where the environment would trigger strong emotions when answering. As the study participants were selected due to their accessibility, using purposeful sampling, the participants were coming to the campus regularly. This may indicate the participants not experiencing strong emotions from returning to the data collection sites. The interview sites represented a practical location for both the researcher and participants, as no additional transportation was needed. All study participants were present on these locations for other purposes already.

As a secondary data analysis was carried out, the secondary data collection methods (interview guide and questionnaires) were designed for the internal evaluation purposes. From the perspective of this study, the interview guide used for the internal evaluation purposes had shortcomings. For example, challenges during the project were not inquired precisely. However, a question regarding how the participant had experienced his/her time at Three2Six project was included, leaving room to express experienced challenges as well. Besides, the semi-structured interview design (see Qu & Dumay 2011) could not be utilized to its fullest to this study topic, as specifying questions were not asked from the perspective of my thesis focus. On this note, the research question and objectives of this study were partially determined by the data content. Besides, complementary interviews were carried out with the staff representatives, and my field notes were included in the study. This way the shortcomings of not being able to use the full potential of my data collection method; the semi-structured interviews; were responded to.

In terms of the analysis process, another major source of uncertainty is the method used to analyse the data. This study followed a systematic content analysis procedure, which is clearly detailed in 3.3. *Analysis Process*. Grönfors (2011) stresses the necessity to carefully explain everything that is assumed to help with independent assessment of the study in the study report, and Eskola & Suoranta (2008) join him, stating the importance of detailing all data analysis steps carefully. Furthermore, Grönfors (2011) describes the validity of a study as a relation between the realistic field situation and a study report, and the latter statement is noted to endorse the reliability of a research, too (Titscher et al. 2000).

Another methodological limitation is related to content analysis and its focus only on the written data units. This means important pieces of information, such as expressive gestures, may be dismissed (Titscher et al. 2000). In this study, I have been responsible for conducting all interviews. Therefore I have been aware of the additional and possibly important information for this study, emerging in another than a spoken format. In such cases, notes were made and taken into account when analysing the textual data.

As mentioned earlier, the analysis process and the interpretation of the study findings may be intervened by the researcher's subjectivity, in terms of previous knowledge of the topic, for instance (Titscher et al. 2000). As detailed previously in this chapter, this study

followed a partially deductive logic, which enabled sensitivity towards the data. As my academic background is in education and migration -studies, these study fields have also affected the selection of the informative analysis components (quotes), as well as the nexus of my literature review and conceptual framework. Nevertheless, this is stated to be a natural part of an analysis process. The researcher presumably already has knowledge on the studied topic, which actually allows the researcher to analyse the relevant parts of the data (Grönfors 2011; Krippendorff 2004). The study findings have also been connected to previous studies, which promotes the objectivity of the study (Flick 2014).

Furthermore, this study is unable to encompass the entire forced migrant learners - population. The study is highly contextualized to a specific intervention - the Three2Six project - in an urban environment of Johannesburg, South Africa. The findings of this study may not be directly generalized in other contexts, but this was not the purpose of this study either. It is beyond the scope of this study to examine the forced migrant learners in their broadest sense. This study did not aim to examine forced migrant learners' daily stressors and psychosocial well-being in general, but to explore it in the context of an educational intervention - the Three2Six project.

Another potential problem is that the scope of my thesis may be too broad. This comes down to the terminological debate on forced migrants. When giving forced migrants such an umbrella term, there is a danger of mapping too broad range of individuals with individual needs under one category (Turton 2003). When giving such a definition, I acknowledge the complexity of all migration related decision making processes, having elements from both compulsion and choices (Turton 2003). One must not forget the agency of this specific target group, or view these individuals purely through their migration statuses. According to Turton (2003, 9), "different forced migrants have different levels of possibilities, opportunities and choice, depending on external constraining factors, and individual factors such as sex, wealth, social connections and networks", and therefore the social, political and historical context should never be disregarded. Thus one may ask if there ever is a homogenous participant group in qualitative studies - or what does homogenous in this matter mean?

I acknowledge that by talking about forced migrants I am shifting my focus away from the specific needs of refugees and asylum seekers. However, this study focuses on how an educational intervention addresses these forced migrant learners' psychosocial well-being and daily stressors. In doing so, the intervention is in the center of the study. Nevertheless, the participants' individual perceptions and experiences represent the data of this study, but the data is viewed in the context of the Three2Six project.

Referring back to the first study objective, *to identify the daily stressors current and former forced migrant learners at Three2Six experience*, it must be noted only those Three2Six learners who have already left the project took part in this study, and those learners' currently enrolled in the project have not been heard. The responses relating to the daily stressors current and former forced migrant learners at the project experience are subjective and therefore susceptible to recall bias. However, to understand the current project learners' experiences of daily stressors, two staff representatives were interviewed and my own field notes added to the study. Nevertheless, when interpreting the study findings, it should be remembered that no current learners were interviewed or took part in the questionnaires.

Besides, the reader must bear in mind the selectivity and representativeness of the participants for this study. As already indicated previously, the study participants representing former Three2Six learners were chosen for this study based on their active participation in the project activities, through purposeful sampling. The former project learners' participant group represents mostly those who are enrolled in schools, but still engaged with the Three2Six project. The fact they keep returning to the project to volunteer and/or to take part in the alumni support days already portray their stance on the project. One must remember to ask, what about those who stay at home? The findings would presumably differ if the majority of the participant group would represent those who drop-out from schools or from the Three2Six project. Two of the former project learner participants were not enrolled in a school, and their voices haven't been separated from other participants in the reportage. As this study is highly connected to educational contexts, the voices of the drop-outs are hindered.

Also, the small size of the dataset means that it is not possible to generalize the relationship between experienced daily stressors and the Three2Six project addressing the psychosocial needs of forced migrant learners. Neuner (2010, 1383) argues it can't be proven that mitigation of daily stressors would have an impact on one's well-being. Nonetheless, the reader should bear in mind that the study is based on interviews and questionnaires from the previous Three2Six learners, staff interviews and my field observations, which may provide versatile information regarding the study topic (see Greene et al. 1989). Further data collection is required to determine more in depth how the daily stressors addressed at the Three2Six project affect the psychosocial well-being of forced migrant learners, and vice versa. However, on the question of generalisability of qualitative studies, one may argue if it is ever possible, and this was not the aim of this study either.

To avoid the possibility of a geopolitical bias of this study, I want to address my own positionality as being considered as a scholar from the Global North. It is important to address why me, a Finnish Master's student, carried out this study. One possible reason lies in the sources for funding that shows interest on common problems, possible to be studied through "Western research methodology". As we may know, research funds are influenced by the relevance of study topics and funders' interests. Reflecting the colonial discourse, research is continuously "inflated at the expense of economic and political institutions" (Loomba 1998, 55). In this case, the main reasons for carrying out this research have been my academic history regarding special education and migration studies, as well as my personal interest. Furthermore, the Three2Six project addressed the need for carrying out such research, targeted for the past project learners.

Within the heritage of colonialist knowledge production it has been common to marginalize the knowledge production of the conquered ones, and to implement a study design where the hierarchy of the "self", the researcher, and the "other", the researched, is clearly positioned (Loomba 1998, 67). Moving on, Young (2012) addresses the challenge of postcolonial studies to lie in the studies targeting human beings who do not fit in the frames of contemporary modernity, whereas De Sousa Santos (2010) presents the ever going hardship of postcolonial studies in asking the question: "Who can speak for the victim?" With these in mind, I want to promote that this study does not aim to victimize

forced migrant learners, as my positionality as the researcher, as well as the relation to the target group, have been discussed honestly.

Furthermore, English is my second language, as well as the second language for all participants taking part in the interviews - presumably also for the participants taking part in the questionnaires. This may have intervened with the ways participants were able to give detailed and in depth answers. Furthermore, Krippendorff (2004, 347) describes how “the meanings of verbal expressions may change over time and/or become variable from one social situation to another, or from culture to another”. The author addresses this research bias resulting from “assumptions of linguistic universality”. Considering this, the interview guides and questionnaires avoided using vocabulary that might have been misinterpreted. Participants were encouraged to ask clarifying questions, if anything regarding the inquiry was not understood. Besides, the possibility of cultural differences causing false interpretations or exclusion of informative data was addressed. As this study focused on the education and migration –sector, on a project I have been working at since July 2018, the vocabulary and topics discussed were not unfamiliar for me or the participants. If the former project learners’ answers were not understood comprehensively, there was still a possibility to ask clarifying questions from the staff participants - to ensure the answers were understood correctly.

Moreover, as carrying out the questionnaires, I observed weak computer skills among the participants. The questionnaires were implemented with the help of laptops and iPads, which seemed to cause struggles for the participants, in terms of inadequate typing skills and speed. Typing the answers seemed to take plenty of effort from the participants, which may have resulted in shorter answers as well as some errors in their spelling. However, I don’t believe this has caused shortcomings for the data in general, as this study utilized interviews and field observations as data gathering methods besides the questionnaires. This way the possible deficiencies in questionnaires may have been complemented with the help of data inquired by using different methods. As outlined previously, combining different methods for data collection is found out to advance the reliability of a research (Flick 2014; Gabb 2009; Greene et al. 1989).

To conclude this section, the limitations of this study move around the issues of researcher's own positionality and methodological shortcomings. Moreover, questions regarding the representativeness of the study, terminological debates and a geopolitical bias have been addressed. Despite the stated limitations, this section has also addressed the potential of this study, as well as indicated the need for further research on this area of studies.

In the next chapter I will introduce the study findings. I will start by looking into the backgrounds of the study participants in more detail. The findings will be introduced by following the predetermined themes, and within each theme, the groups and categories, if relevant, will be detailed. My field notes will be brought to the discussion, when appropriate. To avoid unnecessary repetition, the study findings will be detailed together with the literature review and conceptual framework of this study. Therefore the next chapter is named as *study findings and discussion*.

## **4. STUDY FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION**

Next I will introduce the findings of this study. The purpose of this study was to explore if and how an educational intervention – the Three2Six project – addresses the psychosocial well-being and daily stressors of forced migrant learners. I start by looking into the backgrounds of the participants. With respect to the study objectives; to identify the daily stressors forced migrant learners currently involved in the Three2Six project, and those who have already left the project, experience; to investigate if and how the project addresses the psychosocial needs of forced migrant learners; and to provide recommendations on how to improve the project to better respond to the psychosocial needs of forced migrant learners; the findings will be introduced accordingly. I will start by exploring the daily stressors forced migrant learners experience during their time at the Three2Six project, moving on to introducing the daily stressors they experience after the project. After, I will detail how the project addresses the psychosocial needs of its learners. Lastly, I will detail the participant recommendations regarding how to improve the project, and finish the chapter by summarizing the explored findings.

