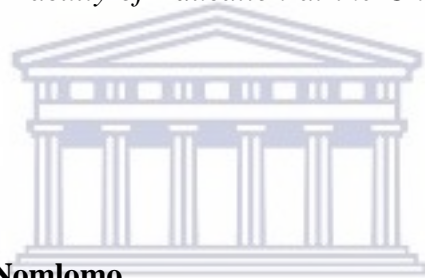


**LANGUAGE BROKERING AND IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION: EXPLORING
IMMIGRANT CHILDREN'S LANGUAGE PRACTICES IN A MULTILINGUAL
SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT**

By

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UNIVERSITY *of the*
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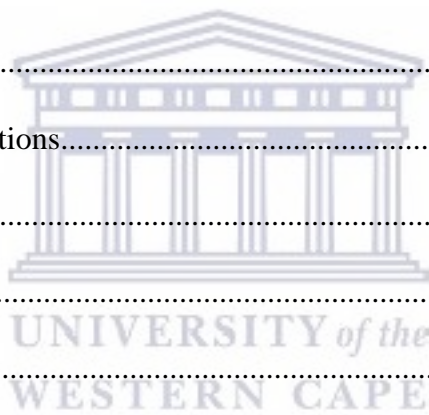
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DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Quinta Kemende Wunseh

December, 2017

Signed:.....



DEDICATION

To

My husband, Richard Fankam and my daughters, Zoe Fankam Nugsi and Elohim Fankam Sirri, who stood by me and gave me the necessary support throughout my research journey .

God bless you.



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I express my heartfelt gratitude to the five Francophone immigrant learners, the three parents and two lecturers who participated in the study. I am very grateful for your contribution and thank you for the rich data you provided.



LIST OF ACRONYMS

BICS	Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills
CALP	Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency
COP	Community of Practice
FMSP	Forced Migration Studies Programme's
IALs	Indigenous African Languages
IOM	Organization for Migration
L1	First language
L2	Second language
L3	Third language
LEP	Limited English Proficiency
LOITASA	Language of Instruction in Tanzania and South Africa
LOLT	Language of Learning and Teaching
MOI	Medium of instruction
PVEST	Phenomenological Variant of Ecological Systems Theory
SA	South Africa
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNDP	United Nations Population Division
UK	United Kingdom
USA	United States of America
WCED	Western Cape Education Department
ZPD	Zone of Proximal Development

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Figure 1: relationship between the Sociocultural, Poststructural and PVEST theories



ABSTRACT

The purpose of the research was to examine the relationship between identity construction and English second language (L2) learning through language brokering. Its focus was on how immigrant children served as language brokers for their parents and other immigrants in South African multilingual contexts. Through the lens of the Sociocultural, Poststructural and Phenomenological Variant Ecological System (PVEST) theories, the study unravelled the nexus between children's language brokering and identity construction through English (L2) which is the main medium of instruction in South African schools. I argued that identity construction in a second language and through language brokering is a fluid phenomenon which is influenced by a number of factors and which should be understood within a particular context, particularly in multilingual environments.

This study was based on a qualitative case study research design. It was conducted in two primary schools in one semi-urban area in Cape Town, Western Cape. The study employed a snowball sampling which involved immigrant children of different ages from Francophone countries. The children's parents and their teachers also formed part of the study. Data was collected by means of semi-structured interviews with immigrant children or learners and their parents. The Francophone immigrant children were observed outside the classroom in order to establish how they interacted with their peers on school playgrounds. The immigrant learners' personal narratives were collected and analyzed to enhance triangulation. Thematic analysis was used to understand how immigrant children acted as language brokers, and how they negotiated and constructed their identities through English (L2) learning.

The findings of this study indicated that Francophone immigrant children navigated different spaces with regard to language brokering. Some of the children displayed excitement and positive attitudes towards language brokering as a means of integration in the host country, while others perceived language brokering as a source of stress and frustration. Parents expressed pride towards their children as language brokers and they viewed language brokering as a vehicle to access better life opportunities through English (L2) learning. Teachers showed empathy towards children who acted as language brokers, but they experienced challenges with regard to accommodating language diversity in their classrooms due to the complex nature of multilingual practices in South Africa. Overall, language brokering was viewed as a mediated activity with implications for immigrant children's identity construction through exposure to English (L2) which perpetuates the hegemonic status of English in South Africa.

The study concluded that language brokering, language learning and identity construction are mutually constituted concepts which influence each other. Through language brokering, immigrant children's identities could be seen as being fluid as they shifted from one language to another.

Key words: Language brokering, Identity construction, Immigrant children, Second language, Multilingualism, English, Community of Practice.

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT

1.1 Introduction and background to the study

International population movements are complex to analyze as they are influenced by a variety of socioeconomic, political, environmental and other factors. People migrate from one country to another for various reasons. Some migrate in search of a better life while others bring their children along to give them educational opportunities they may not have in their native countries. Some people arrive as refugees who have fled the conflict and persecution in their home countries. The South African Census of 2011 suggests that 3.3% or about 1.7million of the country's population are "non-South African" citizens. While reasons for emigration are varied and unique to individuals, many choose to settle in more developed countries like South Africa where the earning potential for skilled labour tends to be higher. According to the Forced Migration Studies Programme's (FMSP, 2009) extrapolation from census data, the overall foreign population is likely to be between 1.6 and 2 million, or three to four percent of the total South African national population.

When immigrants arrive in a new country they are expected to adapt to their new environment which entails learning a new language and adopting values, beliefs and customs of the new culture. In other words, adaptation to the South African cultural norms involves a complex and potentially stressful process for families. The process of acculturation begins immediately upon arrival for immigrant families, but operates differently for children and adults.

Children tend to acquire language proficiency in English and other languages and to acculturate to cultural norms much more quickly than do their parents. As families adapt, many immigrant parents rely on their children, as well as on other more acculturated members of their social networks, to help them function effectively in the new host country. Children in these families often become the intermediaries between the cultural and linguistic divides that separate their families from the host culture. This is how immigrant children reconstruct their identities as language brokers: they assist their parents by translating and interpreting, often in a variety of complex situations.

The adaptation process can be stressful and overwhelming for immigrant families because of language barriers, change of environment and clash of cultures. Adult immigrants often rely on their children or their extended family members to function socially in unfamiliar multicultural settings. This implies that power relations are not vested in parents only. The children of immigrant families often become more competent in English as a second or third language than their parents so they often serve as translators and interpreters for their parents and family members. These children thus assume a role as *language brokers*, and are repeatedly asked or sometimes expected to assist their parents (McQuillan & Tse, 1995). This may lead to the role reversals between parents and children that often happen in immigrant families as the bilingual children are placed in the position of power to make decisions for their family.

In this study, I focus on immigrant children as language brokers in one of the Cape Town suburbs in South Africa. I argue that while child language brokering is regarded as a convenient way of integrating immigrant families in the host country through a common language, it can also be a source of stress and frustration to children, and may also strain the child-parent relationship. As language brokering entails moving between languages to facilitate communication, a brief South African language history will serve to delineate the different languages spoken in this country, as well as the status of these languages in formal and informal domains.

1.2 The South African language history

The first people in South Africa were the Khoi and San who lived in this part of the world. The Bantu migrated to this region from the Great Lakes area around the 12th century. The Europeans, namely Portuguese, Dutch, French, German and British arrived in South Africa around the 17th century, mainly in search of a sea route to India. From the 18th century the Asians (Malay, Indonesian and Indian) were brought in as slaves, political prisoners and indentured labourers (Beukes, 2006). So the diversity in South Africa (SA) is due to the flow of people from different parts of the world.

The Bantu people opposed the European settlers in many ethnic and racial wars until the democratic transformation in 1994. There were also many conflicts between the Bantu chiefdoms as black African rulers founded powerful kingdoms and nations by incorporating chiefdoms leading to the emergence of the Zulu, Xhosa, Pedi, Venda, Swazi, Sotho, Tswana, and Tsonga tribes alongside the Europeans, Asians and "Coloureds" (of mixed ancestry)

many of whom are descended from the Khoi and San. As a result of this diversity South Africa has no single culture, and the new SA is thus marked by multiracialism and multiculturalism. Thus although SA has eleven official languages, English is understood across the country and is the language of media, politics, business and the lingua franca of this country (Beukes, 2006).

Because of the extraordinary diversity of races, tribes, languages and landscapes that characterize this country South Africa is referred to as a “rainbow nation”, a term that was coined by Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu (Allen, 2006). However this concept is contested. For instance Blaser (2004) claims that the myth of the “Rainbow Nation” creates the image of a false unity and serves to maintain inequalities that are associated with racial and class differences.

Due to economic and socio-political unrest in some African countries, Africans, particularly those from French-speaking African countries, have made South Africa their home. Into the 'rainbow nation' the new arrivals have brought with them their languages as well as a ‘mix’ of cultures. The diversity of South Africa is thus even more complex due to the flow of people from different parts of the world (Alexander, 1992). Yet it is unfortunate that immigrants’ languages are not captured in census data; and on official documentation are often nondescriptly lumped together as ‘other’ or unclassified languages.

McDonald, David, Gay, Lovemore, Mattes & de Vletter (1998) complain that a more inclusive immigration policy, which may reasonably have been expected after 1994, has not yet materialized. They claim that instead, there has been a rise in xenophobia which lies in the ambiguity of South African nationalism (Tafira, 2011). Emerging from a history of division, South Africans face the challenge of forging a united nation. For some, citizenship signifies not only who “we” are, but also designates who “they” are. Immigrants appear to have become the new “them”. They are portrayed as constituting a threat to social and economic security, rather than as a threat to a national identity as yet unformulated. The challenge for immigration policy-makers is thus not what to do about “them out there” but what to do about “them in here” (Nyamnjoh, 2006).

Thus if South Africa were to embrace a nationalistic project, resultant policies, those of language and immigration are likely to be exclusive. By communicating in English, which they believe is the main language used nationally, immigrants therefore, look for ways of becoming part of this Rainbow Nation. Since most immigrant parents find difficulty in

learning English, they encourage their children to do so, and thus their children in turn become their translators or interpreters. The immigrant children quickly become assimilated into their new host country's language system and help their immigrant families and friends by taking up new identities as child language brokers.

During the colonial era 5.5 million of the total South African population belonged to two major language groups: Nguni and Sotho-Tswana (Beukes, 2006). The Nguni group has two major languages: isiXhosa, a language which was primarily dominant in the Eastern Cape, and isiZulu, which is widely spoken in Kwa-Zulu Natal, but also in the Witwatersrand gold mining areas. Ndebele forms another smaller Nguni language group. Siswati, although spoken by a small population in South Africa, became the dominant language of the Kingdom of Swaziland.

During the Napoleonic wars the Dutch lost SA to the British in the Congress of Vienna (1814-1815). This led to tension between the Afrikaner colonialists and the British administration. With the colonization of SA by the British, English became the language of the law, the courts and education (Beukes, 2006).

The period of Dutch colonial rule left South Africa with its own local variety of Dutch which was to develop into the hybrid variety which today is known as Afrikaans. However, English became the language of education, the judiciary and the administration during the extended period of British colonial rule from 1822 (Beukes, 2006). The freeing of the slaves by the British in 1835 sparked the Boers' Great Trek into the interior of SA which led to further colonization. Several wars with the indigenous nations followed notably those against the Xhosa and the powerful Zulus. Eventually the Anglo-Boer War finally led to the founding of the Union of South Africa in 1910. Naturally, all these important historical events aided the spread of the Dutch and English languages amongst speakers of other languages. English and Afrikaans were granted equal status in the Act of Union, and Afrikaans started to be taught in schools from 1925.

The rule of the Afrikaner Nationalist Party from 1949 to 1993 was established through the policy of apartheid and the enforced use of Afrikaans, often to the detriment of those who spoke English. Despite this, English continued to dominate in education and finance. However, about 70% of South Africans speak one of the Bantu languages (Alexander, 2004).

The hatred of the apartheid regime and Afrikaans as the language of the oppressor reached its climax in 1976 with 15,000 students marching through the streets of Soweto with banners

bearing slogans like “Blacks are not dustbins - Afrikaans stinks” (Alexander, 1992). This led to police attacks, resulting in the deaths of many young people, while hundreds more fled the country during a period of great social and political unrest. Following the Soweto riots, schools were allowed to decide on their media of instruction (MOI). Many schools chose English, with the home language used only during the first four years of schooling rather than the first six. There was however a difficulty in learning English as an invisible boundary separated Africans from native English speakers who could otherwise have facilitated the acquisition and use of this language.

The education of black South Africans was problematic as very little money was allocated to them compared to white South Africans (Alexander, 1992). This resulted in a lack of books, chairs, electricity and qualified teachers, thus leading to impoverished education not only for black children, but also for "Coloureds" and "Asians", although the education budgets for the latter two groups were actually better than for the majority of black population. It is necessary to note that while in most African countries the need for mother-tongue education was to promote the mother-tongue in the interests of the majority, the case in SA was different. Mother-tongue education was actually encouraged in order to keep blacks away from the well-established white educational and economic structures, keeping them constantly poor (Alexander, 1992). Thus the language policy at the time was severely politicized.

The indigenous languages were continuously kept separate from one another through lexical and other corpus planning manoeuvres as the apartheid government pretended to be developing these languages (Alexander, 1992). The local languages could not be used in context of real power. Bantu education was imposed on the black people and the leaders of the liberation movement supported English as the language of liberation and were opposed to Afrikaans as the language of the oppressor. These leaders never thought of the need to develop the African languages as much as they did for English.

Given that there was no policy in favour of the African languages, no attempt was made to “develop, modernize, and spread the knowledge of the indigenous languages both for the intrinsic empowering value and as an explicit strategy of cultural-political resistance” (Alexander, 1994). Thus English became the language of power as it was the only means of international communication available to South Africans (Alexander, 2000). As a result of the dysfunctional education system which continues to plague the country post-liberation, many South Africans do not have a high command of the high status languages (English and

Afrikaans) to compete for well-paid jobs, and Alexander (1992) further argues that the effect or role of the manipulation of language, colour, and race has today affected most youths in their quest for power, position and individual progress.

Alexander (2000) criticizes the South African government for allowing the dominance of English as lingua franca in the new civic state in order to create a sense of unity, instead of adopting a truly multilingual policy in which African languages, in particular, are promoted. According to Alexander (2000) the laissez faire policy that results in the dominance of English caters for the needs of the middle-class only and inhibits empowerment on a broader base. Naudé (2010) agrees that the acknowledgement of the social and political reality of racial and ethnic groups usually implies that power and finances are diverted to particular regions or ethnic and racial groups. But English is the most commonly spoken language in the official domains of power and is instead highly centralized. Furthermore, ethnic and other minorities find it difficult to protect their interests in the current political system as it does not guarantee the rights of minorities despite the emphasis on “rainbowism” (Naudé, 2010).

The South African official languages are Afrikaans, English, isiZulu, isiXhosa, Sesotho, Setswana, SiSwati, isiNdebele, Tshivenda, Xitsonga and Sepedi. Besides the eleven official languages, there are other African languages spoken in South Africa (Alexander, 1992). Other South African languages covered by the constitution are the Khoi, Nama and San languages, sign language, Arabic, German, Greek, Gujarati, Hebrew, Hindi, Portuguese, Sanskrit, Tamil, Telegu and Urdu. There are also a few indigenous creoles and pidgins (Alexander, 1992). South African English, however, has borrowed words from some of the indigenous languages like Afrikaans, isiZulu, Nama, etc. (Alexander, 1992).

The opportunities and challenges presented by multilingualism in South Africa are thus fascinating. Bamgbose (2003) points out that South Africa is a multilingual country with the most diverse and accommodating language policy in the world. It has eleven official languages, and a significant number of minority languages. According to Bamgbose (2003), the South African constitution is the most progressive in Africa as it not only stands for bilingualism but also for multilingualism, with equal rights accorded to all the official languages. This provides room for people from various cultural backgrounds to interact, construct, reconstruct and negotiate various identities.

The constitution encourages affirmative action for the African languages formerly marginalized, with priority given to language development. The language clause is further

supported by the Bill of Rights which recognizes language as a basic human right: "Everyone has the right to use the language and participate in the cultural life of their choice, but no one exercising these rights may do so in a manner inconsistent with any provision of the Bill of Rights" (Section 30 of the SA Constitution). However, English is the dominant language in SA (Dyers, 2008), and consequently many parents do their best to ensure that their children are educated in English.