The study findings were discovered with the help of content analysis, and will be explored together with relevant literature, reflected in the literature review and conceptual framework of this study. To note, when explaining the findings, all participants are referred with their given pseudonyms. Within each theme, the findings from secondary data and primary data will be mixed. Furthermore, I will include my own field notes in the findings when relevant. Grouping tables regarding the findings within each theme or theme's category will be presented.

As detailed, the first section starts by looking at the backgrounds of the participants of this study. Informative tables will be utilized to introduce the participants' backgrounds in a condensed format.

### **4.1 Participants' Backgrounds**

There were twenty-four former Three2Six learners and two staff representatives participating in this study. All participants have been given pseudonyms. At the point of

participation, former project learners' ages varied between 12 and 20 years. Over half of the participants were born in DRC. Besides, South Africa, Burundi, Nigeria, Zambia and Rwanda were listed as countries of birth. Graduation from the project took place between years 2011 and 2017, from all grades besides grade 2. Most participants were enrolled in a public school. Two of the participants were not enrolled in any school, due to lack of documents and high registration fees. Table 1 shows this overview of the participants representing former Three2Six students.

TABLE 1. *Participants' backgrounds. Each participant is given a pseudonym. Information box left blank if information was not obtained in the questionnaire.*

Participant	Age when participating	Gender	Country of Birth	Grade of Graduation from the Three2Six Project	Graduation Year	Type of School Enrolled	Data Method
Keith	20	Male	Rwanda	Grade 6	2012	Semi-private	Interview
Precious	16	Female	Zambia	Grade 5	2014	Public	Interview
Gift	14	Female	Zambia	Grade 4	2014	Public	Interview
Kevin	13	Male	DRC	Grade 6	2017	Public	Interview
Andrew	15	Male	DRC	Grade 6	2016	Public	Interview
James	16	Male	DRC	Grade 6	2016	Public	Interview
Joy	15	Female	Burundi	Grade 4	2014	Semi-private	Interview
Sandile	14	Male	DRC	Grade 6	2016	Public	Interview
Memory	14	Female	DRC	Grade 6	2016	Public	Interview
Sharon	14	Female	Burundi	Grade 4	2014	Public	Questionnaire
Markel	15	Male	DRC	Grade 6	2016		Questionnaire
David	12	Male	DRC	Grade 6	2016	Public	Questionnaire
Daniel		Male	South Africa	Grade 6	2013	Not enrolled	Questionnaire
Carlos	15	Male	DRC	Grade 6	2014	Public	Questionnaire

Onnix	19	Male	DRC	Grade 6	2013	Not enrolled	Questionnaire
Catherine	15	Female	DRC	Grade 3	2011	Public	Questionnaire
Michael	13	Male	DRC	Grade 6	2016	Public	Questionnaire
Exauce	12	Male	South Africa	Grade 1	2011	Public	Questionnaire
Success	14	Male	Nigeria	Grade 6	2016	Public	Questionnaire
Paula	14	Female	DRC	Grade 6	2015	Private	Questionnaire
Owami	19	Female	DRC	Grade 5	2011	Public (university)	Questionnaire
Shari	17	Female	South Africa	Grade 6	2014	Semi-private	Questionnaire
John	14	Male	South Africa	Grade 6	2016	Public	Questionnaire
Louisa	16	Female	South Africa			Public	Questionnaire

There is some data that has been inquired only from the participants taking part in the interviews, as the used questionnaire template adhered to a previously (March 2018) designed one, which table 2 illustrates below.

TABLE 2. *Interviewed participants and their first languages, years of studying at Three2Six, years of schooling before moving to South Africa, years of schooling in South Africa before enrolling in Three2Six, and years spent out of school after the age of seven.*

Participant	First Language	Years studied at Three2Six	Years of schooling before moving to South Africa	Years of schooling in South Africa before enrolling in Three2Six	Years spent out of school after the age of 7
Keith	Kinyarwanda	5	3	0	2
Precious	Bemba	3	3	3	0
Gift	Bemba	3	0	2	0
Kevin	Lingala	6	0	0	0
Andrew	French	5	3	0	0
James	French	6	2	0	1
Joy	Kirundi	4	0	2	0
Sandile	Lingala	3	3	0	0
Memory	French	5	0	0	0

As mentioned in 3.2.3. *Staff Interviews*, the backgrounds of staff interviews were inquired but will not be introduced as a part of this study. This way I want to ensure the participants to remain anonymous for the readers, as at the time of interviews the project employed less than 15 people. Pseudonyms were given: *Beth* and *Nicole*. A note may be done that the staff participants represent forced migrants as well.

It occurred that participants referred to only a few daily stressors experienced during their time at the Three2Six project, whereas their answers indicated the project having addressed the learners' psychosocial needs in various ways. However, various experiences of daily stressors were referred to when asked about the time after graduation from the project, which in most cases meant transition to a mainstream school. Various

recommendations on improving the project were proposed. The following pages will explore the study findings in detail.

## 4.2 Daily Stressors Experienced During the Project

During the time of enrolment in the Three2Six project, it occurred that forced migrant learners experience daily stressors in terms of limited language proficiency, which refers to inadequate English skills when entering the project, and feelings of exclusion and discrimination, caused by exclusion from mainstream schools. According to staff participants, forced migrant learners experience stress caused by their challenging home environments lacking emotional support, and by academic gaps, referring to the learner being placed on a grade that does not meet his/her age or level of academic skills.

The following table summarises the findings regarding the daily stressors experienced during the time of enrolment in the Three2Six project. Each daily stressor is followed by its definition. Followed by this table, each daily stressor will be introduced in its own subsection. The sections include quotes. Each participant providing a quote may be identified from the pseudonym written in brackets, after the quote. Similar identification may be done in regards to all quotes in this chapter.

TABLE 3. *The daily stressors experienced during enrolment in the project and their definitions.*

Group (daily stressor)	Definition
Limited language proficiency	Inadequate English skills causing stress
Exclusion from schools	Exclusion from schools for various reasons
Academic Gaps	The skills and knowledge of a child do not meet the age level to be enrolled in an adequate grade
Challenging Home Environments	Home does not provide emotional support for educational or psychosocial needs

#### 4.2.1 Limited Language Proficiency

When talking about the daily stressors forced migrant learners experienced during the Three2Six project, participants pointed out the lack of their English skills when entering the project. As English is the language used in the project, the limited language proficiency seem to have caused the learners stress in the beginning of enrolment. According to previous studies (e.g. Schick et al. 2018; Vearey & Nunez 2011), language barriers may cause stress for forced migrants, which Kanu (2008) details as an academic challenge for forced migrant learners. Nevertheless, participants described how the English language skills were acquired during their time at the Three2Six project. Sandile described the latter:

*Three2Six has helped me to be successful because when I first came in South Africa, I did not know English and I did not write, so when I went to grade five I started to learn a little, then I become better. (Sandile)*

#### 4.2.2 Exclusion from Schools

Forced migrants may experience continuous stress caused by exclusion from schools (Kanu 2008), which embodies the discrimination that forced migrants face in resettlement countries (Taylor & Sidhu 2012). According to Abubakar et al. (2018) and Erikson (1968), the social exclusion and possible stigma cause more stress and anxiety especially for the forced migrant youth. Some of this study's participants referred to themselves being excluded from schools as a consequence of factors such as lack of documents or limited financial resources. It seems that enrolment in the project has not been the prior educational path for these learners. Moreover, as the latter may indicate forced migrant learners experiencing exclusion from schools, it may imply experiences of discrimination as well. In the following quote a participant describes his educational reality when arriving to South Africa:

*When we came I had a bit of hard time finding a school because it was actually the end of the year, so it was pretty hard for me to find a school. Then I just spent one year at home, not going to school. (James)*

Another example of the experienced exclusion and discrimination by these forced migrant learners is embodied in the organization of the project, and in the level of inclusion to the school facilities and practices. The following note represents the reality the project learners come face to face when being only partially included in state schools:

*The Three2Six students at Holy Family College are having an athletics competition together with the mainstream students. Unfortunately, they are only partially included. The mainstream students compete in their own rounds, and Three2Six students in their own. When given prizes, Three2Six students have their own category. As I talk with the teachers and the coordinator, they point out apparently the mainstream students' parents have complained Three2Six students winning the prizes of their children. Previous years, the project children have enjoyed astonishing success in these competitions. Therefore the Three2Six children need to have their own prizes, from now on. (Field notes 08/18)*

As the former project learners' answers indicated feelings of exclusion and discrimination as a result of not accessing schools, the staff participants shared two kinds of perceptions. Beth stated the children to perceive the Three2Six project as any other school, whereas Nicole joined Kanu (2008) in explaining forced migrant learners experiencing continuous stress, caused by exclusion from schools:

*Of course there are feelings of exclusion. It is always there. (Nicole)*

It seems that the feelings of exclusion may take place within the project itself, too:

*The teacher coordinator receives a phone call. One of the student's parents called to tell the student may take a blanket for the upcoming Three2Six camp. The family has apparently very little resources, as one or two siblings would have to sleep without a blanket, if this was brought to the camp. I wonder how this camp seems to be exclusive for these students, even though just a little is needed from the families. (Field notes 04/19)*

#### **4.2.3 Academic Gaps**

Moreover, the staff participants addressed how sometimes the academic level of the Three2Six project is higher than the student's level of knowledge and skills when the child enters the project. Nicole described how this can lead to placing the learner on a lower grade than what his/her age would indicate, whereas Beth described how in such cases the learner still has to be placed on the grade that corresponds his/her age, which is stressful

for the learner. Beth continues explaining that this should not be an issue, because the qualified teacher should have the tools to teach efficiently, considering all students' levels of knowledge and skills. This finding has also been reported by Kanu (2008, 924), who details "grade placement based on age and English language assessment tests rather than academic ability" to set an academic challenge for forced migrant learners. Beth described how this might result from children having had gap years within their schooling, or from an inconsistent learning environment in terms of changing schools rapidly. Nicole described how the child being placed in a lower grade level than what the age would indicate might result in bullying and cause feelings of isolation:

*And the other challenge that I can say is when a child is brought to the grade where is not fit, for example a child that has never been to school and is ten years old, has to be in grade five but has to be in grade three. So for them they know they are not supposed to be there, they are older than the others but they have to be there because they don't have where to go. Now for some children, they keep welcome and enjoy when they are there and do their best to move forward, and some also because they are being with the small children they start to bully others but we try our best to stop it because we do not tolerate it in school. (Nicole)*

#### **4.2.4 Challenging Home Environments**

In terms of family relations, Beth addressed how the family situation might not be ideal for the child. Lack of homework support or reduced provision of care and love may cause challenges for the child. Beth described the challenges the home environment causes for the child:

*I can also say that the situation at home in the family can also be a much a problem because a child, if he doesn't have a strong support in the family, its difficult. When the child goes home he does not have any support to do the homework, to have that kind of interest and care and love, so some children only have here as a home, as a safe place. When they go home it is done. They can't sit down - - even to have that small time to write their homework, they don't have that space. The environment at home is a bit critical. (Beth)*

This finding is consistent with that of Kanu (2008), who promotes the lack of academic support at home as an academic challenge for forced migrant learners. The accumulated stress of forcibly displaced families and lack of emotionally supportive home environment, possibly enhanced by a lack of practical connections of families in the new host-regions,

are found out to decrease a child's well-being (Ajdukovic & Ajdukovic 1998; Shallow & Whittington 2014; see also Nakeyar et al. 2017).

#### 4.3 Daily Stressors Experienced After the Project: Acculturation Stressors

In contrast, participants elaborated difficulties occurring after graduation from the Three2Six project, related to their enrolment in mainstream schools. There were multiple education related daily stressors participants referred to when talking about their time after the Three2Six project, and these stressors are explored below.

There are two main categories occurring within this theme: *material shortages* and *acculturation stressors*. *Acculturation stressors* enclose three experienced daily stressors: changes in behavior culture and relationships, academic cultural dissonance, and academic gaps. When talking about acculturation, I refer to the definition given in the literature review and conceptual framework of this study. Table 2 represents this category with the named daily stressors and their definitions.

TABLE 4. *Acculturation stressors after the project with their definitions.*

Group (daily stressor)	Definition
Changes in behavior culture & relationships	Stress caused by different behavior and new relationships at school
Academic cultural dissonance	Differences in academic culture cause stress
Academic gaps	Adaptation to subjects causes stress as the participants do not have the required skills and/or knowledge

Acculturation stress complicates the psychical adaptation to a new culture, causing lower level psychosocial well-being due to confusion of one's own identity and feelings of alienation, for instance (Berry 1990). According to Berry et al. (2002), the stress is caused by feelings of uncertainty how to live in a new culture - in this case, how to act in a new academic culture. Next, I will introduce each daily stressor listed in the above table in their own sub-sections.

#### 4.3.1 Changes in Behavior Culture and Relationships

The first daily stressor of this category indicates stressors caused by changes in the behavior culture in schools, as well as in relationships, that were pointed out by the participants. Sandile described these challenges by saying:

*The new school, it's, it's tricky and many, many learners they act moody like sometimes they don't like talking to you. (Sandile)*

The significance of relationships for one's well-being is stated by numerous studies (e.g. Bronfenbrenner 2005; Erikson et al. 1959; Minkkinen 2013; Nakeyar et al. 2017), and it may appear as a daily stressor (Fazel & Stein 2002). This acculturation stressor seems to have induced discrimination and feelings of loneliness for some of the participants, resulting from bullying or missing old friends and teachers from the Three2Six project, for instance, demonstrated by Keith:

*-- because I believe that the children at Three2Six are well behaved when they get out there to see the people out there. You cannot compare the behaviour of students of Three2Six to the behaviour of children out there. So when you get out there you are bullied, when you get out there you are introduced to another life, another atmosphere. (Keith)*

The changes in behavior culture and relationships may lead to changes in one's sense of self, which Burns (2011) refers to as a "real life factor". Kanu (2008) also addressed the changes in oneself in her study, but referred these changes to be influenced by stressors such as exclusion and loneliness. In this study, the participants referred to the changes in sensing themselves due to changing behavior expectations in the school intercourse, and reformation of friendships. In other words, some participants experienced the adaptation to a new behavior culture stressful, as it had demanded changes in themselves. The comment below illustrates the latter challenge of forming new relationships when entering a mainstream school:

*Oh, a bit hard. Very hard. Because I had to start meeting new people, new faces, new teachers, new things. Yeah, I was missing Three2Six so much. (Memory)*

Going back to my field notes, a discussion I had with a long term Three2Six volunteer describes the above introduced changes in behavior expectations that may cause stress for

the forced migrant learners when leaving the Three2Six project and entering a mainstream school:

*He also tells me about a case - a former Three2Six learner enrolling to a private school with a scholarship, having a "culture shock" in the beginning. The school he goes to is supposed to be a really fine one. Nevertheless, during the first year he adapted well, and according to the volunteer, "became very highly-mannered". (Field notes 03/19)*

#### **4.3.2 Academic Gaps**

Yet, one's academic identity might have to be rebuilt, as a result of a higher academic level of schools, compared to the academic requirements of the project. Drawing from this, the third daily stressor depicts the existing academic gaps after transition to schools, which the majority of participants referred to:

*After leaving, oh it was a bit of hardship and yeah, it was really hard. Especially coping with Afrikaans, and new subjects in a new school. (Memory)*

Adaptation to new subjects was perceived challenging, as the Three2Six project teaches only three subjects: Life Orientation, Math and English. Kanu (2008) also found out academic gaps causing stress for forced migrant learners. Many participants emphasized the hardship regarding learning a new additional language in school - especially Afrikaans. The participants on the whole indicated the occurring academic gaps, as one interviewee put it:

*It has been really hard because I have to learn how they do things in the new school and I have to learn new subjects, which are really hard in grade eight, so it has been though. (Gift)*

#### **4.3.3 Academic Cultural Dissonance**

The third and last daily stressor within *acculturation stressors* –category is academic cultural dissonance (see Creese et al. 2011; Kanu 2008), which is embodied in Gift's quote:

*It has been really hard because I have to learn how they do things in the new school and I have to learn new subjects which are really hard in grade eight so it has been though. (Gift)*

Many participants' answers indicated this dissonance, when referring to differences between schools and the project, such as the challenging academic level of schools. One participant elaborated the differences between the project teachers and school teachers competences, addressing teachers being incompetent in her mainstream school. This indicates academic cultural dissonance, and the scholars on the field have acknowledged the challenges forced migrant learners face as a consequence of incompetent teachers (e.g. Abubakar et al. 2018; Fazel & Stein 2002). The academic cultural dissonance is represented in the following quote, as the participant was asked if there was anything else she wanted to say at the end of the interview:

*Well they should, once they are out of the school, they shall work hard, they shall not give up because once you are in high school or in another type of school it's not really easy. It is quite challenging because other teachers there, they don't really care some, and like yeah it is just quite hard and you just gotta put more effort in the school work --. (Joy)*

#### 4.4 Daily Stressors Experienced After the Project: Material Shortages

As mentioned earlier, the second named category under experienced daily stressors after the project is *material shortages* (see Abubakar et al. 2018; Vearey & Nunez 2011). Kanu (2008) uses the term economic challenges in her study, but in this case by talking about *material shortages* the category includes not only financial issues, but also the issues with documentation. The following table explores the experienced daily stressors regarding material shortages after enrolment in the project: financial issues and lack of documents with their definitions. Followed by this table, both daily stressors will be introduced in their own sub-sections.

TABLE 5. *Material shortages after the project with compatible grouping definitions.*

Group (daily stressor)	Definition
Financial issues	Education related financial issues causing stress
Lack of documents	Lack of documents causing challenges to access schools

#### **4.4.1 Financial Issues**

It seems material shortages are often a consequence of inadequate finances of families, which has also been identified by Kanu (2008). Abubakar et al. (2018) state that the financial resources are perceived necessary especially among forced migrant youth. Participants of this study referred to registration fees as well as school deposits, transport costs and material costs having caused them stress when enrolling in a school. Sometimes the Three2Six learners receive sponsorships for their schooling, but one participant pointed out her experiences on a withdrawal of such sponsorship, leading to a stressful financial situation for her family and herself:

*Because I, when I left Three2Six I was in grade four, I was sponsored elsewhere so I was sponsored for three years and from that day they, like they just stopped. They never contacted my parents about continuing the scholarship so it became a challenge for my parents so, yeah it is not easy. (Joy)*

Financial deficit may not only affect the schooling right after the Three2Six project, but might also influence the forced migrant learners' long-term educational opportunities: a few participants, such as David, addressed inadequate finances preventing them from aiming for higher level studies:

*No! Because my parents will not afford the amount of school fees at another school. (David)*

As a material shortage, the lack of required documents to access schools was also recognized. Rutter (1999) has stated positive opportunities to help in overcoming experiences of negative daily stressors. Unfortunately, it seems the material shortages enhance the challenges forced migrant learners face by reducing the opportunities available. With this being said, material shortages seem to have an over emphasized effect on the daily stressors and psychosocial well-being of forced migrant learners.

#### **4.4.2 Lack of Documents**

Lack of documents cause challenges for forced migrant learners to access schools. From the staff interviews, it occurred the lack of documents might further indicate discrimination, exclusion and stigmatization of forced migrant learners. As discussed by Erikson (1968)

and Abubakar et al. (2018), adolescents are more sensitive to feelings of belonging, exclusion and stigma. In a literature review by Nakeyar et al. (2017), the migration status related stress and discrimination were connected to the security-needs of forced migrant children and youth. Drawing from this, the documentation of forced migrant learners may lead into discrimination, feelings of insecurity, and stigma – all representing daily stressors forced migrant children may experience, which Nicole addressed:

*In terms of paper, they are having their parents, if the paper was not sorted while they are in the project, they still have the same stigma not having papers but being accepted now is another level. (Nicole) [referring to the challenges when students enter mainstream schools]*

Furthermore, Beth pointed out how changes in the family structure and home environment, such as being taken care of by one's siblings, may cause challenges in obtaining the necessary documents and therefore prevent access to schools. The changes in family structures, due to forced migration, has been acknowledged as a daily stressor by various scholars (e.g. Kanu 2008; Schick et al. 2018; Vearey & Nunez 2011), but not on the matter of obtaining documentation.

Beth continued explaining how especially the hardship regarding lack of documentation may push forced migrant children dropping out of school and “going back to emptiness”. Interestingly, Kanu (2008) connects the forced migrant learners’ drop-outs more holistically with economic, academic and other psychosocial stressors, when feelings of exclusion and marginalization at schools are triggered.

Thus far, the thesis has argued that forced migrant learners experience daily stressors during and after their enrolment in an educational intervention: the Three2Six project. During their enrolment in the project, forced migrant learners’ answers indicated just two experienced daily stressors: limited English proficiency, and exclusion from schools. The interviewed staff participants added academic gaps; in terms of inadequate grade placement as learners are academically behind their own age group when entering the project; and home environments that provide insufficient emotional support for the learners causing the forced migrant learners stress on a daily basis.

Reviewing the key findings regarding experienced daily stressors after the forced migrant learners' graduation from the Three2Six project, two categories occurred: acculturation stressors and material shortages. Within acculturation stressors, the participants pointed out stressors such as changes behavior culture and relationships, academic cultural dissonance, and academic gaps - all related to their schooling. Regarding material shortages, financial issues and lack of documents cause challenges regarding forced migrant learners' schooling and were stated to trigger stress.