This explains why English is used as medium of instruction at schools in South Africa. Considering that English is a lingua franca and the global language used in business, diplomacy, media and other spheres (McArthur, 2001; James, 2000), it is understandable that many immigrants have to learn it for communication purposes, particularly in Anglophone countries like South Africa. Furthermore, the authors argue that communication is a form of social behaviour which can be performed only through the use of a language.

Many new immigrants experience tension between the cultural norms of their home country and popular cultural norms in South Africa. Immigrant children tend to internalize a new set of cultural norms, including a new language and a new value system more quickly than their parents. As a result some of them become language brokers for their parents.

Language brokers can be defined as "children of immigrant families who translate and interpret for their parents and other individuals" (Morales & Hanson, 2005, p. 471). The term "*language brokering*" was originally coined by anthropologists to describe the activities of individuals who connect local and national worlds as *cultural brokering* (Hall, 2007). These anthropologists suggest that the broker makes more independent decisions in negotiating and initiating action (Hall, 2007). Thus it is believed that when immigrant children interpret and translate, they are not simply constructing the world for themselves, but are acting as brokers who are playing principal roles in constructing versions of the new world for other family members (Hall & Robinson, 1999, p. 4).

Although language brokering by immigrant children has been happening over a long time, the phenomenon has only recently been considered important for empirical study (Morales & Hanson, 2005). This has been due to the fact that more often children also relocate and settle in new migration destinations with their families (Roche, Lambert, Ghazarian, & Little, 2014). However, language brokering often leads to feelings of alienation between the parent and the child as the immigrant child has to serve as a translator for his/her parents. This results in a reversal of roles that can threaten parental authority (Baptiste, 1993). When

brokering, children do not passively transmit words from one speaker to the other, but they use language as a tool for negotiation.

This is because language brokering entails translating, interpreting, negotiating and advocating by bilingual children in a wide range of daily situations for their parents, relatives and other people who have limited English proficiency (Baker, 2006; Corona, Stevens, Halfond, Shaffer, Reid-Quinones, & Gonzalez, 2012; Orellana, 2009, 2010). Therefore language brokering is also defined as the mediational work that children do as they negotiate for themselves and their families who are monolingual speakers (Orellana, 2009). Other terms that are sometimes used interchangeably with language brokering include family interpreting, natural translation, paraphrasing and transcultural and intergenerational work (Orellana, 2009). In immigrant families children are often asked to translate various documents, answer telephone calls for their parents and to speak on behalf of their parents in places such as the store or doctor's office (Orellana, Dorner, & Pulido, 2003; Trickett & Jones, 2007; Valenzuela, 1999). This occurs because the young individuals are often more proficient in the English language than their parents, and knowledge of the language spoken in the host country enables them to assist their families where necessary. To act as language brokers for their family members, children have to make sense of the messages to be passed on before first putting these into words from their home language, and then into the second language. Immigrant children thus construct, reconstruct and negotiate their identities through second language learning at home, in school and within their communities.

Because language *learning* is at the centre of identity construction, in this study, language *brokering* is viewed as a service which involves a number of demanding activities. Hence when immigrant children interact with their peers, teachers and other people in their environment they construct and reconstruct their identities and in the process their role as language brokers goes beyond "just" translating for their families. It requires them to engage in the complex task of navigating languages.

Language is thus the most salient way we have of establishing and advertising our social identities (Lippi-Green, 1997, p. 5). If we consider this definition, there can be no language brokering without identity construction or negotiation. James (1997) explains that as immigrant children begin to think and behave more independently, they increasingly depend on and seek advice from other community members such as teachers, friends and school

counsellors. Therefore, second language learners acquire other languages through communication with a variety of people.

In general socialization is an interactive process whereby the second language learners are accepted into their second community (Bayley & Schecter, 2003). Language socialization is equally a process in which language learners acquire the necessary communicative skills. The social interaction and human social behaviours are different sides of the same coin: they exist as integral parts of our social functioning (LeDoux & Gorman, 2001). Therefore, language is not just a means of communication, but it also plays a significant role in identity construction (Kemende, 2014). So, language learning and identity construction are interrelated: identity construction occurs through interaction or communication with others in a given social context. We construct our identities through narratives that we share with each other (Bruner, 1986, 1987, 1990) through the use of language.

1.3 Context of the study

The purpose of this research then is to examine the relationship between identity construction and second language learning through language brokering. Its focus is on how immigrant children respond to, and cope with the challenges they encounter while constructing their identities through English (L2) and how they serve as language brokers for their parents.

As this research is located within identity construction through language brokering, it draws on Spencer's (1995) framework called Phenomenological Variant of Ecological Systems Theory (PVEST), Vygotsky's (1978) Sociocultural and Poststructural theories. These approaches demonstrate that language learning is situated in social practice and social interaction (Hellermann, 2008). Whilst PVEST brings to light the constant cultural socialization in identity construction, the poststructuralist approach explores the stance that reality is socially constructed, and is based on symbolic and material structural limitations that are challenged and maintained in interaction (Howarth, 2000). That is, our actions are supported by historical or cultural frames of meanings in our lived world, which often allow for doing things in a new way. This implies that identity construction through language brokering is an ongoing social activity backed up by socio-cultural and contextual factors.

This study seeks to understand who the children language brokers are and how they are viewed by others. Significantly it also probes the implications of using young children as language brokers for multiple identities. Immigrant socialization is a very complicated

process. Immigrants need to reconcile two cultural environments: the original culture in which they were born and the host culture in which they find themselves (Dong, Gundlach, & Phillips, 2017). Upon relocation to a different culture immigrants evolve culturally through a process of adaptation to a bicultural environment (Berry, 1997). Immigrants are not only influenced by the dominant cultural values, attitudes, and ideals, but also by their original culture. As a result, immigrants obtain a level of bicultural identity in the host environment (Dong & Gundlach, 2004).

The concept of bicultural identity has not yet received an in-depth concentration of study. Those studies which have been completed show that biculturalism is closely related to socialization (Berry, Kim & Boski, 1987; Lambert & Taylor, 1990; Bernal & Knight, 1993; Buriel, 1993; Berry, Ting-Toomey & Chung, 2005; Phinney, Sam & Vedder, 2006). Likewise, terms such as ethnic identity, cultural identity, and social identity are all related. They focus on different aspects of bicultural identity. The concept of bicultural identity assumes that immigrants can maintain their unique cultural identity while adopting the host country's values and ideals (Buriel, 1993). In other words, socialization or acculturation can take place amongst immigrants without a corresponding loss of their ancestral cultural patterns. In view of the above, this study explores the notion of bicultural identity among immigrant children in the Parow area of Cape Town.

Parow is a densely populated neighbourhood, with markets for small businesses in combination with efficient transportation links, affordable rents, accessible schools for mixed uses – in short, conditions which facilitate the combination of life and work in the context of raising a family. It offers its inhabitants ample opportunities for social interaction and engagement with their environment. It also allows for greater identification with place for all ages and from various backgrounds. This area is thus particularly attractive to immigrants from various cultural and linguistic backgrounds as they can do business and send their children to schools in the same area.

This is why the participants selected for this study are immigrant children of the ages of seven, twelve, thirteen and sixteen in two primary schools in Parow, an area where there are many immigrant families from various countries.

1.4 Problem Statement and Rationale for the study

As people migrate from one country to another for social, political or economic reasons this movement between geographical and social contexts results in changes, notably in identity and language use (Manguel, 2007). Immigrants generally tend to go through an identity adaptation process in the host country and those with bilingual identities may do well at school, in organizations, and in other environments. Migration to South Africa results in young immigrant children being granted access to schools where they are expected to become familiar with academic subjects different from those to which they had been exposed in their country of origin and where a new and unfamiliar language is used. They are expected to learn English in order to participate in academic activities because English serves as the medium of instruction. The immigrant children also learn new languages and are exposed to different culture(s) through interaction with their South African peers. Thus some of them become bi/multilingual and bicultural. Biculturalism can be defined as individuals' competencies and sensitivities to two cultures and it reflects the unique blending of the cultures (Ramirez, 1983).

It is not known how young immigrant children in South Africa cope with their roles as mediators or language brokers for their families as they adapt to the new culture and learn additional languages for integration in the South African society.

Research on children as *language brokers* has demonstrated that they are expected to assist their parents in very complex, "adult-like" situations which may or may not be developmentally appropriate (McQuillan & Tse, 1995; Tse, 1996; Tse, 1995; Valenzuela, 1999). Immigrant children taking up the role of mediators for their parents and relatives may find themselves assuming positions that are above their age and this is likely to bring tension and stressful situations into their lives. Some Francophone children are faced with challenges as they are still grappling with their own mother tongue and French which is often spoken by their parents if the latter are from other parts of Africa. At the same time, they are expected to learn English in order to adapt to the South African context, and to act as brokers for their parents as they settle into the new environment. In the context of this study, the young immigrant pupils have to renegotiate social identity in a multilingual and multicultural South African context and this may be difficult for some of them.

Parents and relatives of language brokers sometimes demand a lot and tend to forget that the children need their emotional support. Research shows that immigrant children usually start

brokering between the ages of seven and twelve (Hall & Robinson, 1999; Hall & Sham, 1998; McQuillan & Tse, 1995; Tse, 1996). This age group can be considered favourable for language brokering as the children are open to learn more easily, acquiring and learning the new language/culture naturally.

This study will explore the tension between children's language brokering and how they renegotiate their identities in different environments, such as at school and at home. Language brokering is a common phenomenon in immigrant families, yet most scholarship in language brokering has been mainly quantitative (Buriel et al., 1998; Jones & Trickett, 2005; Orellana, 2003; Trickett & Jones, 2007). This study by contrast, focuses on a qualitative description of how language brokering is experienced by immigrant parents and their children.

Also, because the literature on language brokering is not centred in the African context, this study seeks to contribute to language brokering research from an African perspective. It considers the Francophone immigrant children from different French-speaking African countries such as Cameroon, Congo and Burundi, whose ages vary from 7 to 16. It is hoped that the study will help to bring to light certain perspectives on children language brokers. As will be discussed in Chapter 5, some children consider brokering for their relatives as a contribution to the family, while others see it as frustrating and stressful (De Ment, et al., 2005). At the same time, language brokering does not always hinder parent-child relationships, and in fact may foster a strong family orientation and a sense of closeness amongst immigrant families (DeMent et al., 2005).

I am a Cameroonian national and due to my own personal experience of learning a second language, I believe I am in a better position to understand the difficulties children and parents from a French-speaking background may be facing when they study and live in an English speaking community. In this study, it is assumed that the French language dominance in Francophone African countries makes it difficult for their nationals to study and live in an English speaking country where English is the main language of instruction. I explore different perspectives by examining issues pertaining to education, language and identity in relation to how the Francophone migrant children and their parents cope in an English-speaking South African environment.

A review of previous research on language brokering shows that much of what has been done on language brokering has adopted measures/items developed by Buriel et al. (1998), Tse

(1996), and Weisskirch & Alva (2002). Most of these language brokering items fall into four subscales: child focused (for example, "I feel good about myself when I translate for others."); parent focused (for example, "I think translating has helped me to care more for my parents."); child efficacious (for example, "I feel useful when I translate."); and child independent (for example, "Language brokering makes me feel more independent and mature."). Tse's (1996) existing scale examined young language brokers' positive and negative experiences of language brokering. However, other psychological dimensions of the language brokering experience that are relevant to the study of children language brokering are not included. Similarly, Buriel et al.'s (1998) and Weisskirch & Alva's (2002) language brokering measures do not include assessment of parents' reports of their experiences of having children as language brokers. At the same time, there is ample evidence that children of immigrants frequently perform language brokering tasks for their parents (for example, that of Chao, 2006; Orellana et al., 2003). How the young language broker's parents perceive their children as language brokers is likely to affect the children's language brokering experience as well as the children's psychological well-being, and the perceived quality of relationship with their parents.

In light of the foregoing, this study will include the parents' experiences which may provide some insight into the different experiences of immigrant children as language brokers in spaces such as hospitals. This resonates with Drennan's (1999) statement that there is an absence of a common language between doctors and patients in the healthcare sector. This implies that the use of interpreters might be a part of everyday life in hospitals although it is invisible (Drennan, 1999).

While language brokering is a common practice among immigrant families, available scholarship in this understudied area has mainly focused on the experiences of child brokers (McQuillan & Tse, 1995; Tse, 1996; Cline, T., Abreu, G. de, Fihosy, C., Gray, H., Lambert, H. & Neale, J., 2002; O'Dell, L., G. de Abreu, T. Cline, & S. Crafter, 2006). This scholarship suggests that the primary users of language brokers are parents, yet no studies have looked at language brokering from the parents' and children's perspectives. Hence it has been necessary to conduct a study that explores the phenomenon of language brokering by examining parents' and children's views.

There is limited research on non-linguistic brokering with different age groups from diverse populations. Studies in this area have included mainly adolescents (Acoach, & Webb, 2004;

Buriel et al., 1998; Dorner, L. M., Orellana, M. F., & Jimenez, R., 2008), primarily of Latino origins (Morales & Hanson, 2005). This study illustrates that language brokering does not involve the deployment of knowledge of two languages only, but it also involves an active engagement in social exchanges that are normally seen amongst adults, such as discussions between teachers and parents or between immigration officers and immigrant parents.

Thus this study intends to bring a fresh perspective on the scholarship of language brokering by focusing on African children of different age groups and their interaction with parents and teachers.

1.5 Research aims

The main aim of this study is to investigate the identity of immigrant children as *language brokers* in South Africa. It therefore sets out to explore how immigrant children in two primary schools in Cape Town construct their multiple identities through language brokering – in and out of school. Central to this study is how these immigrant children cope with the challenges they face while acting as interpreters and translators for their families and friends in a multicultural and multilingual South African society. This leads to the objectives of the study.

1.6 Objectives of the study

The study set out to:

1. investigate parents' views on language brokering;
2. examine the relationship between language brokering and identity construction by immigrant children in a multilingual South African context;
3. determine the implications of language brokering for young immigrant children's identity construction and to
4. establish how immigrant children construct their identities in a multicultural and multilingual context.

1.7 Research questions

The central research question that guides this study is:

How do immigrant children construct and negotiate identities as language brokers in different spaces?

This study will also address the following research sub-questions:

1. What are the experiences of immigrant children as language brokers in different spaces?
2. What are the parents' views and experiences of their children as language brokers?
3. What are the teachers' views of language brokering by immigrant children?
4. What are the implications of language brokering for immigrant children's identity construction in a multicultural and multilingual context?

1.8 Significance of the study

This qualitative case study is important and necessary because it seems that a gap exists in the language brokering literature where the perspectives of the parents and brokers are not integrated sufficiently for a more comprehensive appreciation of the implications of language brokering among immigrant families.

This research is intended to pave the way for exploring issues pertaining to education, language brokering and identity construction from different perspectives. It is hoped that the study will contribute to the theoretical examination of the relationship between culture and language brokering through its reliance on Vygotsky's Sociocultural Theory. Essentially Sociocultural Theory attempts to explain human development in a cultural and social context; it has not been used to examine the ways in which culture brokering operates in immigrant families. The theory proposes that children are able to navigate the world around them by being guided or scaffolded by more experienced and usually older individuals (Daniels, 2007).

This study may provide information for future researchers who wish to study language brokering with immigrant families in other parts of the world.

1.9 Research Methodology

The data for this study was collected by means of observations, children's personal narratives and individual semi-structured interviews with five immigrant Francophone pupils of Congolese and Burundian origin as well as French-speaking Cameroonian pupils. Two of their teachers were purposefully selected and interviewed for the purpose of this study as discussed in Chapter 4 of this thesis. All the data was collected and used with informed consent.

This study followed a qualitative research approach (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000) to analyze the teachers' understanding and experiences of language brokering by immigrant children. The study made use of a case study design in order to investigate, examine and explore the real lived language brokering experiences of the Francophone immigrant pupils in a primary school in Cape Town. This design allowed me to use various methods of data collection, namely interviews, observations and narratives. It was chosen for its flexibility with regard to data collection methods (Atkinson, Coffey, Delamont, Lofland, & Lofland, 2001).

Chapter 4 of this thesis provides a full account of the research design, sampling and data collection strategies. Through individual interviews it investigates the implications of language brokering for English (second language) learning and identity construction in multilingual South Africa. It also examines the Francophone immigrant pupils' experiences as language brokers in different domains. The snowball sampling method (Cohen, et al, 2007) was used to identify research participants. A detailed discussion of the sampling techniques is captured in Chapter 4.