This section has identified the daily stressors current and former forced migrant learners at the Three2Six project experience, as stated in the initial objectives of this study. It is now necessary to determine if and how the project addresses the psychosocial needs of forced migrant learners. The following sections will explore the latter.

#### **4.5 The Project Addressing Psychosocial Needs: Enhancing Educational Opportunities**

Now I will turn to the findings that indicate the project addressing the psychosocial needs of forced migrant learners, bridging it with the relevant literature and my field notes. The ways the project addresses the psychosocial needs of forced migrant learners may be divided into three categories: *project enhancing educational opportunities*, *advocacy for other psychosocial needs*, and *support after graduation*. Again, these categories are interconnected, but will be introduced separately.

The first category, *project enhancing educational opportunities*, encloses three different groups: cultural and academic preparedness for school, language acquisition, and material resources. Generally speaking, educational opportunities influence one's well-being, as education relates to better utilization of individual potential through enhancement of future prosperity (Hajdukova et al. 2017). Before going into the groups describing the enhancement of educational opportunities, the following note reveals how exhausting the process of accessing education in South Africa may be for forced migrant learners:

*One, seemingly young mother arrives to the office with two sons, probably around 12 to 13 years old. She wants her children into Three2Six. The boys are too old for the project. When this appears to the mother, she starts to cry. Maam Nyasha encourages her to be strong. If she will not be strong, what kind of future will these boys get? Maam Nyasha thinks about different*

*opportunities and ends up taking the younger son to grade 5, as there is a free spot in the class. She does this even though the boy is too old for this grade. The mother is overwhelmingly thankful. It seems she has hope again. When leaving the office, I see her sitting on the stairs for a bit, before walking down. She seems very tired and weak. (Field notes 02/19)*

The table below reflects the first category, *project enhancing educational opportunities*, and will be followed by sub-sections, introducing each group individually.

TABLE 6. *Project enhancing educational opportunities –category with its groups and their definitions.*

Group	Definition
Cultural and academic preparedness for school	Learners feel more prepared for school, culturally and academically, with the help of the project
Language acquisition	Project providing learners English competency
Material resources	Project assisting the participants with material resources

#### 4.5.1 Cultural and Academic Preparedness for School

The participants referred feeling prepared - culturally and academically - for mainstream schools with the help of the Three2Six project. It seems that the learners felt the project assisted them with the required skills, such as accurate behavior, for schools. The forced migrant learners' behavioral preparedness for schools may also indicate positive feelings regarding oneself as well as agency, which Fattore et al. (2006) found out to influence the well-being of children.

The adequate academic level, enabling the forced migrant learners to cope better in schools, was addressed by the study participants as well. Similarly, the academic preparedness may indicate agency and positive feelings regarding oneself, as addressed in the study by Fattore et al. (2006). For instance, it seems that in general the participants acquired literacy skills in the project, necessary for schooling, which two participants commented as follows:

*Like Three2Six teaches you what the other school is teaching you. So when you go in a school you understand what they saying to you. (Kevin)*

*Three2Six has helped me to be successful because when I first came in South Africa, I did not know English and I did not write, so when I went to grade five I started to learn a little, then I become better. (Sandile)*

Talking about cultural and academic preparedness for school, both staff participants pointed out role that the qualified project teachers have on this matter. Nicole elaborated how the qualified teachers have the freedom to integrate diverse subjects to their teaching, and so the project may prepare the students for schooling as well as possible.

#### **4.5.2 Language Acquisition**

Drawing from the above introduced group, language acquisition represents the second group of the category *project enhancing educational opportunities*. Limited language skills are stated as a barrier for forced migrants to access schools in South Africa (Motha & Ramadiro 2005; Buckland 2011; see also Abubakar et al. 2018), and multiple participants expressed the project providing them competency in English, which seems to be the primary language used in the participants' schools. One participant commented:

*Three2Six has, was the best school because I learned English and I had to, I knew how to, I learned how to make new friends like Mike, David and Adam. (Sandile)*

By providing forced migrant learners English competency the project is not only addressing the forced migrant learners' psychosocial needs through helping the learners to cope with the language used in schools, but is also improving their educational opportunities (see Hajdukova et al. 2017; Rutter 1999). Furthermore, Due et al. (2015) note sharing language in school contributes to learners' well-being, as it helps when forming friendships, for instance.

#### **4.5.3 Material Resources**

Overlapping with the two other categories; *advocacy for other psychosocial needs* and *support after graduation*; the third group of the *project enhancing educational opportunities* is the material resources the project assisted with. For example, one interviewee said:

*I was not even paying school fees or the, and plus food was provided. So I had everything I needed like being at home, you have your food, your friends, whatever I needed was here.*  
(Precious)

Minkinen (2013) promotes material needs as one of the key dimensions determining one's psychosocial well-being (see also Fattore et al. 2006). Minkinen (2013) details material well-being to enclose necessary material resources, such as food, that enable a child to have a certain standard of life. As children enrol in the Three2Six project, they are not obliged to pay school fees, uniforms or transport, which most of the study participants acknowledged. Participants also addressed how the project had provided them with nutrition and necessary schooling materials. Erikson (1968) as well as Hajdukova et al. (2017) and Abubakar et al. (2018) promote the role of material resources for youth. They support the finding regarding material resources by detailing how youth find money necessary for their well-being in terms of better educational chances, for instance. Furthermore, Kanu (2008) notes that the lack of economic resources may indicate hardship regarding social integration and educational opportunities for forced migrant learners.

Beth further explained how the learners at the Three2Six project have even been provided with suitable shoes for schools, to endorse their feelings of belonging. Material resources are linked to *the project advocating for other psychosocial needs* -category, and this category will be introduced next.

#### **4.6 The Project Addressing Psychosocial Needs: Advocacy for other Psychosocial Needs**

The second category, *advocacy for other psychosocial needs* is connected with the category of *educational opportunities*, but is separated as its own category as the four represented groups are not necessarily directly related to education. These groups are resilience building, relationships created at the project, the project as a safe space, and indirect impact of families. The following table introduces the category, its groups and their definitions. Followed by this table, the groups will be introduced their own sub-sections.

TABLE 7. *Advocacy for other psychosocial needs -category with its groups and group definitions.*

Group	Definition
Resilience Building	Encouragement, belief and care by project staff promote learners' resilience
Relationships created at Three2Six	Relationships created at the project significant for learners' well-being
Three2Six as a safe space	The project creates as a safe space for its learners
Three2Six assisting families	Project assisting families with finances and providing their children with education

#### 4.6.1 Resilience Building

Starting with self-confidence and -awareness, many of the participants addressed how the encouragement, belief and care by the project teachers, coordinator and volunteers had promoted these characteristics in themselves. By doing so, the project has possibly provided forced migrant learners with positive feelings regarding themselves too, and addressed their psychosocial needs (Fattore et al. 2006). One participant commented:

*So they used to help us, find our talent and sometimes just, you know, motivate us and pushed our self-confidence --. (James)*

It has been suggested that forced migrant learners may experience stress caused by fear of teachers (Kanu 2008). This does not appear to be the case among this group of forced migrant learners. The project teachers were positively promoted in various affiliations, such as providing learners with emotional support.

The staff participants addressed the project promoting learners' self-confidence and -awareness as well, referring to resilience. Both staff participants referred to certain resilience programs that the project has been implementing. According to Rutter (1987), resilience may be promoted through various channels, aiming to reduce the "risk" impacts, and the protection for the "risks" is founded in the promotion of individual coping mechanisms for life changes. Rutter (1987) elaborates special attention to be paid on the key turning points of individuals, in this case the resettlement in a new country. Beth

stated the project having organized extra curricular activities for the families and children, being a part of the project's resilience building program. Besides, Nicole noted the project staff taking part in a resilience training which has promoted the project teachers' own resilience as well as their methods to build the project learners' resilience. Talking about this issue an interviewee said:

*I was told by all my teachers from grade two till the end, always fight for you, for what you want in life. Even Maam Nyasha. Never to give up. (Memory)*

Therefore, the above introduced findings regarding *self-confidence and -awareness* were merged into a group called *resilience building*.

#### **4.6.2 Relationships Created at the Three2Six Project**

Connected to resilience building and the project teachers having an important role on this matter, the students addressed the significance of relationships with peers, teachers, volunteers and coordinators, created in the project. In other words, the Three2Six project seems to provide a platform for relationship building. Minkkinen (2013) talks about social well-being, which is connected to one's ability to create relationships and to have social competence. Erikson et al. (1959) join her in addressing the importance of peer-groups in determining a child's self-esteem and behavior development. It seems the project promotes its learners' social activity and relationship building, and so addresses the psychosocial needs and development of forced migrant learners (see Barrera et al. 1981; Erikson et al. 1959; Minkkinen 2013; Siedlecki et al. 2013). Furthermore, the relationships with teachers and peers are stated to make the transition to school easier (Ryan & Patrick 2001), as the following comment from Sandile represents:

*When I entered to my new school, I already knew my friends, I already had Mike and Joseph so it was easy for me to cope. (Sandile)*

Beth addressed how the project teachers' refugee and migrant backgrounds help them to understand the project learners and their culture. Hek (2005) supports this in her study, stating that learners' resettlement as well as their academic achievements are facilitated by teachers with similar cultural backgrounds. In this study, it seems these relationships have

been meaningful for participants' well-being both during the time of enrolment as well as after graduation from the project. Hek (2005) also notes how the teachers' attitudes towards forced migrant learners have an impact on the learners' goal setting and ambition.

#### **4.6.3 The Project as a Safe Space**

Thirdly, the project seems to have worked as a safe space for several of its learners. By creating this kind of ambiance the Three2Six project seems to have contributed to its learners' psychosocial needs, as children themselves have promoted feelings of safety to enhance their well-being (Fattore et al. 2006). A few participants referred to the project as *home*, as appears in the following quotes:

*So many of the students are attending the Three2Six, most of them come from different homes, they come from different situations, the backgrounds are just different. So Three2Six for them is a home, Three2Six is an array of hope, is their comforter. When they are here they feel safe, --.*  
(Keith)

*I was not even paying school fees, or the, and plus food was provided. So I had everything I needed, like being at home, you have your food, your friends, whatever I needed was here.*  
(Precious)

Nicole promoted the teachers' role in creating a safe space, as the teachers tend to build a trusting relationship with the children, resulting in the learners perceiving the teacher as:

*The person I feel safe with. (Nicole)*

Safe adults, in this case safe project teachers, promote the feelings of safety and security of forced migrant learners. In a study by Hajdukova et al. (2017), young people promoted safe relationships influencing their well-being; safe, encouraging and supportive adults promoted the youth's psychosocial well-being. Both staff participants addressed the learners feeling safe in the project. Beth explained how for some students the project is the only place of feeling safe and at home.

#### 4.6.4 Three2Six Assisting Families

The fourth and last group of the category *advocacy for other psychosocial needs* refers to the project helping its learners' families, and this way indirectly addressing the forced migrant learners' psychosocial needs. Families are stated to influence forced migrant children's well-being in terms of giving the children emotional support. Besides, the family acculturation processes, the lack of families' economic resources, and family restructurations may affect the children's well-being. (Ajdukovic & Ajdukovic 1998; Kanu 2008.) In other words, the relationships the child has with other family members is detailed a determinant of social well-being (Minkinen 2013), whereas among youth this impact is more indirect (Abubakar et al. 2018). However, in this study the participants did not address the emotional aspect of families influencing their well-being. Nevertheless, they stated their parents were assisted with finances and the children referring to themselves were provided with educational opportunities – the participants referring to themselves. To note, often the participants did not specify the ways the project had helped their families. In any case, it seems the project addresses forced migrant learners' psychosocial needs even more comprehensively through helping their families, for instance by decreasing the families' financial stress:

*Three2Six, I think it is a very wonderful place because it has helped many children whose parents don't have enough money to be able to pay school fees. (Gift)*

*So Three2Six actually makes it easier for parents to educate their kids because once in Three2Six, If you are really intelligent obviously you will be and they can sponsor you just like me. (James)*

Beth addressed the reason the project is helping families, followed by an example how the project is helping families beyond education-related issues:

*We try to build the support in the families for the sake of the child. (Beth)*

*The mother did not have enough money to pay the rent. She lives on the streets with her child, a Three2Six learner, and has nothing but one handbag with all their belongings. Maam Nyasha provides them with a little food and promises to help with finding accommodation. One week later we hear they have moved to an apartment, where they share a room with 4 other families. (Field notes 10/18)*

## 4.7 The Project Addressing Psychosocial Needs: Support After Graduation

The third category of how the project addresses forced migrant learners' psychosocial needs is *support after graduation*, which refers to the time after the learners' graduation from the Three2Six project. Four groups were found in the participants' answers: assistance with schoolwork, follow-up and care, sponsorships, and the Three2Six project assisting families. The following table will explore the category, its groups and their definitions, followed by sub-sections introducing each group separately.

TABLE 8. *Support after graduation –category with its groups and group definitions.*

Group	Definition
Assistance with schoolwork	Project providing additional assistance with schoolwork for former project learners
Follow-up and care	Project following up and caring about the past learners after their graduation from Three2Six
Sponsorships	Three2Six assisting learners to receive sponsorships
Three2Six assisting families	Three2Six assisting the former project learners' families

### 4.7.1 Assistance with Schoolwork

Several of the study participants expressed how the Three2Six project had helped them after their graduation from the project by providing additional assistance with their schoolwork. Commenting on this, one interviewee said:

*The project that they did put for Saturday homework days, it did help very much. Especially with Afrikaans people that used to come and help us, it was very good. (Memory)*

One participant referred the Three2Six project having worked as an information pool for schoolwork, and also assisting with resources such as printing and internet access, for instance. These kinds of supportive resources might indicate the project addressing forced migrant learners' material needs after their graduation from the project (see Minkkinen 2013). The note below illustrates the importance of such resources for the former project learners:

*A previous project learner comes to the office, and greets me with a big smile on her face. Turns out that Three2Six has assisted her financially, in order for her to purchase a new school uniform, and she is now wearing her new, green uniform. I know this girl has graduated at least one year ago. (Field notes 03/19)*

#### **4.7.2 Follow-up and Care**

The supportive, stable and caring relationships from the behalf of the project may advocate for those social needs that might not be acquired at home (see Ajdukovic & Ajdukovic 1998; Kanu 2008). One interviewee referred to the project meeting the past learners' psychosocial needs by following them up and caring about how they are doing after the project:

*-- because unlike other schools, Three2Six does not just let you go. Three2Six follows you up, Three2Six wants to know where you are, what is going on, are you okay. (Keith)*

Similarly, the project seems to care about its former learners in terms of enhancing their educational opportunities and ensuring the successful transition to schools after the learners' graduation from the Three2Six project, as evidenced below:

*The coordinator at Sacred Heart College gives a task for one of the volunteers to call all the students', graduates of 2018, parents and ask whether they have papers from the Home Affairs - such as asylum permit or refugee status. If not, Three2Six will take further actions in assisting the parents to find their children school placements, if necessary. (Field notes 03/19)*

#### **4.7.3 Three2Six Assisting Families**

In terms of the category *support after graduation*, Beth expressed the project addressing its previous learners' psychosocial needs through helping their families, still after graduation. It seems the project addresses forced migrant learners' psychosocial needs not only by supporting families in their acculturation processes, but also by economic means (see Kanu 2008). Beth elaborated how the project keeps on helping the forced migrant learners' parents:

*It's not only for children, it's also for our parents. Once they become Three2Six parents they always come, come, come, to us. Not only for the education of their children, but also for other*

*issues. They come and tell, tomorrow I am going to Home Affairs, I don't have transport --, then I am the one who refer them to lawyers, or assist with transport --. (Beth)*

#### **4.7.4 Sponsorships**

In addition, sponsorships for schooling, received with the help of the Three2Six project, had helped the participants to attend schools. As James stated:

*They can sponsor you to a government school so you won't have to worry about enrolling to another school because you will be taken care of already. (James)*

Furthermore, sponsorships as well as all the three other introduced groups of the *support after graduation* –category may be connected to positive future opportunities and to better well-being. As outlined previously, Rutter (1999) promotes the potential of such opportunities to help the learners to overcome negative daily stressors, which Hajdukova et al. (2017) join by promoting educational opportunities as a means of better usage of individual potential through enhancement of future prosperity.

To summarize the findings of this section, three categories were found: *project enhancing educational opportunities*, *advocacy for other psychosocial needs*, and *support after graduation*. Within the category of *project enhancing educational opportunities*, three groups describe how the project addresses forced migrant learners psychosocial needs: project preparing the learners for schools culturally and academically, the project providing its learners with English language acquisition, and the project supplying material resources for the learners. Resilience building, the relationships created at the project, the project creating a safe space for its learners, and the project assisting families, all describe the means the project advocates for its learners' psychosocial needs, included in the category *advocacy for other psychosocial needs*. According to the past project learners, *support after graduation* -category entails the project assisting the forced migrant learners with their schoolwork, following up and caring about them, and providing them with sponsorships. Staff participants added that the project assists the forced migrant learners' families still after their children's graduation from the project, and this way the project indirectly addresses the forced migrant learners' psychosocial needs still after their graduation from the project. I would argue all these ways the project is found out to

address the psychosocial needs of forced migrant learners are connected to the forced migrant learners' life satisfaction and personal happiness, which Minkkinen (2013) defines as mental well-being, indicating better overall psychosocial well-being.

In this section, it has been explained that the Three2Six project addresses the psychosocial needs of forced migrant learners in multiple ways. However, things can be done better. The chapter that follows moves on to consider the recommendations that participants of this study gave, in terms of how to improve the Three2Six project.

#### **4.8 Participant Recommendations**

The study participants gave direct recommendations on how to improve the project. All of the given recommendations were related to having more resources. The staff participants elaborated on the need to provide forced migrant learners with additional support after their graduation from the Three2Six project, which also requires additional resources. The table below represents the groups and their definitions within this theme, and is followed by sub-sections introducing each group individually.

TABLE 9. *Participant recommendations –groups and their definitions.*

<b>Group</b>	<b>Definition</b>
Resource-related improvements	Suggestions to improve project in ways that require additional resources
Support after graduation	More targeted support for the children after graduation from the project is needed

##### **4.8.1 Resource-related Improvements**

Generally, the lack of adequate funding has been acknowledged as a barrier of facilitating accessible and inclusive education (Buckland 2011; Global Education Monitoring Report 2018; Kanu 2008; Motha & Ramadiro 2005). Several participants suggested to include more grades, whereas a few pointed out the necessity of adding more teaching hours to the project and having more teachers in the project. For example, one interviewee said:

*Like more grades, more teachers, more subjects. So the learners can learn. (Kevin)*

Most of the participants suggested adding more subjects to the Three2Six syllabus, and Afrikaans was elaborated by several participants. As one participant commented, followed by a field note portraying the need for more resources for the project, in order to accommodate the needs of forced migrant children:

*-- I had to be strong and adapt to the new situations so I think I had more subjects, it actually helps. (Precious)*

*A busy day. Many parents coming into the office: mostly newcomers signing up for Three2Six. Almost all of them are put on a waiting list. Unfortunately, two grades were forced to put down in the beginning of this school year. The need for such project shows its necessity, once again. (Field notes 02/18)*

When giving recommendations, both staff participants acknowledged the necessity of having greater resources for improving the project. Beth proposed for a social worker to be employed in the project. Moreover, she suggested the need for the project to expand to a larger geographical area, and to take place in various schools.

#### **4.8.2 Support after Graduation**

Both staff participants elaborated on the necessity of the project to support the forced migrant learners after their graduation from the project, also found in the former project learners' comments. The following notes demonstrate the need for the project's support after learners' graduation from the project:

*The coordinator tells me she has been concerned about the students who leave the project and their transition to mainstream schools. She has read from the internal evaluation report about the recommendation to provide extra assistance to this phase. She tells me it is very necessary, and as soon as there will be resources, she wants to implement additional help for the Three2Six alumni, possibly taking place at some of the neighborhood schools, facilitating previous Three2Six learners. (Field notes 03/19)*

*A student comes to the office, who was not supposed to get a school placement, but finally seems to get enrolled. I am so happy, such a positive boy. I was so worried about him, as he has had a lot of struggles in reading and writing. If he would have dropped out now, I believe he would never have gone back to school. (Field notes 02/19)*

Furthermore, Beth suggested for more support to be provided in an additional project, assisting the forced migrant learners in their transition phase to schools, and elaborating on the need of social support to address the psychosocial needs of the learners (see Barrera et al. 1981; Siedlecki et al. 2013). Similarly, Nicole suggested:

*We should provide support for later schooling, for the needy ones. (Nicole)*

As Silove et al. (2017) note, there is a call for collaboration between diverse agencies on the field, to meet the inter-related psychosocial needs of forced migrants. Beth explained how an additional project could also assist with funding, documents, and provision of schooling for children who are still unable to access mainstream schools after their graduation from the Three2Six project. She elaborated the stress the past project learners experience when settling in a society, after their graduation from the project, as often they still keep leaning on the Three2Six project:

*The time after Three2Six is really a very big question. (Beth)*

This section has reviewed the two key aspects of how the participants would improve the Three2Six project, which also relates to the third study objective: *to provide recommendations on how to improve the project to better respond to the psychosocial needs of the forced migrant learners*. Most of the project related improvements were related to resources, such as adding more grades and subjects to the project. Additional support after graduation was elaborated by both staff participants; organized as a part of the Three2Six project, and also in a completely separate project. The following section will provide a summary of the *findings and discussion* –chapter, before moving on to the *conclusions*-chapter.