1.10 Delimitations of the study

This study is based on the assumption that the Phenomenological Variant of Ecological Systems Theory (PVEST) is an appropriate approach by which to analyze language brokering by immigrant children, because it incorporates the Sociocultural and Constructivist theories, together with Poststructuralism. The theoretical approaches (Sociocultural, PVEST and Poststructural) turned out to be useful in the analysis and interpretation of the data on the identities of the Francophone immigrant children as language brokers.

This study views language brokering as a social practice by investigating immigrant children's experiences as interpreters and translators for their parents and relatives. The immigrant children under investigation engaged in an active learning process by interacting with their peers from various cultural backgrounds, with parents and relatives in their local communities and with teachers inside and outside the classrooms. How they coped negotiated, re-identified and reconstructed their identities through this process, is of special concern in this study. This is where Spencer's (1995) framework referred to as the PVEST became relevant for illuminating how immigrant children constructed their identities in English (L2) in South Africa.

From a sociocultural point of view, learner identity is constantly constructed throughout life and through learning experiences. These experiences occur in formal and informal situations. At this point, the educational system is influential in the identity construction of the learner. My study is based on the assumption that the immigrant learners' identity is both an activity-based and a role-based identity. The activity in this case is the learning process and the role is that of learner.

I am delimiting my study to the foregoing theories because language learning and identity construction take place in a social context. It is well known that many migrants in a new country are assisted by their children who have learned the language of the new country. This involves interpretation and translation of language by the immigrant children, which enables them to move between different languages.

1.11 Conclusion

This chapter outlined the historical language background of South Africa. It also shed light on the background knowledge on language brokering.

The historical language background of South Africa has shown that the country has a policy that supports multilingualism, with English as the main medium of instruction from Grade 4. The chapter discussed the research problem and the rationale for the study. It also provided the research questions that underpin this study, as well as the research methods that were used for data collection. The next chapter will focus on the literature review.

1.12 Chapter outline

The thesis comprises six chapters which appear as follows:

The first chapter consists of the introduction and background to the study. It also provides motivation, general aims, objectives, statement of the problem under investigation, research questions and the delimitations of the study.

Chapter two includes a literature review which explores work previously undertaken concerning language brokering. The literature review chapter covers identity construction through language brokering.

The third chapter looks at the theoretical framework used in the study. The theoretical framework is based on the Sociocultural, PVEST and Poststructural theories with the

intention to analyze and interpret immigrant children's identities as language brokers in multilingual South Africa.

The fourth chapter includes a detailed account and description of the sampling methods, participants and data collection.

The fifth chapter focuses on the presentation and analysis of data. It also provides preliminary findings of the study.

The sixth and concluding chapter summarizes the findings of the study. Based on these findings, the implications of the study for English (L2) and identity construction are discussed. Future recommendations are provided in this chapter.



CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW: THE DYNAMICS OF LANGUAGE BROKERING

2.1 Introduction

Language reflects one's understanding and conceptualization of the world and it also mirrors the culture and identity of its speakers. It can unite or divide people through communication, especially if one of the languages is dominant over others with regard to its status and official use. Language hegemony often results in social stratification between the elites and the masses. This occurs in situations where one language dominates other languages in a particular community. The dominant language is usually used in formal domains such as education and business, and people who cannot speak the dominant language are thus usually marginalized and excluded from the community's formal and official activities which include the economy and education.

The purpose of this chapter is to shed light on the complexities of language brokering. It introduces children's experiences of language brokering, especially immigrant children who use their linguistic repertoires with flexibility to navigate between various languages for communication and meaning-making purposes. Hence the focus of my study is on how immigrant children in South Africa, particularly those who come from Francophone backgrounds, construct their identities through brokering.

In order to have a better understanding of the relationship between language brokering and identity construction, there is a need for background information on immigrant language policies in Africa, especially the Anglophone and Francophone countries. Thus I provide a brief description of patterns and trends of migration and their implications for immigrants' integration into the host country.

2.2. Migration patterns and trends in Africa

Migration refers to the flow of people from one place to another, nationally and internationally (Vertovec, 2007). High levels of migration occur throughout the globe. Migration is broadly understood as the movement from one place to another, a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence (Lee, 1966). Vertovec (2007) refers to this movement as an "era of super diversity" as it includes not only groups of distinct countries of origin, but

also different ethnic identities, languages and religions. Park (1928) also asserts that migration is not merely identified by movement, but more significantly by a change of residence and the breaking of home ties. Subsequently, immigrant groups find themselves in new social and linguistic environments which they have to adjust to in many ways. Hazans, Mihails & Kaia Philips (2010) claim that one of the major changes to migration patterns occurred following the enlargement of the European Union. This resulted in movement across Europe and a high number of migrants from member states, as well as from former African colonies.

Chouliaraki & Fairclough (1999) reiterate the idea that migration refers to the spatial movement of people at various times of their lives for various reasons. This means that migration involves relocation within a geographical space, often characterized by a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence. Therefore, the distance covered or borders crossed qualify one as a local, national, regional, or international migrant (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999).

Africa is known for its long history of migration within and beyond the continent. It is estimated today that the number of people of African descent who live outside the continent is close to 140 million, with the majority in the northern hemisphere (Shinn, 2008). Most of these immigrants have lost their ties with the country of origin altogether.

The migration pattern in Africa indicates that Africa, particularly Sub-Saharan Africa, reveals huge waves of human movement that exceed even the global average (Russel, Jacobsen & Stanleyet, 1990). Russel et al. (1990) claim that the trend in net migration overtime reflects the tumultuous history of the continent, particularly that of Sub-Saharan Africa where migration rates have fluctuated widely in the last three decades and a half for most countries. Countries that experienced large scale conflict and war contributed to the periodic instability in the net movement of people from Africa. It is indeed noteworthy that official data on migration in Africa especially on Sub-Saharan Africa, significantly understates the actual movement of people for a number of reasons including inaccurate, infrequent and inconsistent recording by officials of movement of people across borders (World Bank, 2011).

A marked feature of movement of people across the globe is that at least half of it takes place within the same continent while the other half is transcontinental, except for emigrants from Latin America where the majority end up in North America. However, for countries from

Sub-Saharan Africa this figure is close to 65%, which represents the largest intra-continental or south-south movement of people in the world. According to the migration data of the World Bank (2011), about 23% immigrants are from North Africa and the rest originate in Sub-Saharan Africa. Generally, the intra-African migration is driven by the complexities of the history of state formation where colonial borders overlook linguistic and ethnic commonalities, as well as waves of internal and cross-border conflicts. It also reflects migration in search of job opportunities across neighbouring countries. It is for this reason that in Southern Africa it is easy for migrants from Lesotho, Swaziland, Mozambique and Botswana to blend in with communities in South Africa, making mobility and settlement comparatively easy for aspiring migrants.

Living standard or the Intra-African Emigration Prospect for a better life is certainly one of the most important factors in people's decision to migrate (Hazans, Mihails & Kaia Philips, 2010). Ability to migrate is also an important element, which introduces a threshold effect on the decision to stay or to emigrate (Shaw, 2007). The pattern of migration by African emigrants depicted suggests that people from middle income countries tend to migrate to destinations outside of Africa, whereas emigrants originating from poorer regions generally remained within the ambit of neighbouring countries (Shinn, 2008). To a certain extent, trans-continental migration may be impeded by among other things, cost and related factors which could be a result of differences in living standards across countries. It is plausible to assume that emigrants from middle income countries have a better chance of travelling far (outside of Africa) by being able to pay for transport, and other amenities in the destination country, and may thus be better prepared to adapt to the environment outside of Africa, particularly in the developed Western countries. It is very clear that the poorer the country, the higher the percentage of emigrants staying within the continent.

Colonial ties and emigration in post-independence African states retained close economic, political, cultural and linguistic relationships with former colonial powers that are still in existence today. In particular, France, Belgium and the United Kingdom cultivated special relationships with their former colonies in Africa that included privileges for travel, study and business opportunities (Vertovec, 2007). It is easier for migrants from Francophone areas to travel to France and Belgium, and those from Anglophone areas to the UK and so on. Over time, countries in the New World (USA, Canada, and Australia) as well as emerging economies within the continent such as SA, also became favourite destinations for African emigrants.

Migration in Africa is intrinsic to the broader agenda for economic integration that involves intra-African trade and investment. The policy challenge often raised with respect to migration is whether it is possible to attain optimal welfare gains, in terms of both efficiency and equity considerations for all involved. The empirical literature generally provides a favourable view of migration as it impacts positively on the economy of the country of origin. This occurs through a flow of remittances, and in some cases skill and knowledge transfer to the destination country through the maintenance of stable labour market conditions that are necessary for growth (World Bank, 2011). In the case of Africa, particularly Sub-Saharan Africa the bulk of south-south emigration often across borders, can be regarded as an extension of the pattern of internal migration. It is not known to what extent such patterns of migration have impacted on either the economy of the country of origin or that of the destination (Shaw, 2007).

While reasons for emigration are varied and unique to individuals, many choose to settle in more developed countries like SA, where the earning potential for skilled labour tends to be higher. On the continent of Africa, South Africa has been shown to be a receiver of migrants from Africa (Stats SA, 2012). Schiller, Basch & Blanc-Szanton (1992) suggest that a new modern form of migration is emerging; with a migrating population whose lives cut across national boundaries and bring two societies into a single social field. They argue that the term "immigrant" evokes images of permanent rupture, of the uprooted, the abandonment of old patterns and the painful learning of a new language and culture (Schiller et al., 1992, p.1). In relation to the foregoing argument, this study sheds light on the learning of a new language and culture through language brokering by some immigrant children in SA.

2.3 Immigrants and language brokering

The International Organization for Migration (IOM, 2015) defines a migrant as any person who is moving or has moved across an international border or within a state away from his/her habitual place of residence, regardless of the person's legal status. The movement can be voluntary or involuntary, and there are various causes for the movement and the length of stay in the host country varies. Migrants or immigrants may leave their countries of origin for any number of reasons. For example, people may migrate to find work, get an education and better themselves. Hazans, Mihails & Kaia Philips (2010) explain that in the United Kingdom (UK) 'immigrant' and 'migrant' as well as 'foreigner' are commonly used interchangeably in public debate and even among research specialists. They further refer to migrants or

immigrants as foreign-born, foreign nationals or people who have moved to the UK for a year or more (Hazans et al., 2010). This means that migrants or immigrants might be defined by birth, by citizenship or by their movement into a new country to stay temporarily or to settle for the long-term. Meanwhile, the United Nations Population Division claims that migrants are persons who move to a country other than that of their usual residence for a period of at least one year, so that the country of destination effectively becomes their new country of usual residence (UNPD, 2009).

In this study, the term 'immigrants' has been used to refer to participants because they are foreign-born, foreign nationals and people who have moved to South Africa to stay temporarily or to settle for the long-term (Hazans et al., 2010).

Children of immigrants who act as interpreters and translators play principal roles in constructing versions of the new world for their parents (Hall & Sham, 2007, p. 4). Certain studies show that sometimes the experience is enjoyable (Bauer, 2010; DeMent & Buriel, 1999; Orellana, 2009; Valdés et al., 2003; Valenzuela, 1999), while others show that it can be stressful and burdensome for children (Hall & Sham, 2007; Weisskirch & Alva, 2002; Wu & Kim, 2009). The relationship between language brokering and academic achievement shows mixed results (Dorner et al., 2007; Trickett et al., 2010). The main argument against language brokering is that it may put children at risk of academic failure or may limit the child's opportunities because their families expect them to continue brokering (Morales & Hanson, 2005, p. 494). Another argument concerns the impact of language brokering on the parent-child relationship which is viewed as controversial.

Some studies report that language brokering facilitates strong parent-child bonds (Chao, 2006; DeMent & Buriel, 1999) and that children use their position of power in language brokering to protect their parents' dignity and welfare (Orellana et al., 2003; Valdés et al., 2003). Other studies focus on child language brokers as intermediaries between cultures and on the impact that language brokering can have on children when they take on responsibilities in situations in which adults would normally be in control. As indicated, this can either cause stress or be a burden for bilingual children; or it may be an enjoyable experience for immigrant children (Cohen, Moran-Ellis & Smaje, 1999; Hall & Robinson 1999). Others contend that language brokering negatively affects the normal dynamics of the parent-child relationship (Cohen et al., 1999; Love & Buriel, 2007), leading to unhealthy role reversals in families, whereby parents become dependent on their children (Martinez et al., 2009).

Other less positive studies argue that language brokering may accord children too much power, framing the activity in terms of child ‘parentification’ (Weisskirch, 2010) or ‘adultification’ (Trickett & Jones, 2007). In developmental terms, the child language broker is seen as prematurely exposed to adult knowledge and has to assume extensive adult roles and responsibilities within their family (Burton, 2007). However, the reality is that language brokering is a common phenomenon in immigrant families (Buriel et al., 1998; Jones & Trickett, 2005; Orellana, 2003; Trickett & Jones, 2007).

This illustrates the reality that language issues of immigrant people always intersect with migration processes. On arrival in the host country, many children are taught in an additional language, to prepare them for entering the ‘mainstream education’ in the new country (Baker, 2000). Learning a dominant language like English may undermine the home languages and cultures of the immigrants (Baker, 2006). The purpose of studying an additional language is usually tied to immigrants’ employment and study or to their immediate needs in the host country. Immigrants often have limited access to authentic conversations on a day-to-day basis due to limited proficiency in the languages spoken in the host country. Eventually, with some effort, they become assimilated into the language and culture of the new country (Baker, 2000). In many countries in Africa English is usually the most prestigious language, with high socio-economic status (Prah, 2005).

Communication involves transmitting not only information from one person to another, but also what we are and, maybe, how we want to be perceived. The immigrant children are often confronted with communication challenges in a foreign country (Kemende, 2014). Thus they could be confronted with challenges in understanding who they are, what they ought to be and who they have to become. In the case of this study, immigrant children in South Africa have to communicate in English which is the medium of instruction in most schools, especially from the Intermediate Phase to Further Education and Training (FET). English second language becomes a barrier to meaningful learning in the classroom as the majority of these children do not have adequate proficiency in it which, in some cases, is their third or fourth language (Prah, 2005).

Linguists like Bhabha, (1996), Burck, (2005) and Turner, (1991) posit that individuals and families who have moved cultures and countries, those with identification across contexts, must challenge notions of cultural identity, which includes language. There are several ways people can maintain and control their cultural integrity and one of them is to continue

to speak their languages (Prah, 2009). Adult immigrants are more likely to maintain an affinity for their home country and are less likely to feel the pressure of assimilation in the language and culture of the host country. But resistance to language assimilation may be difficult for young children who do not have fully developed language skills in their home languages.

Usually, one learns better in the language used at home (Prah, 2009), but in the case of immigrant children who are still trying to master their home languages and who see the need to translate for their families, they are easily assimilated into the English-speaking community. They put more effort into learning English which they believe is the most important language in education. While adults often find it hard to learn a new language, children learn languages faster (Baker, 2000). This, in effect, turns immigrant children into language brokers for their parents and other relatives who may experience difficulty in understanding and communicating proficiently in a second language of the host country. Language brokering by bilingual children, as mentioned in the first chapter of this study, entails translating, interpreting, negotiating and advocating. These children do this for their parents, relatives and other people who have limited English proficiency (Baker, 2006; Corona et al., 2012; Orellana, 2009, 2010).

In relation to the foregoing points, language brokering is an alternative communication strategy for a diverse range of people from different countries as they cannot communicate effectively in the imposed official language/s. Hence, since this study is concerned with immigrant children in South Africa, specifically in the Western Cape, who are mainly from other African countries, it is necessary to describe the general language issues in Africa. This will enable us to understand why language brokering is a necessary linguistic and survival strategy for immigrants in other parts of the world. As a point of departure, I highlight some challenges experienced by many African countries with regard to the status of local indigenous languages in education. This is to illustrate the complexity of language policy issues that impact on the choice and use of language by immigrant children, both in school and at home with their parents.

2.4 Language-in-education policy issues in South Africa

After independence, many African countries recognized local languages as official languages, but classroom practice and official government functions are conducted in colonial languages (Heugh, 2003). For instance, in South Africa eleven regional languages have national or

official status, but English has retained its position as the main language of education, government and business (Adegbija, 1994). The linguistic influence of the official African languages is mostly confined to the same regions to which the colonial governments had assigned them, mostly for administrative convenience.

In South Africa the power of English and its history have been closely linked to class (Alexander, 2011). Thus an effect of the dominance of English is related to the perceived status of someone speaking it; that they may be perceived to be of a "higher" class. A further outcome is that the two European languages, English and Afrikaans used to be the only official languages in the previous apartheid regime, but within the democratic government of today, they still determine one's placement in certain jobs (Alexander & Heugh, 1999; Heugh, 2003).

According to Alexander (2004), Afrikaans has left a clear racist legacy in South Africa that leads to resistance. Similar resistance to English as a colonial language was not always as clearly articulated, partly because it was juxtaposed with apartheid language policies that privileged Afrikaans. Recently, the racialized politics of South Africa has increased resistance to English, particularly when spoken by the new black elite (Green, Sonn, & Matsbula, 2007).

In this complex and multi-faceted context survival for immigrants means adaptation to the use of appropriate linguistic skills. In some families this has necessitated brokering on the part of the child, to protect themselves and family members from racial attacks based on language.

In light of the above, Alexander (2005) explains that for reasons connected with the colonial history of Southern Africa, the language of power in post-apartheid South Africa is that English. and Afrikaans continue to play an ancillary role in the processes of economic production in the so-called formal economy, even though there are determined attempts to reduce their significance in this domain and in other high-status domains such as education. The other source of the power of language is its function as a transmission mechanism of culture or, more importantly, its role in the formation of individual and social identities.

Nkuna (2010) maintains that in South Africa it is possible to develop indigenous languages just as Afrikaans was developed. The latter originated and evolved during the colonial and apartheid periods yet does not rely on being taught in Dutch or English. According to Prah

(2009) Afrikaans is the most successfully developed language on the African continent in the last 100 years. It rose from the level of being considered a "kitchen language" to becoming the language of science and technology. This indicates that it is possible to develop the African mother tongues to languages of learning and teaching in education.

Furthermore, when language policies are considered from a human-rights approach (Babaci-Wilhite & Geo-JaJa, 2011; Babaci-Wilhite, 2012 and 2013; Bostad, 2012) this strongly suggests that the use of a familiar language in education should be regarded as a right.

In most African states the distinction between official and national (African) languages ironically highlights the social distance between the elite and the masses of the people. (Ratele & Laubscher, 2010). Because of the prestigious status of English in most societies, the monolingual habitus becomes generalized in such a manner that the vast majority of the people believe that all that matters is knowledge of English in so-called Anglophone Africa. Monolingual habitus in this case refers to the choice of one official language (i.e. English) over other national languages, especially in formal domains such as education and business. This utterly disempowering disposition assumes the character of social pathology, one which Alexander (1992) refers to as the Static Maintenance Syndrome. Alexander (2006) explains this to mean that the source of the power of language is its function as a transmission mechanism of culture or, more importantly, its role in the formation of individual and social identities. Therefore being able to use the language(s) one has the best command of in any situation is an empowering factor. Conversely, an inability to use the dominant language is disempowering. The self-esteem, self-confidence, potential creativity and spontaneity that come with the ability to use the language that has shaped one from early childhood (one's mother tongue) are the foundations of all democratic policies and institutions.

To be denied the use of one's home language is equated with oppression. Gogolin (1994), basing her work on Bourdieu's work, coined the term monolingual habitus to describe the ironical phenomenon of, among other things, colonially oppressed peoples who voluntarily deny that their indigenous languages have any value and valorize only the former colonial language(s). In the context of this study therefore, "monolingual habitus" applies in that most African people are willing to maintain their first languages in the informal contexts of family, community, primary school and religious practice but they do not believe that these languages have the capacity to develop into languages of power in formal contexts such as business and education.

The legacy of apartheid education in South Africa exacerbates the Static Maintenance Syndrome referred to above, since most black people continue to equate mother tongue-based education with the ravages of Bantu education (Alexander, 2002). Because of the low social status and lack of economic value of African languages in South Africa, many African language-speaking people tend to maintain the use of the colonial languages in education, despite their low proficiency in these languages. The language scenario in South Africa is not much different from the rest of sub-Saharan Africa, where fewer than 10% of Africans are proficient in the official languages of their country, usually a colonial language like English, French or Portuguese. Vuzo (2005) affirms this and explains that many African states are still dependent on the former colonial languages in education, namely English, French, Portuguese, Spanish and Dutch in this postcolonial era. African governments continue to perpetuate the colonial masters' languages as the media of instruction. According to Ngefac (2010), colonialism has come and gone, but its impact on postcolonial multilingual contexts continues to shape and mould people's ideologies, identity, culture, perceptions and attitudes. Despite efforts by UNESCO which emphasize the crucial role played by the mother tongue in learning, African governments are not taking the issue seriously.

In order to effectively implement a mother tongue instruction policy in Africa, Beukes (2009) suggests the need to make people understand the importance of studying through the language that one knows best. In the absence of creating such public awareness, Beukes (2009) avers that the idea will not become entrenched in the hearts and minds of people, and hence no changes in attitudes and behaviour will take place.

Some studies on the language of instruction in African countries have established that learners perform better when they are taught in the mother tongue (Nomlomo, 2007; Desai, 2010; Prah, 2009). For example, Yohannes (2009) conducted a study in Ethiopia and found strong evidence on the comparative advantage of using the mother tongue as the language of instruction in the teaching of Mathematics and Science subjects in upper primary schools. Yohannes' findings indicate that instruction in the mother tongue does not appear to prevent students' acquisition of English. These findings contradict the fear expressed by most African parents who insist on the use of English as a medium of instruction (Ndamba, 2008; Qorro, 2009).

In a study sponsored by UNICEF on the African Girls' Education Initiative, Qorro (2009) describes her experience as 'tragic' when she had observed lessons in six African countries,

namely, Uganda, Swaziland, Namibia, Niger, Mali and Guinea. The study established that teachers and children lack proficiency in English or French as the language of teaching and learning. Qorro (2009, p. 67) goes further to express her concern that parents and policy makers who insist on English as the language of instruction, believing that students learn English better in the process of using it evidently do not know what actually happens in the classrooms where teaching is conducted in English.

In another study designed to establish primary school teachers' attitudes towards the use of the home language in the teaching of Mathematics, Setati (2005) describes six primary school teachers' attitudes in multilingual classrooms in South Africa. The findings of her study indicate that all six teachers preferred to teach in English mainly because it is an international language. A different approach emerges from Kaphesi's (1999) study on the possible use of Chichewa and Chiyao in teaching mathematics in Malawi, in which the findings were that Mathematics can be taught in the local languages, but there was a need to develop stakeholders' positive perceptions on the use of local languages.

Communication in a multilingual country like South Africa has always been and is still a challenge for both nationals and foreigners. This is exacerbated by a number of factors which include language ideologies and attitudes. It is in relation to this dimension that Fiske (1990) points out that communication is one of the human activities that everyone recognizes but few can define satisfactorily. Thompson (2001) appears to pick up on this when arguing that we have to recognize the fact that communication takes place in social contexts and that it involves transmitting not only information from one person to another, but also communicating a relationship of what we are and more importantly, how we want to be perceived. This suggests that there is a connection between language and identity construction. In order to understand why immigrant families from Francophone countries would need language brokers, I present a brief background of the language policy practices in South Africa.

2.5 Language policy practices in South Africa

There have been three official censuses since South Africa's first democratic election in 1994. The first census was in 1996, the second in 2001, and the third one was conducted in October 2011. The population in 1996 was 40.6 million, increasing by 10.4% to 44.8 million in 2001. The population grew by 15.5%, or almost 7 million people, in the space of 10 years to reach a total of 51.7 million in 2011. Therefore, South Africa is a nation of cultural and linguistic

diversity, with nearly 52 million people. According to Census 2011, "blacks" are in the majority, and make up 79.2% (over 41 million) of the population, while the "coloured" and "white" people each make up 8.9% of the total population (4 615 401 million and 4 586 838 million respectively). The "Indian"/"Asian" category constitutes 2.5% (280 454) of the total population. Figures from South Africa's 2011 Census suggest that 3.3% or about 1.7 million of the country's population are "non-South African" or 'naturalized' South African citizens.

Ironically, in post-apartheid South Africa, the public dominance of English, one of the languages in the country with the smallest representation, spoken as a home language by only about 8% of the population, has been strengthened at the expense of all the other languages. Afrikaans, spoken by about 12% of the population, when compared to English, has lost its stature. The African languages, including languages like isiZulu and isiXhosa, the two most widely-spoken languages in the country, which are almost fully mutually intelligible, continue to be almost completely neglected. Indeed, the nine African languages are probably in a weaker position today than they were before the 1990s (Prah, 2006). More than three quarters of the population speak these languages.

Serious English proficiency among African language mother-tongue speakers does not count more than 12%. In this respect, the language scene in South Africa is not much different from the rest of sub-Saharan Africa, where fewer than 10% of Africans are proficient in the official languages of their country. The supremacy of English is patently clear (Prah, 2006).

In many South African schools about 60% of children in Grade three learn through a language other than English or Afrikaans. By Grade four, this proportion is only about 5% (De Klerk, 2002). Most children experience a transition from mother-tongue instruction to English instruction in Grade four and the transition tends to be a difficult process. Learning, including language learning, begins well before children enter formal schooling (DeKlerk & Barkhuizen, 1998). Therefore, a "straight-for-English" approach still involves a transition in a child's language of learning, and children may be less well prepared for such a transition in Grade one than in Grade four. If this be the case for South African children, then it must be worse for immigrant children who have other languages in their repertoires and sometimes need to learn one or two South African languages before learning English second language. It is against this backdrop that this study investigates how immigrant children and their families experience the mismatch in the language(s) of communication in South Africa.

In South Africa, in particular, the two European languages, English and Afrikaans used to be the only official languages in the previous apartheid regime, but within the democratic government of today, they still determine one's placement in certain jobs (Alexander & Heugh, 1999). Although there are now nine African languages with official status, job advertisements and interviews are conducted either in English or Afrikaans, and such practice tends to be a disadvantage to candidates who are not proficient in these two languages. Consequently, many black people are not in a position to compete with English and Afrikaans speakers in the job market. Hence the majority of black people aspire towards acquiring English as the language of socio-economic advancement, simultaneously confusing learning a language with learning in a language.

South Africa is often lauded for its multilingual language policies which serve to validate the languages of its people. Alexander (1992) provides a good account of the language situation in South Africa, describing the country as a multilingual/multicultural one with eleven official languages namely Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, isiXhosa, isiZulu, Sesotho sa Leboa, Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda, and Xitsonga. The policy promotes all eleven languages and this implies that English should no longer enjoy any special privileges (Botha, 1994). However, many South African parents, like other African parents on the continent, choose to send their children to straight-for-English schools (that is, English from the first day), and this is especially true of wealthier parents. This situation gives rise to a number of questions like when and how one should transition to English as a medium of instruction. Non-language subjects in the matric examination are available only in English or Afrikaans, so pupils who are neither Afrikaans nor English-speaking are at risk of academic or educational failure due to their low proficiency levels in these languages.

Some schools choose to commence immediately with English as the language of instruction from Grade one and these are sometimes referred to as "straight-for-English" schools (De Klerk, 2002; Thorpe, 2002). Yet most schools also choose to teach in the home language of the majority of the children in the school during grades one, two and three, while they take either English or Afrikaans as a subject to help them to prepare for the switch. These schools are referred to as mother-tongue schools (DeKlerk & Barkhuizen, 1998).

In South Africa, the learners' low English proficiency has been reported in different research findings (Mji & Makgato, 2006; Leibowitz, 2005). For instance, in Mji's & Makgato's (2006) study some learners claimed that English as a medium of instruction makes it difficult

for them to understand some concepts used in subjects such as Mathematics and Physical Science. In Leibowitz's (2005) study students revealed that their lack of academic language (English) proficiency hampers their epistemological access to academic knowledge in lectures, and negatively affects their essay writing. In Webb's (1996) research it is found that only 25% of black South African students are functionally literate in English. Being functionally literate in English Webb (1996) interprets as students who know English well enough and who are able to use it effectively in academic and public settings.

In the light of the foregoing discussion, the use of English as a language of teaching and learning is clearly a challenge to a huge number of South African students (Desai, 2010; Makgato & Mji, 2006; Mohamed, 2000; Macdonald, 1990) as it affects their academic performance (Ntshangase, 2011; De Klerk, 1995) and understanding of the subject content. This is due to the fact that a large number of those students are second language speakers with varying degrees of competence in English (Pienaar, 2002).

Academic English has been identified not only as a barrier to academic literacy proficiency (Desai, 2010), but also as a cause of dropout rates (Kuh, Kinzie, Buckley, Bridges & Hayek, 2007; Scott 2007; Mkhabela & Malan 2004; Cooper & van Dyk, 2003), especially for black African students from disadvantaged backgrounds who are second language speakers of English. A number of students have limited access to the lexico-semantic meaning systems of academic English (Starfield, 2004). This view is confirmed by different researchers such as Simpson & Cooke (2010); Snow & Uccelli (2009); Greenbaum & Mbali (2002) and Angelil-Carter (1993). These researchers state that academic English challenges not only those students for whom English is an additional language, but also those students for whom English is a first language because they speak "non-prestigious" varieties of English (Simpson & Cooke, 2010, p. 59).

In order to promote the use of African languages for teaching and learning, the LOITASA project was initiated. The Language of Instruction in Tanzania and South Africa (LOITASA) research project was a collaborative research project between Tanzania and South Africa from 2003-2012. It extended the use of isiXhosa in mathematics, geography and science teaching in the Intermediate Phase (Grades 4 – 6) in selected primary schools in the Western Cape. The rationale was to actively challenge the reality that African languages are not used as languages of learning and teaching after Grade 3 in many South African schools (Nomlomo & Mbekwa, 2013; Nomlomo, 2007).

Immigration has exacerbated language inequality in education and language diversity in many countries. As a result, immigrant children are challenged to act as language brokers for their families and friends whilst they themselves are still in the process of learning English as a second language. In addition, as language is used to transmit culture across generations (Alvarez, Barton, Clark, Keenan, LaLyre, MacNeill, & O'Brien, 1992; Jones & Lorenzo-Hubert, 2008) and all language learning is cultural learning (McCardle, Kim, Grube, & Randall, 1995), these children are doubly engaged.

In this study, I argue that while children's language development is best nurtured through the language in which they have proficiency, this is not the case with immigrant children. They have to learn the new language and customs more rapidly than their parents as they interact more in multiple local languages. Cummins (1976, 1979; 1981) suggests that second language proficiency is dependent on competence in the first language, at least during the early stages of second language acquisition. His threshold hypothesis emphasizes the importance of a strong home language foundation, suggesting that bilingual children must achieve a minimum "threshold" level of competence in their first language in order to circumvent cognitive disadvantage and to set the stage for potential intellectual benefits of bilingualism.

I argue in this study that immigrant children, who act as translators and interpreters for their families and friends, do not abandon their first (home) languages, but rather use them as a foundation on which to construct meaning in the English language. The young immigrant children's willingness to take risks and experiment with language, in turn, supports their English language acquisition.

In the light of the above, immigrant children have to juggle between different languages in which they have limited proficiency. Learners' limited proficiency in English (L2) draws attention to the concepts of Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills (BICS) and Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP).

These terms were coined by Jim Cummins (1979). Cummins (1980) found that while most students learned sufficient English to engage in social communication within about two years, typically they needed five to seven years to acquire the type of language skills needed for successful participation in the classrooms. Students' language skills are often informally assessed upon the ability of the student to comprehend and respond to conversational language, and as a result, students may display Limited English Proficiency (LEP). They may

be incorrectly tagged as having learning deficits or may even be referred for testing for learning disabilities.

Children who are proficient in social situations may not be prepared for the academic, context-reduced and literacy demands of mainstream classrooms (Cummins, 1979). Judging learners' language proficiency based on oral and/or social language assessments becomes problematic when the learners perform well in social conversations, but do poorly in academic tasks. Hence in most cases immigrant children perform better in social conversations than in academic tasks, as their main reason for learning English second language is to facilitate communication for their relatives.