#### **4.9 Summary of Findings & Discussion**

Daily stressors are stated to represent experiences of challenging material and social conditions, which influence one's well-being (Miller & Rasmussen 2016; Miller & Rasmussen 2009; Schick et al. 2018; Vearey & Nunez 2011). UNHCR (1996, 4) states children having special needs, mentally and socially, that must be answered in order for

them to develop normally (see also Erikson et al. 1959). This study suggests that forced migrant learners experience daily stressors at the Three2Six project, as well as after leaving the project and enrolling in state schools. Another important finding to emerge from this study is that the project seems to address the psychosocial needs of forced migrant learners in multiple ways, which might possibly indicate the scarce amount of daily stressors experienced by the forced migrant children at the time of enrolment in the project. After being enrolled in schools, the daily stressors seem to intensify. The research has also identified the participant recommendations regarding how to improve the project, to respond to the psychosocial needs of forced migrant learners better.

In regards to the daily stressors forced migrant learners experience during their enrolment in the Three2Six project, only a few participants pointed out stressors occurring during that time. When interviewing staff, two more daily stressors were addressed. Limited English language proficiency when entering the project, academic gaps in terms of inadequate grade placement regarding a learner's age and academic skills, challenging home environment lacking support for learner's psychosocial needs, and experiences of exclusion and discrimination due to exclusion from schools seem to be the daily stressors forced migrant learners experience during their enrolment in the project. In comparison, the daily stressors after graduation from the project formed two categories; *acculturation stressors* and *material shortages*; enclosing various daily stressors forced migrant learners experience. The daily stressors indicating *acculturation stressors* are changes in behavior culture and relationships, academic cultural dissonance, and academic gaps. *Material shortages* include financial stressors related to education and lack of necessary documents for entering schools. Despite the grouping method, the interconnectedness of the daily stressors and the categories must be acknowledged.

To summarize the findings regarding how the project addresses forced migrant learners' psychosocial needs, three categories were found: *project enhancing educational opportunities*, *advocacy for other psychosocial needs*, and *support after graduation*. The project seems to enhance educational opportunities in three ways: the project prepares the learners for schools culturally and academically, provides them with English language skills, and supplies material resources. According to the past project learners, *support after graduation* -category entails the project assisting the forced migrant learners with their

schoolwork, following up and caring about them, and providing them with sponsorships. Staff participants added the project assisting the families still after their children's graduation from the project, and this way the project addresses forced migrant learners' psychosocial needs indirectly after their graduation from the project. Resilience building, the relationships created at the project, the project creating a safe space for its learners, and the Three2Six project assisting forced migrant learners' families, all describe the means how the project advocates for its learners' other psychosocial needs.

In terms of how to improve the project to better respond to the psychosocial needs of forced migrant learners, the study participants gave recommendations. More resources are called for, in order to have more teachers, more teaching hours, more subjects, a social worker and more grades in the project. Besides, organized support after graduation was proposed, which could accommodate the forced migrant learners' psychosocial needs better, still after their graduation from the Three2Six project.

Taken together, these results suggest that there is an association between how the Three2Six project addresses the daily stressors and psychosocial needs of forced migrant learners, that further determine forced migrant learners' psychosocial well-being. However, the data must be interpreted with caution, due to a highly contextualized study outline. Nevertheless, the results of this study indicate that there might be a connection between forced migrant learners' experiences of daily stressors and an educational intervention addressing forced migrant learners' psychosocial needs. The findings in this chapter indicate that educational interventions have the potential to address the daily stressors and psychosocial well-being of forced migrant learners, but only to a certain extent within the social structures of South Africa. This is an important issue to consider, and needs further research. The next chapter, therefore, moves on to discuss the findings from a larger perspective, viewing the Three2Six project in relation to the social structures in South Africa. Recommendations and final conclusions will be made.

## 5. CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of the current study was to determine if the Three2Six project addresses the daily stressors and psychosocial well-being of forced migrant learners, and if so, how. In this chapter I will introduce the main study findings, simultaneously referring back to the literature review and conceptual framework of the study and discuss further recommendations on the field.

This study set out to identify the daily stressors forced migrant learners currently involved in the Three2Six project, and those who have already left the project, experience. The second aim was to investigate if and how the project addresses the psychosocial needs of forced migrant learners. Furthermore, this study has discussed the given recommendations on how to improve the project to better respond to the psychosocial needs of forced migrant learners.

This study has identified that forced migrant learners experience daily stressors at the Three2Six project as well as after the project, when enrolled in state schools. Talking about the daily stressors forced migrant learners experience during their enrolment in the Three2Six project, limited English language proficiency, academic gaps, challenging home environment and exclusion from schools represent the prevalent daily stressors. After forced migrant learners' enrolment in mainstream schools, the daily stressors that are experienced may be divided into two categories: acculturation stressors and material shortages. Acculturation stressors include changes in behavior culture and relationships, academic cultural dissonance, and academic gaps. Material shortages enclose financial issues and lack of documents.

When interpreting these findings, the interconnectedness of the daily stressors must be acknowledged. Let us think about the daily stressors within the *acculturation stressors* – category, for instance. In terms of academic gaps, academic cultural dissonance may even enlarge those gaps, when students are not only struggling to cope with the subjects, but also with different ways of studying and teaching. Moreover, these academic gaps and academic cultural dissonance may influence one's sense of self, in terms of one's academic

identity, for instance (see Burns 2011). It seems this interconnectedness of the groups confirms that daily stressors should always be viewed in their context.

A worrying finding is that forced migrant learners seem to experience continuous stress caused by feelings of exclusion, discrimination, isolation and/or loneliness (see Kanu 2008). This research has shown how forced migrant learners experience various daily stressors that indicate experiences of exclusion and discrimination. These daily stressors appear during learners' enrolment in the Three2Six project as limited English language proficiency, inaccessibility of state schools, and academic gaps. Besides, when enrolled in state schools, experiences of exclusion and discrimination are triggered by acculturation stressors (changes in behavior culture and relationships) and material shortages (lack of documents and financial issues). Any level of exclusion of students may lead to educational underachievement (Nieto & Bode 2008, 43). Kanu (2008) addresses forced migrant learners' drop-outs from schools being connected to academic, economic and other psychosocial stressors, when the feelings of exclusion and marginalization are triggered at schools. Furthermore, Abubakar et al. (2018, 2618) point out the toxic influences of social exclusion and discrimination that are present at all stages of migration processes, and how they are profound determinants of psychosocial well-being.

The Three2Six project seems to address the psychosocial needs of forced migrant learners in multiple ways. The project provides and enhances the educational opportunities of forced migrant learners by preparing them for schools culturally and academically, teaching them English, and providing them with material resources. Besides, the project supports forced migrant learners after their graduation from the project in terms of offering assistance with schoolwork, following-up and caring about them, assisting them with sponsorships for schools, and helping the forced migrant learners' families. Lastly, the project advocates for other psychosocial needs of the forced migrant learners by building their resilience, providing them with a platform for creating relationships, creating a safe space, and helping the forced migrant learners' families. Following the definition of psychosocial well-being by Minkinen (2013), the Three2Six project addresses the psychosocial well-being of forced migrant learners through all three elaborated psychosocial needs-dimensions: mental, social and material.

The ways the Three2Six project addresses the psychosocial needs of forced migrant learners link back to the project objectives. As outlined previously, two of the project objectives are *to provide safe, quality education to primary school refugee children who cannot access public education*, and *to build the children's resilience and prepare them to leave the project and enter the mainstream schools*. According to the study findings, resilience building takes place and the project is perceived as a safe space among forced migrant learners - both indicating ways the Three2Six project not only fulfils its objectives, but also addresses forced migrant learners' psychosocial needs (see Barenbaum et al. 2004; Fattore et al. 2006; Kanu 2008; Rutter 1999). Furthermore, the project seems to prepare the learners to leave the project and enter the mainstream schools, as the forced migrant learners feel prepared to enter the mainstream schools with the help of the project, in terms of the acquired cultural and academic skills, for instance.

One possible explanation for the changes in the forced migrant learners' experiences of daily stressors suggests that as the project addresses forced migrant learners' psychosocial needs, the daily stressors are addressed as well. This interpretation of the findings supports the study's operationalization of psychosocial well-being, deriving from psychosocial needs and daily stressors: when the psychosocial needs of the forced migrant learners are addressed, the experienced daily stressors seem to hinder. To give an example, when forced migrant learners enter the Three2Six project, they seem to experience stress from their limited English language skills, which is the language used in the project. I join Kanu (2008) in acknowledging that inadequate language skills may represent a daily stressor for forced migrant learners. In this study, the learners experienced the named daily stressor, but promoted the project providing them with the necessary English language skills for studying - both in the Three2Six project and in schools. By doing so, the project addresses the psychosocial needs of forced migrant learners. Furthermore, English language acquisition may promote the learners' ability to create relationships and to have social competence, which Minkkinen (2013) describes as preconditions for psychosocial well-being (see also Due et al. 2015). As limited language skills set a barrier for forced migrant children to access schools in South Africa (Motha & Ramadiro 2005; Buckland 2011; see also Abubakar et al. 2018), by teaching its learners English the project is further promoting the educational opportunities of forced migrant learners (see Hajdukova et al. 2017; Rutter 1999). Considering these points, when

addressing the psychosocial needs of forced migrant learners, the project has the potential to address their daily stressors as well, and to further influence their psychosocial well-being from diverse perspectives.

To answer the third study objective, *to provide recommendations on how to improve the project to better respond to the psychosocial needs of forced migrant learners*, recommendations from participants were inquired. All of the recommendations were related to having more resources, such as adding more teaching hours to the project. Staff participants elaborated on the need of providing forced migrant learners with additional support after their graduation from the Three2Six project - not only as a part of the Three2Six project, but by other actors in the field as well. Drawing from this, further recommendations will be provided in the following section.

This study has been unable to demonstrate that there is a direct connection between the project addressing the forced migrant learners' psychosocial needs and the experienced daily stressors. However, it seems that this connection exists. This leads me to question – how could the intensification of experienced daily stressors be prevented better, when the forced migrant children graduating from the Three2Six project enrol in state schools? Another implication of the daily stressors forced migrant learners experience is the possibility that the project's approach is more than just an educational intervention, which causes the intensification of daily stressors in state schools. For instance, learners are provided with material resources and their families are assisted, which state schools do not advocate for per se. On the other hand, we may turn the question around: is the intensification of daily stressors a consequence of the forced migrant learners' transition from the Three2Six project to a school, or would the forced migrant learners' experiences be similar even if enrolment in a mainstream schools would take place prior to resettlement? In other words, would the forced migrant learners experience similar daily stressors in schools, if Three2Six did not exist? Several questions remain unanswered at present. With this being said, the next section discusses recommendations in the field - to address forced migrant learners' daily stressors and psychosocial well-being prominently.