However, in South Africa the languages one hears most frequently will depend on one's location in the country. The Language of learning and teaching (LOLT) might be English in a given school, but alongside the English L1 learners there are L2 and L3 speakers of English also being taught in English. The level of English proficiency of these L2 or L3 speakers may be minimal, as some of them are exposed to English for the first time upon entering school. These L2 or L3 speakers may include children whose parents raised them in English, but the parents are L1 speakers of Afrikaans. They may also include immigrant children who have an African/home language as L1 and whose parents have a low spoken and written English proficiency. Some L1 isiXhosa-speakers grow up in rural areas and only move to urban or peri-urban informal settlements once they are ready to enter school (Chetty, 2012). In this context, therefore, some children are specifically moved from rural areas where either an African language or Afrikaans is the LOLT, to urban areas so that better schooling can be received in English.

According to the 2001 census figures, within Cape Town Afrikaans became numerically larger at 41.4%, followed by isiXhosa at 28.7% and English at 27.9% (Dyers, 2009). This notwithstanding, English continues to be the dominant language as it is used in the high status domains of politics, the media and education (Chetty, 2012). The language problems faced by immigrants, particularly those from Congo, Rwanda, Burundi, Cameroon and Senegal, necessitate this kind of study of language brokering. This is because the countries listed are Francophone African countries and most immigrants from these countries have French as their second language and not English. Therefore, difficulties in communication are often experienced by Francophone immigrants who need translation services in various societal spaces.

Given this situation, the Francophone immigrant children involved in this study may be confronted with exchanging information in various spaces. This is more possible in the school space as learners have to communicate in English which is, in most cases, the medium of instruction at schools. Considering that most immigrants in South Africa are from Francophone countries, there is a need for language brokering as it bridges the communication gap between the immigrants and the host communities.

Because English is regarded as the main medium of instruction in South Africa, the immigrant population believes that without knowledge of English, there is no hope for a better future in South Africa. French is understood by most immigrants, so when addressing South Africans or others who are not from the same background, they have to translate into English.

This entails language brokering which involves translation and crossing linguistic and cultural boundaries. Considering that the participants of this study are from Francophone countries, it is also necessary to look briefly at the language issues in these countries.

2.6 Language issues in Francophone countries

There are 26 French-speaking countries in Africa. Some include Senegal, Burundi, Cameroon, Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo. In post-independence Africa, sharp rivalry has developed between Arabic and French, involving ongoing competition between either of these two languages, and national ethnic languages for the position of official language. The fact that French has been used in politically independent French-speaking countries as a medium of administration, education and literature means that this language has become a national heritage for individual countries. French has become a language of communication between cultures (Alidou & Mazrui, 1999).

French has been maintained in many of its former colonies, especially in Africa. The colonial language policy followed the assimilationist models (Alidou & Mazrui, 1999, p. 110; Alidou, 2004). Assimilation, sometimes known as integration or incorporation, is the process whereby the characteristics of immigrant groups and host societies come to resemble one another. This process, which has both economic and sociocultural dimensions begins with the immigrant generation and continues through the second generation and beyond (Alejandro, Fernández-Kelly & Haller, 2005).

The French colonialists established very similar educational and social structures to their own so the educational system in French colonial African countries is very much like the one in France. For example, French colonialism enforced the use of French in education while the African languages of the colonized were not given any support or recognition in education (Anchimbe, 2005). In fact African people who could not speak French were referred to as barbarians (Alidou & Mazrui, 1999). Under such conditions, the Africans were assimilated into the French culture.

In order to "civilize" and assimilate African students into French culture, the schools required children to learn the French language. Upward mobility in school and access to jobs in the colonial administration were strictly tied to the mastery of French (Alidou, 2004). This has contributed to most immigrants from French colonial African countries having French as their second language. So when they arrive in other countries like South Africa where English dominates, they are forced to learn the language for better integration into the society. Immigrant children in such situations take it as a duty to learn English quickly so as to facilitate communication between their families and friends.

Bamgbose (1991) explains that the problems of language policies in African countries are characterized by avoidance, vagueness, arbitrariness, fluctuation and declaration without implementation. This means that there is no clarity on implementation procedures, in particular who has to do what, which body is in charge of what, when and how, etc. Such vagueness means that basic elements like multilingualism can be interpreted in different ways. However, most of the language policies are not implemented. For example, some African countries may have mixed or multilingual policies, but in reality, only English or French is used in official situations and no African languages are used. It is because of this situation that African immigrants, though still on the African soil, often struggle to learn former colonial languages such as English in order to be able to communicate with their fellow Africans.

In the context of this study, immigrant children from other African countries, particularly the Francophone countries, are obliged to learn English as a second language to be able to communicate with their fellow South Africans. They often act as language brokers for their family members and friends who may have little or no proficiency in English. This is a common practice on the African continent as except for South Africa and Namibia, the

majority of African states have not made formal provision for African languages, (Mtenje, 2008).

Some Francophone immigrant children and their families have migrated to South Africa for economic survival. This study has undertaken to explore how such immigrant children's language brokering practices influence their identity construction. Brokering practices are partially necessitated by the fact that Africans are obliged to use one of the colonial languages (English, French, Portuguese, Spanish, etc.) instead of communicating with the facility the common features between African languages affords. Africans could communicate easily in their languages without being asked to, there would be no need for language brokering because African languages have some common features.

In the following section, I describe the concept of language brokering and its role in multilingual settings.

2.7 Language brokering in multilingual contexts

As discussed earlier, child language brokering has been going on for many centuries. Children have acted as translators throughout history (Harris and Sherwood, 1978) and have been translating in different cultures and languages. However, this form of linguistic and cultural mediation is still a marginal and fairly recent topic of study and research (Hall and Sham 1998; Hall 2004), especially in Africa. According to the literature reviewed language brokering is an agent of bicultural identity construction, and the positive influence of the home language on language brokering is emphasized (Tse, 1995; 1996; Orellana et al. 2003; Acoach & Webb, 2004; Buriel et al. 1998; Wu & Kim, 2009; Love & Buriel, 2007; Weisskirch, 2005; Trickett et al., 2010; Orellana, 2009; Chao, 2006). It is, therefore, necessary to develop an understanding of language brokering and how it influences young immigrant learners' identity construction.

The concept of brokering derives from anthropology (Hall, 2007). Bailey (1969) perceives a broker as someone with multiple roles which include performing and mediation in various ways. According to Paine (1971) a broker operates with more independence in a space of negotiation. Unlike child brokering researchers who were all linguists or translatoologists, Shannon's (1987) views emanate from a background of education and anthropology. While the child's texts are important to her, so is the social context in which the child translated. In fact, the term "translation" which was widely used by earlier researchers gradually

disappeared because it became clear that a child's work in mediating between different language speakers usually involved much more than simply moving between languages; it was inevitably a movement between cultures. As a result, Shannon (1987) introduced the term "language brokering," one that reflected a wider more complex social perspective.

It is not clear where Shannon (1987) drew the "language brokering" term from, but it is believed that around the same time (1987) the term "cultural brokering" began to appear in the research literature she was using it in her thesis. In her two-year ethnographic study of the everyday language use of five Latino school children living in California, Shannon (1987) observed these bilinguals translating and interpreting between their family and community members and officials, on an ad hoc and often daily basis.

Similarly, in the context of my study, immigrant children translate and interpret between their family members and South African community members and officials in different spaces almost on a daily basis. Using different languages to translate for people from various cultural backgrounds makes immigrant children not just language brokers, but cultural brokers as well because language cannot be separated from culture.

The mid-1990s represent a key moment in the study of child language brokering. The reason is that it was indeed only around this period that research into child language brokering began. It was conducted both through different methodological approaches and through the lenses of different disciplinary and interdisciplinary perspectives (DeMent & Buriel 1999; Valenzuela 1999; Tse 1996). One significant shift was brought about when scholars and researchers began to focus on the effects of child language brokering on the educational and psychological development of language brokers (Tse & McQuillan, 1996; Buriel et al., 1998; Valenzuela 1999; Weisskirch & Alva, 2002; Orellana et al. 2003).

Specifically, Valenzuela (1999) conducted interviews with parents and children of Mexican-origin households in Los Angeles to further define how children influence immigrant family settlement. Valenzuela discovered notable gender-related patterns, and identified three primary tasks or responsibilities of the child, which in the first instance involved tutoring for parents and siblings. Tutoring involved translating, interpreting and teaching. In the second instance the task was advocating, which entailed intervening, mediating or advocating during financial, legal or other complex interactions. In the third instance, the task was being a surrogate parent, which meant consulting about and parenting younger siblings. Tse & McQuillan (1996) and Weisskirch & Alva (2002) assessed the frequency of children's

participation in various language brokering situations. Their study indicated that children most frequently reported brokering on the phone for parents, relatives and friends. Home was the place where language brokering occurred most frequently, with school and stores also being highly prevalent. Things most frequently translated were not consistent across surveys due to differences in surveys. However, notes or letters to school, words, forms and applications constituted the most frequently translated documents.

It is from the period of the 1990s that the literature began to focus on child language brokers as intermediaries between cultures, and on the impact of language brokering on children when they take on responsibilities in situations in which adults would normally be in control.

Language brokering may function very differently according to families and cultural groups. Chao (2006), for example, reported differences in internalizing and externalizing symptoms among Chinese, Korean and Mexican American adolescents depending on whether they brokered for their mothers or fathers. The causes of stress could be of various kinds of subject matters, activities, terms, discourses and situations to which the children who engage in translating activities are exposed (Cohen et al., 1999). Hence Tse (1995, 1996) describes language brokering as not simply a translation of a message into another language, but as an active mediational process between individuals of different language and cultural backgrounds.

Until recently, child language brokering has been invisible in research, notably in political, educational, policy and adult research. Hall's (2004) research was based on a school in which 90% of the children came from Pakistani-heritage families in central Manchester. This school had a large intake of children from families of Asian origin (mostly Pakistani). The head teacher (principal) who was an English speaker, while interested in the proposed topic claimed that his children did not do language brokering because they were second or third generation families. A few minutes later the principal's claim was utterly refuted by an Asian member of staff who took responsibility for immigrant children in the school. When the other classes of older age groups (ages nine and ten) in the school were surveyed, over a third of the children claimed to do some translation for parents and other family members. Several of these children then participated in the research project.

This study on Francophone immigrant children as language brokers is therefore informed by Shannon's (1987) idea of the importance of the social context in brokering. In the context of this study, Francophone immigrant children perform their brokering activities as they interact

with people from different cultures in South Africa. So language brokering cannot be separated from culture as culture is an integral part of language and identity.

2.8 Child language brokering and border crossing

There are various definitions of child language brokering. For example, McQuillan & Tse (1995) define child language brokering as the action of translating and interpreting that children or adolescents in immigrant families perform for their parents, members of the family, teachers, neighbours or other adults. These children serve as mediators and cultural brokers in a variety of situations (DeMent & Buriel, 1999; Tse, 1996). Additionally, Jacobsen (2009) defines child language brokering as community interpreting, which is generally a special type of oral translation that facilitates access to public services. It is achieved by one party mediating between service users and service providers who do not share the same language. Likewise, Harris and Sherwood (1978) perceive child language brokering as natural interpreting and translating skills developed in all bilinguals from the time they begin learning a second language. What is common in the above definitions of language brokering is the act of interpreting and translating by immigrant children, which is a point salient to this study.

There is a relationship between a language broker and a cultural broker. The term “culture broker” or “cultural broker” is defined through common usage as a person who facilitates the border-crossing of another person or group of people from one culture to another. Jezewski & Sotnik (2001) define culture brokering as the act of bridging, linking or mediating between groups or persons of differing cultural backgrounds for the purpose of reducing conflict or producing change. Usually, the cultural broker is from one or other of the cultures but could be from a third group. Often cultural brokers are capable of acting in both 'directions'.

Hence, by language brokering, immigrant children may be helping their parents understand more about the culture of the host country. In the context of this study, the Francophone children may cross cultural and linguistic borders by mediating between the South African English speaking people and the Francophone immigrants. This is why Tse (1995) describes language brokers as intermediaries between linguistically and culturally different parties.

People who broker, unlike formal translators, influence the content and the nature of the messages they convey, and ultimately affect the perceptions and decisions of the agents for whom they act (Tse (1995: 180). As Tse (1995) explains, language brokering is not simply

translating word for word in a sentence or conversation, as an online translator programme would do. Rather, language brokers have a subjective role in the messages they convey to either party. In other words, language brokers influence the messages they relay because they are not objective.

This implies that immigrant children who act as language brokers for their families sometimes consider their own perceptions of the situation, their emotional connection to the family and their dependence on innate bilingual abilities in the manner by which they handle their brokering activities.

Research on language brokering has taken various approaches and perspectives. Many researchers have looked at language brokering to examine different processes connected to one's well-being such as stress, confidence, maturity, academic self-efficacy and pride as well as being able to help out in immigrant families (Buriel, Perez, DeMent, Chavez, & Moran, 1998; Tse, 1995).

Several studies have found that more than 90% of children and adolescents in immigrant families perform brokering acts (Buriel et al., 1998; Jones & Trickett, 2005; Orellana, 2003; Trickett & Jones, 2007). Some studies in America have focused on either early or middle adolescents who act as language brokers (Weisskirch & Alatorre-Alva, 2002; Dorner, Orellana, and Jimenez, 2008; Trickett & Jones, 2007), primarily those of Latino and Mexican origin (Morales & Hanson, 2005). A few studies have also included Chinese (Wu & Kim, 2009), Vietnamese immigrants (Trickett & Jones, 2007) and immigrants from the former Soviet Union (Jones & Trickett, 2005). This study draws on the foregoing works to investigate child language brokering in South Africa, with specific reference to Cape Town which hosts a large number of immigrant families.

Regarding the role of children as brokers, most of the studies that followed Harris' (1980) and Harris and Sherwood's (1978) work on the translating activities performed by children focused mainly on the who, what, where and how of brokering (Jones & Trickett 2005, p. 6). In other words, they focused on the recipients and beneficiaries of language brokering activities, on the subject matter of these interactions, the places, contexts and situations in which language brokering occurs, and the feelings about language brokering. Language brokering, therefore, is a multifaceted concept which is more than the action of translation.

Immigrant children's role as language brokers goes a long way to facilitate cultural transitions normative to their various families. The role of children as language brokers in South Africa needs to be understood within the language history framework of this country. The history of South Africa maintains that despite the official role of Afrikaans under apartheid, English is the dominant language, and carries a history of racial arrogance and prejudice (Achebe, 2006). Discrimination and isolation based on language seem to increase proportionately to proficiency in English (Osman, 2009). In this regard, the more fluent and dependent on the English language a child is, the more prone they are to being discriminated against (Maiese, 2003).

Language therefore, is not only a vehicle by which to transfer information, but also features importantly in identity. It often serves to 'other' people of different groups. Historically, in South Africa language is a continuous issue that marks the distinction between 'we' and 'they' or between 'us' and 'them' (Yuval-Davis, 2011). Language is the most salient symbol of ethnicity because it carries the past and expresses present and future attitudes and aspirations (Kamwangamalu, 2003).

In view of this, this study brings to light how immigrant children in South Africa learn new language/s to facilitate communication for their families in various domains such as school meetings, social gatherings, shops, etc. It takes into account the role played by children as language brokers, and how this influences the way they negotiate and construct their identities in the new space. I shall now discuss translation and interpretation as key components of language brokering.

2.9 Translation and interpretation in child language brokering

As already stated, language brokering often occurs at the family level. Children engage in language brokering as a functional task to aid the family, especially their parents. When individuals and the family as a whole arrive in a new environment, they must secure housing, attain employment, enter the educational system, navigate new cultural values and learn a new language. In the process, the children may develop a stronger grounding in both languages and cultures, and explore and resolve a sense of ethnic identity that enhances their sense of self-efficacy.

This is part of the acculturation process (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco 2001) which involves cultural and psychological changes that result from contact between cultures. In

many families children often acquire the new language at a faster pace than their parents. Thus they usually act as translators on behalf of the parents and family. Therefore translation forms an aspect of language brokering.

In relation to this, language brokers may be required to translate in a variety of contexts and situations. In this way children who act as language brokers become exposed to situations they should normally be protected from as minors. The role and responsibility taken by these children may impact significantly on family relationships, as well as on their acculturation and learning processes. The language brokering role may also influence their attitudes towards their native language and culture and that of their parents, especially if they are second generation immigrants. Immigrant children in this case are motivated to become language brokers, by the stories of family and its sacrifices for a better future. As the immigrant children try to meet their parents' expectations, an aspirational pressure is created for them.