## 5.1 Recommendations

The findings of this study indicate that effective resource allocation promotes forced migrant learners' psychosocial well-being, which is in line with the previous research in the field (e.g. Fattore et al. 2006; Global Education Monitoring Report 2018; Kanu 2008; Rossiter et al. 2015; Silove et al. 2017; Solar & Irwin 2010). There is a call for broader social services provided by the project. Moreover, support for forced migrant learners should not be withdrawn when they graduate from the Three2Six project. Instead, targeted support should be extended to cover the transition phase to mainstream schools, so as to better respond to the psychosocial needs of forced migrant learners.

Furthermore, as this study has identified the daily stressors the forced migrant learners at the Three2Six project experience, and the ways the project addresses their psychosocial needs. Therefore the project should include these study findings in its curriculum planning, as well as in the process of establishing future aims and objectives, and besides, there is a chance for the project to monitor the forced migrant learners' experiences of daily stressors, and so this research can help to determine the effectiveness of the implemented project practices, and can be used to help guide psychosocial support initiatives. With respect to the latter statement, the project could work as an advocate for forced migrant learners' psychosocial well-being, building on the learners' personal experiences that have been previously neglected in the area of studies (Hemson 2011; Spreen & Vally 2012).

Going back to the first paragraph, it is not surprising that resource-related recommendations are elaborated in the condition of improving the Three2Six project to respond to the psychosocial needs of forced migrant learners better. In accordance with the present results, previous studies have demonstrated that there is a need for intersectoral collaboration and better resource allocation on the educational sector (e.g. Global Education Monitoring Report 2018; Kanu 2008; Silove et al. 2017; Solar & Irwin 2010), also essential in South Africa. However, now that there are non-profit organizations, such as the Three2Six project, advocating for the rights of forced migrant learners in South Africa, the demand on the governance to work on effective policies acknowledging the psychosocial needs of forced migrant children might be deteriorated. I promote the necessity of further studies to determine the ideal balance between non-governmental

actors and the state taking responsibility on addressing forced migrant learners' daily stressors and psychosocial well-being. Carefully implemented research on the best (educational) practices advocating for the psychosocial well-being of forced migrant learners would promote the legacy of the South African constitution. Moreover, Turton (2003) argues the studies on forced migration are most relevant when they are targeted for problematizing and assessing practical knowledge directing policies.

Besides, there is a call for targeted social services for forced migrant families in South Africa. Kanu (2008, 929) found out how the lack of economic resources may prevent forced migrant learners' chances for educational success, and such resources are also related to educational opportunities per se (Hajdukova et al. 2017). On the note of challenging home environment, extremely scarce economic resources may substantiate this stressor as the economic shortages may impair the provision of emotional support at home (Betancourt et al. 2015). In this study, a challenging home environment lacking emotional support was indicated to cause stress for the forced migrant learners during the time of enrolment in the project. In addition, after the forced migrant learners' graduation from the project, families caused stress for the learners in terms of their financial deficit and lack of documents challenging learners' enrolment in schools. Therefore, in the absence of the state, it seems justified to call non-governmental actors on the field; to provide forced migrant families with targeted social services in terms of employment guidance, for instance.

In addition, there might be a need to update the higher education study contents to promote teachers' competence to facilitate the psychosocial needs of forced migrant learners better, and this area needs further exploration. With respect to the rich number of forced migrant children residing in South Africa (UNHCR 2016; Global Education Monitoring Report 2018), the schools and teachers have the responsibility to create tolerant and sensitive learning environments to accommodate these learners. Education that acknowledges the diversity of students and cultures is not only beneficial in the sense of learning outcomes, but it also takes a stand advocating for the forced migrant learners' psychosocial well-being and for social justice, rooted in human rights (Nieto & Bode 2008; Portera 2011, Solar & Irwin 2010; UNHCR 2016). Found out in this study, the teachers' competence seems to advocate for the psychosocial needs of forced migrant learners as

competent teachers can support the forced migrant learners in their school adaptation, for instance. One interviewee commented:

*But then, with time I coped. I made friends and then the teachers made us feel comfortable because they understood where we are coming from and we don't know much, so. Yeah I coped really well. (Precious)*

With this being said, it seems self-evident to promote teacher competence, which I believe can be facilitated by improving the contents of teachers' higher education. This recommendation corroborates the statement by Hek (2005), stressing competent and culturally sensitive teachers as facilitators of academic achievement and resettlement, also representing a sensitive school approach on forced migrants (see also Murray 2019). On the note of academic achievement, even though national curriculums are designed to ensure quality education, their contents are depending on the national policies and the implementation relies on the teachers and schools (Grant & Sleeter 2007; UNESCO 2016). Non-competent teachers may decrease forced migrant learners' well-being or even drive them to drop out from schools (Abubakar et al. 2018; Kanu 2008). This is an area that requires more attention.

I argue that the daily stressors forced migrant learners experience are more of a consequence of weak organization of the South African education system than the Three2Six project not addressing the psychosocial needs of these learners. This finding is consistent with that of Solar and Irwin (2010) and Ataguba et al. (2015), who state the inequities in well-being being mainly founded in structural determinants that stem from weak governance and exclusion of social determinants of health in decision making processes. One should ask if the South African government is prepared to work for closing this gap regarding educational opportunities between different social groups. For instance, is the government prepared to liberate its migration policies (see Turton 2003)? I hope this study encourages the South African government to acknowledge how educational organization relates to the forced migrant learners' psychosocial well-being and experiences of daily stressors, and to include these aspects in its decision making. This study supports the idea of exploring the interplay of societal and educational structures and contexts (see Nieto & Bode 2008), influencing the psychosocial well-being of forced migrant learners.

In spite of its limitations, this study certainly adds to our understanding of how the Three2Six project addresses forced migrant learners' daily stressors and psychosocial well-being. By addressing the daily stressors and psychosocial needs of forced migrant learners, the Three2Six project seems to contribute to forced migrant learners' psychosocial well-being. Furthermore, the project advocates as well as other actors in the field may gain a more abundant understanding of forced migrant learners' experiences and perceptions regarding their education in South Africa and at the Three2Six project. Nonetheless, in order to advocate for the psychosocial well-being of forced migrant learners comprehensively, the state is called to join the party. The state ought to take responsibility in re-evaluating its policies, and to systematically monitor policy implementation regarding forced migrant learners' education. This can also have long-term contributions to the well-being of forced migrant learners, as childhood is emphasized being a sensitive phase in terms of migration related stressors and their impact for later life well-being (Abubakar et al. 2018). All in all, this study gives recommendations on how to improve the project in order to facilitate the psychosocial needs of forced migrant learners better, and the role of the Three2Six project as a facilitator of forced migrant learners' psychosocial well-being within the social structures of South Africa has been expressed.

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# **APPENDICES**

Appendix 1: Interview guide for former project learners

Appendix 2: Interview guide for the staff

Appendix 3: Background questionnaire for interviewed former project learners

Appendix 4: Questionnaire for former project learners (December 2018)

## Appendix 1: Interview guide for former project learners

### FORMER PROJECT LEARNERS - INTERVIEW GUIDE

#### Semi-structured Draft

Before starting the background questionnaire and interview, go through the assent form and information sheet with the participant. Highlight, that he/she may withdraw from the evaluation at any time, answers will be anonymous, and further questions may be asked. Talk about the recorder.

As you start to record, remember to state the date, researcher and participant code for the tape.

1. Tell me about your education.
  - Enrolment in South Africa
2. How did you experience your time at Three2Six?
3. How have you experienced your time after leaving the project?
  - Has something been easy? What?
  - Have there been difficulties? What?
4. How have you experienced your time in the new school?
  - What has been easy?
  - What has been difficult?
5. What helped you coping in your new school?
  - Anything with the academics?
  - Anything with the relationships, communication?
  - Anything to make you feel comfortable?
6. How do you feel Three2Six has helped you to be successful (in the new school)?
  - *Academic contents*
  - *Academic skills*
  - Language
  - Culture of the new school and school system
  - Encouragement – adult roles
7. Do you feel Three2Six could have done something more to prepare you better for the school? What?
8. What do you want to do after you finish your current school?
  - Will you be going to another school? If yes, which school?
  - Do you think you might have challenges in going to another school? If yes, what might be the challenges?
9. Do you have any ideas on how Three2Six can be improved? What?
10. Any additional comments?

## **Appendix 2: Interview guide for the staff**

### **STAFF INTERVIEW GUIDE**

As you may know, I am writing my Masters thesis on the psychosocial well-being of the children taking part in the Three2Six project. There are some initial findings that I have already made. However, in order to understand the topic comprehensively, it is very helpful and important to me that you are taking part in this study.

If it is alright for you, I would like to record this interview. I want to emphasize all data will be anonymous. You may stop this interview at any time.

First I would like to ask just a few background questions, before moving on to the interview.

Do not feel hesitant to ask for any clarification, if you don't understand what I mean. Remember, I am interested in your perceptions and experiences.

### **BACKGROUND**

**Age:**

**Home country and year of moving to South Africa:**

**Migration status:**

**Years worked at the project:**

**Tasks at the project:**

---

**First,** I would like to draw your attention to the time the children are enrolled in the Three2Six project. What challenges do you think these students might encounter during their time at Three2Six?

Do you think there are educational or academic challenges?

Do you think the students might feel discriminated and excluded from schools as they enroll in Three2Six, or do you think they perceive Three2Six as any other school?

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**Secondly,** I would like to talk about the time after the students have graduated from the project – more precisely after their transition into schools. Do you think the students are well prepared to enter the schools? Why yes – no?

What do you think might be challenging and why?

Do you think the academic levels meet?

Do you think these learners behave appropriately in schools?

Do you think the academic culture in the school is similar to the project? Why?

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How do you think the project has supported its learners

At the time of enrolment?

After enrolment?

Do you think the project promotes its learners' self-confidence and –awareness, how?

!! Do you think the relationships created at Three2Six – with volunteers, coordinator, teachers, peers - are meaningful for these children? Why/how?

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How would you improve the project, in order to support the well-being of these migrant children better?

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Any additional comments? Anything you would like to add or say?