It is important to note the distinction between “translating” and “interpreting”. Although translating and interpreting are often considered to be synonymous or to be identical constructs, they refer to quite different actions. Translating is associated with written work in which the translator is believed to possess exceptional understanding of multiple languages, thus having the ability and skill to translate documents, materials and the like (Tse, 1995). Translation usually entails the repetition of an oral or written text in the more accessible home language of learners (Probyn, 2015).

Interpretation, by contrast, is associated with verbal communication in which the interpreter is believed to possess an exceptional understanding of potentially nuanced and circumscribed meanings that may be conveyed in ordinary social interactions (Westermeyer, 1989). Interpreting entails activities such as explaining to the doctor what exactly is wrong with the patient and giving feedback from the doctor to the patient.

Children who are considered language brokers engage in both translating and interpreting for instance, in reading bank statements, and in giving and explaining details of various transactions

One of the first studies that succeeded in drawing the attention of academia to non-professional translation and interpreting was by Brian Harris in 1977. He published an article in which he argued that the ability to translate and interpret was not the exclusive realm of

professionals but a natural aptitude (Harris, 1977). Harris' study was based on how bilingual children were able to perform translating activities without any special training in translation (Harris, 1980; Harris & Sherwood, 1978). Harris (1980) and Harris & Sherwood (1978) hypothesized that translation was an inherent verbal skill amongst bilinguals.

This assumption has however been challenged as a myth that being bilingual qualifies one to be an efficient translator and interpreter (Cambridge, 2002; Orellana, 2009). Thus Cambridge, (2002) and Orellana (2009) argue that there are profound differences between translation and interpretation in terms of fluency, ethics, specific and specialized knowledge, strategies and techniques used.

Immigrant children who act as language brokers for their families and friends are not trained professionals, but they can use various languages they have acquired to make meaning out of the world around them. With their natural language brokering skills they are able to make life easier for fellow immigrants who may not communicate properly in their host community due to a limited, or lack of language proficiency.

Harris (2008) has produced an extensive scholarly work on natural translation. He has coined the term “Precursors” to refer to child language brokers who were like forerunners, predecessors, or forefathers of child language brokers. He studied his own child to understand children as translators, as opposed to simply being bilingual. The common characteristic of these precursors is that an emphasis was on very young bilingual children, mostly interpreting within the home environment. Harris (2008, p. 3) comments that the precursors made valuable and sometimes copious observations, but they did not realize the significance of what they were observing. An interesting observation however, was that episodes of child interpretations occurred incidentally. He claims that his son showed remarkable skills as a translator when it came to finding equivalents for idioms (Harris, 2008, p. 11). The child also mediated between adults.

The casual identification of children as translators changed in 1973 when Harris identified the significance of child translation. He conceptualized the phenomenon of child translation and gave it both a specific title and a more theoretical perspective. In his paper, he introduced the notion of “traduction naturelle” (natural translation), a concept that was developed in subsequent papers (Harris, 1976; Harris & Sherwood, 1978; Harris, 1978).

Harris defined natural translation as translation done in everyday circumstances by bilinguals who have had no special training for it (Harris 1976, p. 96). He argued that natural translation

was not only an innate skill that emerged in bilinguals, but that *natural* translation was one translato­logists should study first (Harris 1975, p. 99) as opposed to professional translation, the latter being an activity which occasionally dominates translato­logy (translation studies) research.

Harris' & Sherwood's (1978) paper is particularly interesting because it offers quite a few examples of children as natural translators. Some of these examples have been elicited by experimental procedures or games played by parents to enhance their children's bilingualism, but others contain clear examples of children who are not bilinguals, or who are engaging in mechanical translation, but actually also operating as linguistic intermediaries. Most of these activities occur within the home and most involve very young children. There are however some clear examples of children mediating between the family and the outside world. Harris and Sherwood (1978, p. 156) write of a bilingual student who translated orally and in writing. She made phone calls, took messages, made conversations with visitors, read mail, newspaper articles, filled in forms and composed business letters. The student also operated as a diplomat, translating her father's outbursts in transactions into polite and more appropriate language.

Harris & Sherwood (1978), while focusing primarily on the textual and developmental aspects of children as natural translators, also briefly refer to the social aspects of this activity. In other words, they consider the social contexts in which the activity is taking place. They write about a bilingual student being more conscious of *culture switching* than of language switching, and how her understanding of Canadian attitudes and cultural rules bestowed upon her important *expert power* as an interpreter (Harris & Sherwood, 1978, p.156).

Immigrant families struggling to cope with transitioning into a new culture tend to rely on other family members who may know the host language and culture better. In most cases, children of immigrants are usually the more knowledgeable family members since they get immersed in the host country culture when they go to school. In most cases, their immigrant parents have less direct access to the dominant culture, thus they acquire the second language and culture at a slower pace.

Additionally, Harris' (1978) work predated a more socially-oriented approach to translation and interpretation. He established that professional translators lay emphasis on remaining absolutely faithful to the grammatical and syntactical structure of utterances during

translation. However, he argues that in natural translation, transmission of information is the prime aim and criterion of success (Harris, 1978). He maintains that linguistic expression is relatively unimportant as long as it does not interfere with information (Harris, 1978, p. 105). In other words, what really matters is not the form but rather the content of oral and written translations. Despite his interesting observations, his work appeared to remain unnoticed by those outside the area of translatology (translation studies), even when researchers from other disciplines began to perceive children as translators.

Studies on translation have also reported that children who speak two or more languages may translate and interpret information accurately (Harris & Sharewood, 1978). As also indicated in an earlier reference, language brokers tend to translate documents that require a high level of understanding such as notes and letters from school, bank or credit card statements, job applications and government and insurance forms (DeMent & Buriel, 1999; Hall & Sham, 1998; McQuillan & Tse, 1995; Puig, 2002). Similarly, language brokers are asked to interpret for their parents in a variety of settings such as a medical office where they are expected to know the meaning of complex and difficult medical terminology (Hall & Sham, 1998; Puig, 2002; Schaafsma, Raynor & Berg, 2003).

Buriel, et al.'s (1998) findings suggest the child language broker's cognitive and socio-emotional development are likely to advance. As the child language brokers are exposed to cross-cultural interactions, the more brokering experiences they have, the higher their level of biculturalism and social self-efficacy. Once immigrant children start attending school in the host country, they become part of an acculturation process, wherein they infuse the English language and the host culture into their native linguistic and cultural practices, thereby developing bilingual and bicultural identities.

As the immigrant children become language brokers for their families and other relatives, the acculturation process is likely to be accelerated because they are often exposed to situations in which they are required to utilize their knowledge in both native and host cultures and languages. This implies that there is a close relationship between language brokering, bilingualism and acculturation.

2.10 Bilingual competence and language brokering

Language brokering should not be confused with bilingualism. Bialystok (2001) conceptualizes bilingualism as the ability to speak two or more languages. Others define it as absolute fluency in two languages or the ability to function in each language according to given needs (Bloomfield, 1933; Grosjean, 1989). Bilingualism deals with the ability to learn or understand and speak two or more languages, whereas language brokering deals with the practices of translating and interpreting. Bilingual individuals often choose to learn a new language as part of their curriculum, whereas language brokers learn a language for their own and their family's survival. Young children are sensitive to the language skills of their peers and can adjust their language to facilitate comprehension and communication in the new environment.

Research work focusing on bilingualism in education emphasizes the need to understand the process of identity development (Block, 2007; Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). Researchers have built on long established theory and data exploring the close link between language and identity. They argue that both self-identification and community support are necessary for young bilinguals to fully develop a connection to multiple languages and cultures (Fought, 2006; Norton, 2000, 2006). For young learners to develop a bilingual identity a complex process of social interaction and negotiation is needed between the child and other people with whom they come into contact. These people include their peers, parents, siblings, teachers and members of the community at large (Cummins, 1996, 2000, 2003; Gregory, 2005; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986).

The responsibilities brokers assume appear to have mixed affective effects on their well-being, such as stress and burden. In a study by McQuillan & Tse (1995) nine bilingual participants from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds, namely Cambodian, Chinese, Korean, Vietnamese and Mexican-American were interviewed about their brokering experiences as children. All had acted at one time or another as primary decision makers for the family in having taken on the role as socializing agents. In so doing they had to convey important cultural information about school, governmental and business procedures. They had also facilitated personal and official interaction amongst teachers, neighbours, friends,

parents, siblings and other relatives. They reported positive esteem as a result of increased confidence which influenced their sense of independence and maturity. The role of brokering enhanced their acquisition of first and second cultural knowledge (cross-cultural knowledge) and how people from different cultures communicate. It also strengthened the trust relationships with their parents (Downing & Dwyer, 1981; McQuillan & Tse, 1995; Shannon, 1990).

In addition, these participants also reported that brokering spurred their language development, especially their acquisition of English. Participants sought resources, relied on peers and adults, and used textual aids such as bilingual dictionaries to help in completing linguistically demanding tasks normally performed by adults (McQuillan & Tse, 1995). As noted elsewhere, here too such challenging tasks included completing governmental forms, translating bank statements, writing school and business-related correspondence and providing interpretation between educators, customers, relatives and other agents.

It is on this point that other researchers like Weisskirch & Alva (2002) state that language brokering can be stressful, especially when there are tensions between parents and language brokers. For example, Telzer & Fuligni (2009) found that some adolescents from immigrant families who reported that they were assisting parents with official business (translating) exhibited psychological distress, especially in cases where child language brokers were unable to find the exact words to use for translation. At the same time, children and adolescents reported that language brokering was a source of pride in that they were helping adult relatives and were perceived to be contributing to the welfare of their families (Dorner, Orellana, & Jimenez, 2008; Orellana, Dorner, & Pulido, 2003).

Likewise, DeMent, Buriel & Villanueva (2005) conducted in-depth, open-ended interviews with thirteen college students who language-brokered as children. The sample included eleven females and two males. The majority were of Mexican origin, in addition to two Central Americans, two Vietnamese Americans and one Chinese American student. The strength of DeMent et al.'s (2005) qualitative work was how the in-depth interviews captured language brokering processes, and as a result, language brokers were able to express their ambivalence towards translating.

All the students interviewed reported that they acted as language brokers for their parents and other extended family members in a variety of places including school, stores, bank, and doctors' offices. Many of the students felt that language brokering made them independent,

mature and efficacious at navigating social situations. However, all the students interviewed in this study reported feeling at least some frustration because of language brokering, which often resulted from confusion or the stressful situations that language brokering put them in, or because of parental expectations at a moment's notice. DeMent et al. (2005) concluded that many of the language brokers felt ambivalent about translating. They understood how language brokering was helpful to them and their families but also acknowledged the stress and frustration associated with the task.

In light of the above, my study elected to examine the communicative strategies of a group of primary school pupils selected from two primary schools in the Western Cape, South Africa. It set out to understand their bilingual competence and how this influenced their language brokering skills. In a nutshell, the study aimed to bring to light how immigrant children construct their multiple identities through language brokering. It also sought to show how immigrant children cope with the challenges they face while acting as interpreters and translators for their families and friends in a culturally and linguistically diverse country such as South Africa.

2.11 Navigating the new cultural and linguistic landscape

While language brokering is regarded as a linguistic and communicative resource, it has its limitations. Some studies have found that language brokering is just a normal activity that young immigrants perform (Orellana et al., 2003), and that it has positive effects on their well-being. However, other studies report negative associations between brokering and adjustment (Martinez, 2006). Families who immigrate to South Africa from other parts of Africa, particularly the Francophone part, must navigate a host of complex challenges as they adapt to the demands of life in a new environment. Examples of these challenges include xenophobia and certain stereotypes about immigrants from other parts of Africa, particularly the black-skinned immigrants.

In 2008 and most recently in 2015, immigrants were violently attacked in South Africa (Tlou, 2015). In many of these attacks, language played a distinct role in identifying immigrants. Black African immigrants in South Africa may not be easily differentiated from local citizens because they share common ancestries, traditions and languages. However, their physical features, bearing, clothing styles, and inability to speak indigenous languages made them distinctive to local citizens who easily picked them out and attacked them (Morris, 2008).

This shows that members of one group, notably members of the establishment of citizenry engage in a narcissistic focus on minor differences to blame and stigmatize members of the other groups, particularly members of weaker groups (Matsinhe, 2011). Specifically in South Africa, it is apparent that the target of these attacks are mainly black immigrants who are often referred to with derogatory names like “*kwerekwere*”, carrying connotations that the sound of their foreign languages are strange, not proper language, and by implication, 'othering' these people through the sounds of their unfamiliar languages (Tafira, 2011).

It is in this light that Lister (2004) defines 'othering' as a process of differentiation and demarcation by which the line is drawn between 'us' and 'them'; between the more and the less powerful; and a means by which social distance is established and maintained. 'Othering' simultaneously produces and problematizes difference in that the group which is othered is, in the process, defined as morally and/or intellectually inferior (Schwalbe, 2000). This implies that immigrants who are referred to as 'the others' are reduced to stereotypical characters and are ultimately dehumanized (Riggins, 1997; Lister, 2004). Hence the immigrants in South Africa who are 'othered' are reduced to a few negative characteristics.

Studies that have explored culture brokering have been inconclusive about the effects of language brokering on individual well-being and family relations, which may indicate a lack of consistency across immigrant experiences (Weisskirch, 2007; Trickett & Jones, 2007). Since resettlement is a very stressful event that automatically disrupts family life (Puig, 2002), it is not surprising that immigrant families experience conflict and tension. At the same time, this challenging experience may also be beneficial because it can bring families together in a way that allows them to overcome hardships and to succeed in the new environment.

The negative effects of language brokering are also reported. For example, several studies with adolescents and young adults of Mexican and Latino origin, who ranged in age from nine to twenty-two, indicate that individuals who broker for their parents report feelings of discomfort (Weisskirch & Alatorre-Alva, 2002), frustration (DeMent et al., 2005), embarrassment and guilt (Weisskirch, 2007). Some boys even report feeling depressed (Love & Buriel, 2007).

A study with college students found that language brokering was related to lower self-efficacy (Oznobishin & Kurman, 2009) while a study with Mexican-heritage adolescents found that language brokering was associated with risky behaviours (Kam, 2011). Other

scholars argue that young individuals prematurely assume adult roles while brokering and that their experiences can have detrimental effects on their identity development (Umaña-Taylor, 2003). This indicates that in general, studies about the effects of language brokering on individual well-being yield mixed results.

Whilst the majority of the studies explored the relationship between language brokering and well-being (Jones & Trickett, 2005; Martinez, McClure & Eddy, 2009, Trickett & Jones, 2007; Weisskirch & Alatorre-Alva, 2002), there is however not enough evidence for how brokering can impact on children's well-being. For this reason more studies should be conducted to further identify the factors that account for the association between language brokering and well-being. Furthermore, while studies have examined the impact of culture brokering on family relations (Jones, Trickett, & Birman, 2012; Roche, Lambert, Ghazarian, & Little, 2014), they have not examined the family system as a context for brokering activities. It is therefore important to explore the relationship between language brokering and family relations as this relationship could potentially yield an explanation for the different effects of brokering on well-being.

This study aims at understanding how immigrant children cope with the challenges they face while acting as interpreters and translators for their families and friends in a multicultural country such as South Africa. So, examining the effects of brokering on immigrant youth is extremely important. Understanding the ways in which brokering affects individual and family development is essential for helping to maximize the positive outcomes, and to minimize the negative outcomes of language brokering. The latter have the potential to cause detrimental effects on the parent-child relationships in immigrant families.

2.12 Language brokering and family relations

As discussed in the foregoing section, research findings regarding language brokering and children's relationship with their parents are mixed (Morales & Hanson, 2005). For example, a study with Cuban refugee parents and their adolescent children found that culture brokering negatively affected family relations (Puig, 2002). The study reports that the majority of parents had to rely on their children to complete certain tasks for them. As a result, parents felt that their children were in control and that their brokering led to lack of trust and cooperation within the family.

In turn, children reported feeling embarrassed and frustrated with the work they had to do for their parents, and those who were younger reported feeling confused and unclear about the roles and responsibilities they had to assume (Puig, 2002). Similar findings emerged in a study of Immigrant College students from the former Soviet Union who immigrated with their families to Israel (Oznobishin & Kurman, 2009). The findings showed that immigrant youth frequently language brokered for their parents, and had a larger tendency towards role reversal than their native-born counterparts.

Some researchers distinguish between high language brokering environments and low language brokering environments (Love & Buriel, 2007; Chao 2006). High language brokering refers to families in which adolescents are bilingual and have two monolingual parents while low language brokering is about families in which bilingual children have at least one parent who is bilingual. Research findings reveal that parents in low language brokering contexts consistently reported greater parenting effectiveness than parents in high language brokering. At the same time, fathers in low language brokering environments reported more positive involvement with their adolescents, as well as more monitoring of homework and schoolwork than mothers (Martinez et al., 2009). These findings seem to indicate that families in low language brokering environments fared better with regard to family engagement and tensions than families in high language brokering environments.

Other studies indicate that language brokering contributes to positive family dynamics (Wu & Kim, 2009; Weisskirch, 2006). For example, a study with primarily second generation Chinese American 11th and 12th grade adolescents found that adolescents were recognized and valued by their parents when they brokered for them. In this way, the young individuals were an essential part of their families who assisted their parents in the unfamiliar environment, and helped them adapt in the new country (Orellana et al., 2003). Corona et al. (2012) found no differences in power relations between parents and children. Even though children participated in family decisions they did not make any decisions on their own; the responsibility was still left to parents (Orellana et al., 2003).

Overall, research findings on culture brokering and family relations are inconclusive. A few studies have found that there is a positive relationship between brokering and ethnic identity in maintaining family relations (Wu & Kim, 2009). Studies that indicate a positive association between language brokering and family relations reveal that young individuals in those families feel a strong sense of responsibility and obligation to help their families

(Dorner et al., 2008; Orellana et al., 2003). Other studies, however, have found a negative association between language brokering and family relations (Weisskirch, 2007; Hua & Costigan, 2012). The available literature portrays language brokering as a controversial issue which is debated across many facets of developmental studies with special reference to children. It started with a linguistic focused study, and is now gaining momentum in the social sciences (Phoenix & Bauer, 2012). The controversial topic and debate has over the years stretched from linguistic and social structures to political spheres. However, this study focuses on the effects language brokering has for the immigrant children practising it, in terms of their social and emotional experiences, as well as its effects on their relationship with parents and the spaces where brokering takes place in the South African context.

Through language brokering bilingual children move between languages and cultures by translanguaging (Garcia, 2009). What follows is a description of translanguaging and biculturalism.

2.13 Biculturalism and translanguaging

At this point, it is necessary to outline the relationship between dynamic bilingualism and translanguaging, that is, the multiple and complex ways in which the language practices of bilinguals interact to form a complex language repertoire with language brokering (Flores, & Schissel, 2014).

In the context of this study, becoming a bilingual may help immigrant language brokers to interact freely with people from both Francophone and Anglophone origins. In other words, bilingual children move between languages as they adapt to the new environment as immigrants. The process of moving between languages is referred to as translanguaging (Hornberger, & Link, 2012). An in-depth description of how translanguaging becomes a communicative tool between speakers of different languages follows.

Garcia (2009) is the custodian of the term, *translanguaging*. She rejects monoglossic language ideologies and advocates for heteroglossic language ideologies that acknowledge the dynamic language practices of bilingual speakers. By rejecting monoglossic language ideologies and advocating heteroglossic language ideologies, she encourages multilingual speakers to make use of their diverse language skills. Garcia (2009) refers to the dynamic meaning-making discursive processes of bilingual populations as translanguaging. She uses “*translanguaging*” to argue for a move away from an additive approach to bilingualism

towards a dynamic approach to bilingualism. Additive bilingualism normally involves the use of two languages effectively for communication; while dynamic bilingualism gives way for the practice of more than two languages to ease communication between speakers of different languages. To this end she suggests a new approach that allows the simultaneous co-existence of different languages in communication through translanguaging which supports the development of multiple linguistic identities to keep a linguistic ecology for efficiency, equity and integration.

This approach responds to both local and global contexts (Garcia, 2009, p.119). In the context of this study, the immigrant children are allowed to use their home languages in addition to any other language – to make meaning of the world around them. While performing language brokering activities, they are free to use even their home languages where necessary, to facilitate communication.

Through translanguaging bilinguals do not perform idealized monolingual language practices, but rather follow a dynamic approach to bilingualism which derives from fluid language practices that bilingual communities engage in on a daily basis (Garcia, 2009). In other words, instead of seeing blending, mixing and co-existence of languages as a problem that needs to be eliminated, dynamic bilingualism defines these fluid language practices as legitimate forms of communication that enable emergent bilinguals to develop metalinguistic awareness (Flores, & Schissel, 2014).

Metalinguistic awareness can be regarded as a starting point in adding new language practices to the bilinguals' linguistic repertoires. In short, translanguaging can be understood from sociolinguistic and pedagogical perspectives. From a sociolinguistic perspective, it can be described as fluid language practices of bilingual communities. For example, the Francophone immigrant children who act as language brokers for their families cannot be seen as professionals or perfect English translators and interpreters. When they translate or interpret for their families, they have the ability to move between languages.

From a pedagogical point of view, translanguaging can be used as a tool to promote learning (Heugh, 2015; Lewis, Jones, & Baker, 2012; Probyn, 2015). Both languages (LoLT and home language) are used in an organized manner to mediate learning (Baker, 2011; García & Wei, 2015; Heugh, 2015). For example, in a classroom where there are new immigrant children who are still struggling with English (as a third language), an immigrant student who speaks the same home language and who already has a good proficiency in English can try to

explain things to the newcomers in their home language. In this case, the immigrant children move between the languages to make sense of the context and to survive in their new environment. Their actions can be regarded as translanguaging which is an aspect of dynamic bilingualism (Heugh, 2015).

Immigrant children go to school to acquire content understanding and ways of using the dominant language. In the case of this study, English is the target language. In most cases the immigrant children are bilingual learners who can only acquire new linguistic features in relation to the ones that they can already access. It is in this light that Makalela (2015) suggests that strategies such as encouraging learners to cross between all known languages in multilingual contexts should be taken into consideration. According to Makelela (2015) using a large linguistic repertoire at the learners' disposal is important for identity construction, that is, the choice concerning who one is and who one becomes. Hence translanguaging gives room for both the 'self' and the 'other' and legitimizes their interrelationship to advancing acquisition of new knowledge.

Translanguaging pedagogy is applicable to all learners, not just those who are emergent bilinguals, but also to experienced bilinguals, and those considered monolingual. All can learn from a translanguaging approach since it puts students with different profiles in contact with each other. Translanguaging can help develop the critical language awareness that is necessary for all communities today (Flores & Rosa, 2015).

It is in this light that McKinney (2017) critiques the monolingual norm in South African education, particularly the notion of languages as pure, autonomous and bounded entities. Furthermore, she argues that in international scholarship, language is currently understood as a socially, culturally, politically and historically situated set of resources (McKinney 2017; Blommaert & Rampton 2011; Heller 2007). She explains that language is viewed as part of a multi-modal repertoire that is used for meaning-making (McKinney 2017, p. 2).

In relation to translanguaging, Miranda & Umhoefer (1998, p.159) introduced biculturalism as an “intermediate level of acculturation”. Biculturalism may be considered as a balance between one’s cultural values and those of the host culture while acculturation refers to a process of psychological and cultural changes that occur as a result of contact with another culture (Mahmud & Schölmerich, 2011). Balancing two cultures and two languages may be seen as a complex process involving different degrees of stress at different times during acculturation. But considering the immigrant children under investigation, taking up their

new identity as language brokers does not alienate or cut them completely from their initial cultural identity. As they reconstruct their new identities they maintain strong emotional ties with their first languages and home cultures because the act of language brokering constantly involves all the languages (that is, their home language(s) and English). Biculturalism is thus the act of balancing two or more cultures and languages. Likewise, translanguaging allows people to go between two or more languages in order to convey meaning, and it also strikes a balance between two or more cultures. Therefore, the degree of familiarity with and use of the target language by immigrant children enhances the link between biculturalism and translanguaging.

Language brokering, as explained before, is closely related to acculturation because immigrant children convey messages between people from different cultural backgrounds. Research into intercultural language education indicates the relationship between language and culture (Corbett, 2003; Kramsch, 1993; Moran, 2001). Within psychology research, biculturalism has sometimes been explored as a separate entity to bilingualism, yet language has still been considered an element integral to defining biculturalism along values and beliefs (Schwartz & Unger, 2010). It is, therefore, logical to associate language brokering with translanguaging, bilingualism and biculturalism.

In relation to the foregoing points, Grosjean (2010, p. 137) provides one of the most explicit definitions of bicultural people. He claims that bicultural people take part, to varying degrees, in the life of two or more cultures. They adapt to different cultures in terms of their attitudes, behaviours, values, languages, etc. They also combine and blend aspects of the cultures involved (Grosjean, 2010). Certain characteristics displayed by individuals such as attitudes, beliefs, values, behaviours, etc. come from one or the other culture, whereas other characteristics are blends based on these cultures. Like Schwartz & Unger (2010), Grosjean (2010) identifies the common elements of biculturalism as attitudes, values and languages. In the context of this study, Francophone immigrant children struggle to maintain their home culture, but they gain access to new cultural practices in the multicultural South African community. In other words, they also become culture brokers.

Trickett & Jones (2007) define culture brokering as the degree to which the child and adolescent immigrants serve as cultural translators or brokers for family members, other adults and their peers. Some studies indicate that 90% of immigrant children have brokered at least once in their life time, and immigrant children begin to broker for their parents at a very

early age (Morales & Hanson, 2005; Tse, 1995). Culture brokering may contribute to a change of power positions because it contributes to feelings of empowerment and importance, while at the same time contributing to feelings of uncertainty about one's expectations and roles within a family. Birman (2006) claims that immigrant children acculturate much faster than their parents due to their immersion in the host society through peer and social encounters with the host population. As a result of this immersion, young children are able to familiarize themselves with the values, customs and behaviours of the host society.

Some studies have revealed that there could be variations regarding the gender of those who broker and the impact of acculturation on brokering (Buriel, Perez, DeMent, Chavez, & Moran, 1998). But the findings of these studies are inconclusive. For example, in their study of first and second generation adolescent Latino students, Buriel et al. (1998) found that girls reported language brokering more frequently than boys. Another study with mainly second generation Latino adolescents also found that the oldest female tends to be the primary language broker for her family (Villanueva & Buriel, 2010). Valenzuela (1999) also found a similar trend that girls participated more than boys in activities that required a detailed explanation or translation. However, a study with Mexican-American first and second generation adolescents ranging between twelve and fourteen years of age found that boys reported translating more often for their parents than girls (Weisskirch, 2007), while Love & Buriel (2007) found no gender differences in culture brokering. A study of first and second generation Vietnamese adolescents (with a mean age of sixteen) and their parents, found that students whose parents had been in the US for a longer period of time reported less culture brokering than those students whose parents had resided in the US for a short period of time (Trickett & Jones, 2007). The differences may be due to the gendered nature of certain activities in some cultures, where girls are viewed as being better equipped than boys to explain in detail and translate documents, and vice versa.

Noting this it appears that language, identity and culture and by extension bilingualism and biculturalism are closely intertwined. If it is maintained that the acquisition and use of English is a measure of the degree to which immigrants have become acculturated to the host culture, then it can be said that the foregoing concepts are closely linked as languages always carry cultural meanings.

Furthermore, an exploration of culture brokering allows us to investigate the ways in which young immigrant children assist their families and contribute to the adaptation of their parents to the host society. This may allow us to understand the ways in which young adults help their families thrive in new environments, while exploring the ways in which culture brokering is linked to family dynamics. This will elucidate the relationships between young adults and their parents in the context of challenges that many immigrant and refugee families experience. Examining these concepts can serve to assist practitioners in their work with immigrants by contributing to the knowledge of the dynamics and relationships in immigrant families.

2.14 Conclusion

As indicated earlier, this study involves Francophone immigrant children of different ages and genders. It aims to contribute to our understanding of language and culture brokering along the lines of translanguaging and biculturalism. It contributes equally to our understanding of culture brokering by exploring this phenomenon in a new population, and equips us to look into bilingual and gender dynamics among French-speaking immigrants in South Africa.

The literature on language brokering is limited and the area remains open for researchers to explore this phenomenon, as noted earlier (Morales & Hanson 2005). It continues to accentuate the importance of investigating the experience of parents of language brokers. The literature review is intended to reflect on the various ways of looking at the relationship between language brokering, bilingualism and biculturalism, while taking into consideration the language broker's identity formation.

To map out the connections between language brokering and identity construction, Vygotsky's Sociocultural Theory, Spencer's Phenomenological Variant of Ecological Systems Theory (PVEST) and the Poststructuralist Theory will be used as lenses to understand the experiences of Francophone immigrant families with identified child brokers. These theories are discussed at some length in the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, the focus was on literature relevant to this research. In this chapter, the focus is on theories that underpin this study.

A theory refers to a particular kind of explanation. Leedy & Ormrod (2005, p. 4) state that a theory is an organized body of concepts and principles intended to explain a particular phenomenon. Thus, theories explain how and why something functions the way it does (Johnson & Christensen, 2007, p. 7). The question of how theories are used (or not used) in research and practice is as important as researchers try to ascertain the role of theory in intervention development and evaluation.

Effective interventions and sound research both depend on marshalling the most appropriate theory and practice strategies for a given situation. Different theories are best suited to different units of practice, such as individuals, groups and organizations. The choice of a suitable theory or theories should begin with identifying the problem.

Theories are formulated to explain, predict, and understand phenomena. In other cases they are used to challenge and extend existing knowledge within the limits of critical binding assumptions. Theories give researchers different lenses through which to look at complicated problems and social issues. They enable them to focus their attention on different aspects of the data and provide a framework within which to conduct analysis. Theories provide a position from which to view a problem and to help analyze, interpret and build up the framework (Levy & Stockwell, 2006).

Traditional models of theories have conventionally viewed identities in two broad ways: as bound to social practices and as explaining a range of social phenomena (Agha, 2007). The theoretical framework, therefore, is the structure that can hold or support the theory(s) of a research study. The theoretical framework introduces and describes the theory that explains why the research problem under scrutiny exists. The theoretical framework must demonstrate an understanding of theories and concepts that are relevant to the topic of the research paper and which relate to the broader areas of knowledge being considered (Silvermann, 2000).

In order to have a better understanding of how language brokers and their families go through the process of learning English second language, certain theories will be discussed. These theories highlight the relationship between language brokering and identity construction. In this study, three theories will be discussed, namely the Sociocultural Theory, the Poststructuralist Theory and the Phenomenological Variant of Ecological Systems Theory (PVEST) to gain an insight into how immigrant children construct and negotiate identities as language brokers in different spaces.

As a point of departure, this chapter looks at the Sociocultural Theory which maps out the relationship between social interaction and language. Thereafter, the Poststructural Theory is discussed to facilitate an understanding of how immigrant children negotiate various identities in different domains. Finally, the Phenomenological Variant of Ecological Systems Theory (PVEST) looks at the coping methods used by immigrant children as they take up the role of language brokers for their families and other relatives.

3.2 Language brokering as a mediated process: A sociocultural perspective

The Sociocultural Theory stems from the idea that society contributes much towards an individual's development. Vygotsky (1978, p. 57) stated that every function in the child's cultural development appears twice: first, on the social level, and later, on the individual level. McCarthy & Moje (2002) argue that even though Vygotsky did not use the terms 'self and identity', he laid the groundwork for viewing the development of individuals as they interact in society; and as they internalize practices, knowledge of and beliefs about themselves as a consequence of their interactions. From this point of view, a comprehensive theory of identity can inform our understanding and practice of learning (language brokering) as a social practice.

This study looks at language brokering as a social practice, investigating immigrant children's experiences in trying to act as interpreters and translators for their parents and relatives. It also attempts to gain an understanding of how these children negotiate competence and identities in their primary schools and local communities as they interact with different people in English.

According to Cross (2006), understanding identity is useful for resolving some of the problems that arise from the lack of resonance between theory and practice. There is a reciprocal relationship between theory and practice. In practice, an empirical approach is used

to understand what is going on in the social world and how it happens. These practices, however, cannot stand on their own without underlying theoretical questions that guide the research. Without theory, interesting data may be gathered without any explanation of the relationships between different observed phenomena.

This study aligns itself with Vygotsky's Sociocultural Theory because the fundamental concept of this theory is social interaction through language (Brown, 2000). This implies that the mind of the learner develops through interaction with the world. In this study immigrant children act as language brokers for their families and others in need. And language brokering itself involves a lot of interaction as brokers translate from one language to another. The daily interaction between immigrant children and other members of the South African community enables them to learn more about the language (s) and culture of their host country.