## Appendix 3: Background questionnaire for interviewed former project learners

### Background Questionnaire

#### General Information

**1. Name of Student**

First, Last

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**2. Home Address**

---

**3. Phone number**

---

**4. Date of Birth**

---

*Example: December 15, 2012*

**5. Gender**

*Mark only one oval.*

☐

Male

☐

Female

☐

Other:

---

**6. Which country were you born in?**

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**7. Which country are your parents from?**

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**8. What is your mother tongue?**

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**9. What year did you move to South Africa?**

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## Before Three2Six

10. How many years did you go to school before moving to South Africa?

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**11. How many years did you go to school in South Africa, before enrolling to Three2Six?**

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**12. How many years did you spend out of school, after the age of 7 years?**

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## **Time during Three2Six**

**13. In what grade did you enroll in the Three2six Project?**

*Mark only one oval.*

- ☐ Grade R
- ☐ Grade 1
- ☐ Grade 2
- ☐ Grade 3
- ☐ Grade 4
- ☐ Grade 5
- ☐ Grade 6

**14. In what year did you enroll the Three2Six Project?**

*Mark only one oval.*

- ☐ 2008
- ☐ 2009
- ☐ 2010
- ☐ 2011
- ☐ 2012
- ☐ 2013
- ☐ 2014
- ☐ 2015
- ☐ 2016
- ☐ 2017

**15. What grade did you finish in the Three2Six Project?**

*Mark only one oval.*

- ☐ Grade 1
- ☐ Grade 2
- ☐ Grade 3
- ☐ Grade 4
- ☐ Grade 5
- ☐ Grade 6

**16. What year did you graduate from Three2Six?**

*Mark only one oval.*

- ☐ 2008
- ☐ 2009
- ☐ 2010
- ☐ 2011
- ☐ 2012
- ☐ 2013
- ☐ 2014
- ☐ 2015
- ☐ 2016
- ☐ 2017

## **After Three2Six**

**17. Are you currently enrolled in a school?**

*Mark only one oval.*

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

**18. If Yes, Which type of school are/were you enrolled in?**

*Mark only one oval.*

- ☐ Public
- ☐ Private
- ☐ Semi-private
- ☐ Faith-based
- ☐ Corporate
- ☐ \_\_\_\_\_
- Other:

**19. What school are you currently enrolled in?**

Name of school, Suburb.

\_\_\_\_\_

**20. What grade are you currently in?***Mark only one oval.*

- ☐ Grade 1
- ☐ Grade 2
- ☐ Grade 3
- ☐ Grade 4
- ☐ Grade 5
- ☐ Grade 6
- ☐ Grade 7
- ☐ Grade 8
- ☐ Grade 9
- ☐ Grade 11
- ☐ Grade 12
- ☐ Other

**21. What year did you enroll in this school?***Mark only one oval.*

- ☐ 2008
- ☐ 2009
- ☐ 2010
- ☐ 2011
- ☐ 2012
- ☐ 2013
- ☐ 2014
- ☐ 2015
- ☐ 2016
- ☐ 2017
- ☐ 2018

**22. What grade did you enroll to?***Mark only one oval.*

- ☐ Grade 1  
☐ Grade 2  
☐ Grade 3  
☐ Grade 4  
☐ Grade 5  
☐ Grade 6  
☐ Grade 7  
☐ Grade 8  
☐ Grade 9  
☐ Grade 11  
☐ Grade 12  
☐ Other

## Grades

**23. What are your grades at the moment (in your latest school report)? If you are not enrolled at the moment, think about your latest report.***Mark only one oval per row.*

	Grades between 0-20	Grades between 20-30	Grades between 30-40	Grades between 40-50	Grades between 50-60	Grades between 60-70	Grades between 70-80	Grades above 80	N/A
English	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Maths	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Afrikaans	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Zulu	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Natural Science	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Social Sciences / History & Geography	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Information Technology	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Creative Arts/ Art & Culture	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Economic Management Sciences	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Life Orientation	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

**24. What are your achievements after leaving the Three2Six Project?**

Please include any academic achievements such as grades/scholarships/awards as well as any personal achievements.

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**25. Any additional comments:**

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## Appendix 4: Questionnaire for former project learners (December 2018)

### Questionnaire

#### General Information

**1. Name of Student**

First, Last

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**2. Home Address**

Number, Street, Suburb, City

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**3. Phone Number**

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**4. Date of Birth**

---

*Example: December 15, 2012*

**5. Gender**

*Mark only one oval.*

☐

Male

☐

Female

☐

Other:

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**6. Which country were you born in?**

---

**7. Which country are your parents from?**

---

**8. What is your mother tongue?**

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**9. What year did you move to South Africa?**

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#### Before Three2Six

**10. How many years did you go to school before moving to South Africa?**

**11. How many years did you go to school in South Africa, before enrolling to Three2Six?**

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**12. How many years did you spend out of school, after the age of 7 years?**

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## **Time during Three2Six**

**13. In what grade did you enroll in the Three2Six Project?**

*Mark only one oval.*

- ☐ Grade R
- ☐ Grade 1
- ☐ Grade 2
- ☐ Grade 3
- ☐ Grade 4
- ☐ Grade 5
- ☐ Grade 6

**14. In what year did you enroll in the Three2Six Project?**

*Mark only one oval.*

- ☐ 2008
- ☐ 2009
- ☐ 2010
- ☐ 2011
- ☐ 2012
- ☐ 2013
- ☐ 2014
- ☐ 2015
- ☐ 2016
- ☐ 2017

**15. In what grade did you finish the Three2Six Project?**

*Mark only one oval.*

- ☐ Grade R
- ☐ Grade 1
- ☐ Grade 2
- ☐ Grade 3
- ☐ Grade 4
- ☐ Grade 5
- ☐ Grade 6

**16. In what year did you graduate from the Three2Six Project?**

*Mark only one oval.*

- ☐ 2008
- ☐ 2009
- ☐ 2010
- ☐ 2011
- ☐ 2012
- ☐ 2013
- ☐ 2014
- ☐ 2015
- ☐ 2016
- ☐ 2017

## After Three2Six

**17. Are you currently enrolled in a school?**

*Mark only one oval.*

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

**18. If Yes, Which school type of school are/were you enrolled in?**

*Mark only one oval.*

- ☐ Public
- ☐ Private
- ☐ Semi-private
- ☐ Faith-based
- ☐ Corporate
- ☐ \_\_\_\_\_
- Other:

**19. What school are you currently enrolled in?**

Name of school, Suburb.

\_\_\_\_\_

**20. What grade are you currently in?**

*Mark only one oval.*

- ☐ 1
- ☐ 2
- ☐ 3
- ☐ 4
- ☐ 5
- ☐ 6
- ☐ 7
- ☐ 8
- ☐ 9
- ☐ 11
- ☐ 12
- ☐ Other

**21. What year did you enroll in this school?**

*Mark only one oval.*

- ☐ 2008
- ☐ 2009
- ☐ 2010
- ☐ 2011
- ☐ 2012
- ☐ 2013
- ☐ 2014
- ☐ 2015
- ☐ 2016
- ☐ 2017
- ☐ 2018

**22. What grade did you enroll in?**

*Mark only one oval.*

- ☐ Grade 1
- ☐ Grade 2
- ☐ Grade 3
- ☐ Grade 4
- ☐ Grade 5
- ☐ Grade 6
- ☐ Grade 7
- ☐ Grade 8
- ☐ Grade 9
- ☐ Grade 10
- ☐ Grade 11
- ☐ Grade 12
- ☐ Other

**23. Does your school provide a nutrition program?**

*Mark only one oval.*

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Maybe

**24. If yes, do you get access to it? Are you given a meal everyday?**

*Mark only one oval.*

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Maybe
- ☐ Other: \_\_\_\_\_

**25. Where do you live?**

Do you live with your parents/guardian(legal/informal)? Where do you live? Are your parents/guardian working? What kind of work do they do?

*Mark only one oval.*

- ☐ Room in a shared House/Flat/Cottage
- ☐ Shelter
- ☐ Renting Flat/House/Cottage
- ☐ Boarding School
- ☐ Safe house (at school)
- ☐ Foster care
- ☐ Other: \_\_\_\_\_

**26. How do you get to school and back home?**

*Check all that apply.*

- ☐ Walking
- ☐ Public Transport
- ☐ Parent or guardian drops you
- ☐ Transport from School
- ☐ Other: \_\_\_\_\_

**27. Who do you live with?**

*Check all that apply.*

- ☐ Mother
- ☐ Father
- ☐ Siblings
- ☐ Aunty
- ☐ Uncle
- ☐ Guardian
- ☐ Alone
- ☐ \_\_\_\_\_
- Other: \_\_\_\_\_

**28. Are your parents/guardians working? If yes, what kind of work do they do?**

\_\_\_\_\_

**29. What are your activities after school?**

*Check all that apply.*

- ☐ Homework
- ☐ Playing in the park
- ☐ Visiting friends
- ☐ Watching TV
- ☐ Helping parents with their job
- ☐ Taking care of younger siblings
- ☐ Cooking and Cleaning
- ☐ \_\_\_\_\_
- Other: \_\_\_\_\_

## Evaluation

**30. Did you find it difficult to enroll in a school after leaving the Three2Six Project? If yes, What kind of difficulties did you face?**

*Check all that apply.*

- ☐ Registration Fees
- ☐ Deposit
- ☐ Buying Uniform, Stationery and School Work Books
- ☐ Transport Costs
- ☐ Lack of documents
- ☐ Proximity of the school from residence (schools usually only accept children who live in a certain radius around the school)
- ☐ No difficulties.
- ☐ Other: \_\_\_\_\_

**31. Do you have the necessary legal documents to attend school in South Africa?**

*Check all that apply.*

- ☐ Refugee Status
- ☐ Asylum Seeker Permit
- ☐ Permanent Residence Permit
- ☐ Green ID
- ☐ Passport with Study Permit
- ☐ Birth Certificate
- ☐ Clinic Card (for Grade R)
- ☐ Previous Academic Reports
- ☐ Proof of Residence
- ☐ I.D copies for parents
- ☐ Other: \_\_\_\_\_

**32. If you don't have the necessary legal documents from the above list, what is the reason?**

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**33. Have you faced any other challenges after leaving the Three2Six Project? If yes, what are they?**

These can be personal or academic challenges.

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**34. What are your grades at the moment (in your latest school report)? If you are not enrolled at the moment, think about your latest report.**

*Mark only one oval per row.*

	Grades between 0-20	Grades between 20-30	Grades between 30-40	Grades between 40-50	Grades between 50-60	Grades between 60-70	Grades between 70-80	Grades above 80	N/A
English	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Maths	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Afrikaans	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Zulu	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Natural Science	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Social Sciences / History & Geography	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Information Technology	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Creative Arts/ Art & Culture	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Economic Management Sciences	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Life Orientation	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

**35. What are your achievements after leaving the Three2Six Project?**

Please include any academic achievements such as grades/scholarships/awards as well as any personal achievements.

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**36. What do you want to do after you finish your current school? Will you be going to another school? If yes, which school?**

Name of school, Suburb, City

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**37. Do you think you might have challenges in going to another school? If yes, what might be the challenges?**

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**38. Has the Three2Six Project helped you to be successful? If yes, in what way?**

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**39. Do you have any ideas on how Three2Six can be improved?**

Are there any other subjects we should teach? Any other improvements?

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**40. Any additional comments:**

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