One of the key concepts in Vygotsky's Sociocultural Theory is the notion of mediated learning. According to Vygotsky (1978) mediation refers to the part played by other significant people in the learners' lives, those who enhance learning by selecting and shaping the learning experiences presented to them.

Vygotsky (1978) explains that the secret of effective learning lies in the nature of the social interaction between two or more people with different levels of skills and knowledge. This involves helping the learner to move into and through the next layer of knowledge or understanding. Cross (2006) concurs that we interact with the world, but contends that this is performed through the use of mediatory tools, notably language.

Language brokering and identity construction by immigrant learners in South Africa involves the concept of mediation which is concerned with the tools used in these processes. At the centre of mediation is language (input) which is used by immigrant learners in communicating and interacting, thereby constructing and negotiating identities. It is through the use of language that the immigrant children translate for their families and others facing communication difficulties in South Africa.

For Vygotsky (1978), mediation represents the use of tools such as computers, learning activities and direct instructions which are used in the process of problem solving and learning. Among these tools, language is the most significant one. Language is considered as a symbolic tool which allows individuals to collaborate with others in order to shape their world.

Of importance is that in the process of interaction, a person's action is goal-directed; a person is constantly moving away from a world of objects to a world of social relations which constitutes a context for the use of those objects (Cross, 2006).

In moving towards his or her goals, there is an attempt to stabilize his or her identity. An understanding of an individual's actions as goal-directed is considered a fundamental ability underlying cognitive and social development in human beings. For example, as immigrant children interact and play with other children, they make use of a common language that can be understood by all. The learning and use of English by immigrant children permits them to be language brokers for their families and fellow immigrants who cannot speak the common language. In the context of this study immigrant children construct and negotiate their identities in a new context through interaction.

As in Feuerstein's theory (Williams & Burden 1997), mediation is central to Vygotsky's Sociocultural Theory. Vygotsky (1978) regards language as one of the important tools of mediation as it helps learners move into and through their Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD). Language brokers mediate between two (or more) different languages. Therefore language brokering and the way it takes place within families and the wider community can provide an insight into the development of cultural identities.

Sinha (1999) argues there are no natural born learners, but that learners are constructed by learning situations. In other words, the learning situations provide the learners with experience that is meaningful to them. Such constructivist perspectives reinforce the fact that learners engage in a constant attempt to make their views meaningful. For meaningful learning to take place, the individual needs to not only make sense of the learned subject matter and the learning situation, but also of him/herself in the specific learning situation. As a result the educational experience includes the construction of meanings about oneself as a learner. In other words, learners' educational experiences involve identity construction.

In a learning situation, the brain does not simply record information as it arrives but it reorganizes information for more efficient recall and later use. In fact, the structure of information in the brain is one of the primary features that distinguishes novices from experts (Wells, 1999). Fink (2003) classifies significant learning as that which involves aspects of both the cognitive and affective domains. This classification emphasizes the fact that learning involves changes in the learner. Significant learning is characterized by some kind of lasting change that is important in terms of the learner's life (Fink 2003).

According to Fink (2003) foundational knowledge includes knowledge and understanding of basic facts, ideas, and perspectives. Foundational knowledge also includes understanding the conceptual structure of factual knowledge within a subject, which is essential when applying factual knowledge in other areas. This implies that besides recalling information and ideas, one also needs to be able to apply one's knowledge or skills to new situations.

Thus construction of meanings about oneself as a learner involves the ability to learn more and use the knowledge gained to construct new understandings. This means that the educational situations where learning takes place fosters a specific type of identity that is constructed amongst other identities. Sociocultural contexts of learning such as families, communities and schools are important sites of social and cultural reproduction (Wink & Putney, 2001).

The Sociocultural learning theory provides a framework for delineating cultural development, especially in educational contexts, and helps one approach the transactional co-evolution of individuals and groups (Lantolf, 2000). This theory focuses on the learning that happens through engagement in particular kinds of tasks, talk, tools and relationships, in situated contexts in the social world (Orellana, 2009). It provides the developmental framework that helps a facilitator/researcher understand what children learn and how they develop through their daily experiences of mediation, both in specific circumstances and cumulatively over time. This development takes place within communities of practice (Bucholtz, 1999) and through participation. It transforms the practices and the participants themselves (Gutiérrez and Rogoff, 2003).

In relation to Vygotsky's theory (1978), immigrant learners are expected to actively participate in their own learning through the use of language and interactions with their fellow learners and teachers in the multicultural South African context. The theory emphasizes the symbolic tool of language and proposes that learners gain control over the mediational means made available by their culture, including language for interpersonal (social interaction) and intrapersonal thinking or reflection (Lantolf, 2000, p. 8). Therefore, in this study the Sociocultural Theory (Vygotsky, 1978) is used to explore the relationships between the sociocultural development of immigrant learners and their impact on cultural identities (Wink & Putney, 2001).

According to Vygotsky (1978) the sociocultural environment presents the child with a variety of tasks and demands, and engages the child in his/her world through the tools. Vygotsky

claims that the child is completely dependent on other people in the early stages, usually the parents, who initiate the child's actions by instructing him/her as to what to do, how to do it, as well as what not to do. Parents, as representatives of the culture, and the conduit through which the culture passes to the child, actualize these instructions primarily through language.

On the question of how children appropriate this cultural and social heritage, Vygotsky (1978) states that the child acquires knowledge through contacts and interactions with people as the first step, which is the interpsychological plane, then later assimilates and internalizes this knowledge and adds his/her personal value to it in the intrapsychological plane. Vygotsky (1978) distinguishes between the interpsychological and intrapsychological planes in learning. He explains that social interaction takes place first between people (interpsychological plane) and then inside the brain of the learner (intrapsychological plane). This means that the making of meaning in social interaction is a cognitive process that unites the social with the individual. In other words, social process allows the language to become a cognitive tool for the individual.

In the context of this study it can be said that immigrant learners make use of the knowledge of home/heritage language to learn the new target language which they use to mediate between their families and other members of the new country. Interaction is done through language, and since immigrant learners come to South Africa with other languages, they use this base to enable themselves to translate things into the newly learnt language. This transition from social to personal property, according to Vygotsky is not a mere copy, but a transformation of what had been learnt through interaction, into personal values.

Williams & Burden (1997) claim that the Sociocultural Theory advocates that education should be concerned not just with theories of instruction, but with learning to learn. Every good learner must first of all have the anxiety or need to learn something new then this will eventually lead to the process of self-learning. Being a self-learner entails developing a learning strategy that enables a learner to construct further knowledge.

The Sociocultural Theory also describes a scaffold for developing skills and strategies to enable the person to continue to learn in ways that make learning experiences meaningful and relevant to the individual. It achieves this by emphasising the facilitation of the holistic development of an individual. The theory asserts that education can never be value-free; it must be underpinned by a set of beliefs about the kind of society that is being constructed and

the kinds of explicit and implicit messages that will best convey those beliefs (Williams & Burden, 1997).

With regard to this study, the immigrant children learn English to facilitate communication among fellow immigrants who face language barriers in South Africa. Learning English is a lifetime achievement that will be beneficial in the long term. It may open international doors for some of the immigrant learners as they are likely to get better employment opportunities.

The Sociocultural Theory thus offers a holistic view of the act of learning. Williams & Burden (1997) explain that the theory opposes the idea of the discrete teaching of skills and argues that meaning should constitute the central aspects of any unit of study. In other words, any unit of study should be presented in all its complexity rather than as skills and knowledge presented in isolation.

The theory emphasizes the importance of what the learner brings to any learning situation as an active meaning-maker and problem-solver. It acknowledges the dynamic nature of the interplay between teachers, learners and tasks, and provides a view of learning as arising from interactions with others. In this study, immigrant learners, motivated by the dream of a better future for their families in South Africa, are more than willing to learn the target language and take the role of language brokers, through which they develop emotional maturity, characterized by optimism, happiness, and peace of mind. Knowing that their families are proud of them as language brokers in South Africa, these immigrant learners are willing to interact more to learn faster what they need to be of help to their families.

According to Ellis (2003) the Sociocultural Theory assumes that learning arises not through interaction but in interaction. In other words, learners first succeed in performing a new task with the help of another person and then internalize this task so that they can perform it on their own. In this way, interaction mediates learning. According to Ellis (2003), the Sociocultural Theory promotes scaffolding which can be considered as a tutorial behaviour pattern or sequence that is interactive (Wood, 1988, p. 96). Interactions that successfully mediate learning are those in which the learners scaffold new tasks.

In Vygotsky's conceptualization and in most sociocultural research there is an implicit assumption that children emulate adult examples and gradually, through mimicry or trial and error, develop the ability to do certain tasks without help or assistance. In other words, adults are seen as the experts, and children are apprenticed into communities of practice that adults have mastered.

Because language brokering involves learning the target language in the host country, Wells (2000, 1999, and 1994) states that learning takes place in the context of a purposeful and meaningful activity as learners and teachers work together to construct knowledge that has its own intrinsic value. Therefore, in the context of this study, learning English (the target language) is a social process; with the immigrant learners bringing their own lived experiences grounded in their own socio-cultural contexts. The fact that learning begins with personal experience in a social setting is confirmed by Wells (1999, p. 91). At this point Vygotsky's concept of the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD) emerges when Wells (1999) argues that the ZPD applies to any situation in which learners, as they participate in an activity, are in the process of developing mastery of a practice (p. 333).

Language brokering is thus a social practice as immigrant children translate from one language to another on a daily basis in their host country. I will now present the ZPD and scaffolding, which supplements this concept of mediation.

3.2.1 Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD)

Vygotsky (1978) defines the concept of the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD) as the distance between a child's actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving, and the higher level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers (p. 86). The ZPD is the distance between what students can achieve by themselves and what they can achieve when assisted by others. Wink & Putney (2001) relate that when learners receive instructional support from a more capable peer who happens to be more capable in that particular context, they internalize the new information and will be more able to perform independently in the next similar problem-solving situation (p.84). Vygotsky (1978) believes that with collaboration and direction, the learner is always able to do more and to solve more difficult tasks. Vygotsky holds the view strongly that group members in a learning situation should have different levels of ability, so that more advanced peers can help less advanced members operate within their ZPD.

In articulating his perspective on learning as this occurs in the case of language, Krashen (1981) makes a distinction between *language acquisition* and *language learning* and conceptualizes them in terms of two independent systems. For him *language acquisition* is a subconscious process gained through sustained exposure and interaction in the target language. *Language learning* on the other hand, involves the conscious process of studying a

language. Krashen associates language acquisition with the process children use when acquiring first and second languages (1981, p. 1) and perceives language learning as the formal knowledge of language. His view is that acquired knowledge is gained naturally in informal situations while learning occurs through formal instruction (Krashen, 1982, cited in Ellis, 1985, pp. 229-231).

It is thus evident why Krashen's monitor model may be seen to be closely associated with Vygotsky's Sociocultural Theory which focuses on language development from childhood through to adulthood (Donato, 2000, p. 45). According to Vygotsky's theory for the learner to reach a higher level of development (Zone of Proximal Development) the input must be at a higher level, meaning that the person mediating learning should be more knowledgeable than the learner so that the learner can be scaffolded more easily. The input must be comprehensible for learning to take place effectively. The learner receives input from the environment (external), and the mental (internal) structures interact with the input to produce the output (L2 speech). A teacher or more experienced peer is able to provide the learner with "scaffolding" to support the learner's evolving understanding of knowledge domains or the development of complex skills.

In the case of this study, the more experienced immigrant children provide the newly-arrived immigrant learners with scaffolding so that they can easily communicate in their host country. What then, is scaffolding?

3.2.2 Scaffolding

Scaffolding is closely related to the ZPD because it is only within the ZPD that scaffolding can occur. As already stated, working in the ZPD means that the learner is assisted by others to be able to achieve more than he or she would be able to achieve alone. Scaffolding refers to the detailed circumstances of such work in the ZPD. Scaffolding can be considered as a tutorial approach that is contingent, collaborative and interactive (Wood, 1988, p. 96). Behaviour (the approach) is contingent when an action depends on (that is, influences and is influenced by) other actions. It is collaborative when the end result, whether it is a conversation or the solution to a problem, is jointly achieved. And it is interactive when it includes the activity of two or more people who are mutually engaged.

Scaffolding is a collaborative process which enhances learning by providing assistance to another (Ohta, 2000, p. 52). Wells (1999) refers to scaffolding as a way of operationalizing

Vygotsky's (1987) concept of working in the Zone of Proximal Development (p.127). He identifies three important features that give educational scaffolding its particular character: (i) the essentially dialogical nature of the discourse in which knowledge is co-constructed, (ii) the significance of the kind of activity in which knowing is embedded and (iii) the role of artefacts that mediate knowing (ibid).

Collaborative learning, discourse, modelling and scaffolding are strategies that support the intellectual knowledge and skills development of learners and also facilitate intentional learning (planned/programmed learning). In this process of collaborative learning, the lecturer or more capable peer assists the new student until he/she attains independence in working without assistance. Collaborative or interactive learning in the form of group discussions could result in effective learning.

During the process of interaction, immigrant learners make use of a mediating tool which in this case is language. The more experienced immigrant children are able to provide scaffolded assistance to the newly arrived immigrant learners and they also get help from more knowledgeable peers and neighbours.

3.3 Immigration and acculturation

In this time of rapid social change when an ever-increasing flow of people traverse national boundaries, there is a pressing need to reframe our understanding of issues pertaining to contemporary migration. This will enable us to understand and accommodate the fluidity of the sociocultural contexts that shape immigrants' adaptation and sense of belonging in the societies of settlement. Furthermore, such critical processes will illuminate the relationship between mediation and acculturation as immigrants try to maintain their cultural backgrounds, and at the same time, try to adapt to the new cultures to which they are exposed. Therefore we need an analytical framework that acknowledges the formation of pluralistic societies as an uneven negotiated and continuous process.

In this study this framework is supported by the concept of acculturation, which provides a description of phenomena related to immigration and intercultural contact in plural societies (Berry, 1997; Berry, et al., 2006; Birman & Trickett, 2001; Chun et al., 2002). Through what Vygotsky (1978) calls "dialogues," we interact socially and communicate with others to learn the cultural values of our society. Vygotsky also believes that human activities take place in cultural settings and cannot be understood apart from these settings (Woolfolk, 2004).

Hamilton (2000) agrees that there are different literacies associated with different domains in life, and as Gee (1996) adds, home is the primary domain while the school serves as a secondary domain. Therefore what learners bring from the home is valuable in the classroom.

In addition, language learning is socially constructed knowledge that develops through interactions and through mediation by more experienced members of the community (Rogoff, 1990; Vygotsky, 1978). The development of language is considered to be a major principle of Vygotsky's sociocultural theory. The language of a certain group of people indicates their cultural beliefs and value system. For example, a tribe with many words meaning "farming" indicates that farming is an important aspect of their lives. Vygotsky's "dialogues," (Woolfolk, 2004) state that children learn language in much the same way that children learn cognitive skills.

Another aspect of language development involves private speech. Private speech is self-talk that children and adults may use to guide actions and it aids in thinking, as Vygotsky appears to have understood in his assertion of the importance of self-directed speech.

Private speech is considered to be self-directed regulation and communication with the self, and becomes internalized after about nine years (Woolfolk, 2004). This implies that private speech has a primary role in the self-regulation of cognition and behaviour, as the child gradually takes on greater strategic responsibility for activities that previously required the input of an expert other. By expressing goals, opinions, feelings, and self-thoughts through private speech, the children's motivation also increases. For instance, a child may talk him or herself through a challenging task. The immigrant children acting as language brokers for their families and others facing communicative issues in S.A. could tell themselves that because they are like "a saviour" to their families, they would do everything possible to learn the target language which can help ease communication for all. Almost everyone talks himself or herself through situations, good and bad. So in order to encourage themselves to learn faster, immigrant children develop their own motivational statements which help them learn English faster in S.A. As they tell each other that they need to make friends with English-speaking peers in order to become more proficient, they become more eager and anxious to learn the target language, which they use for language brokering. The positive statements the immigrant children make to themselves boost their learning by helping them to build confidence and to enhance self-efficacy as they strengthen their belief in their ability to improve.

Vygotsky also emphasizes the importance of cultural tools in cognition. Cultural tools can be any technological or symbolic tools which aid in communication (Woolfolk, 2004). The language, media, television, computers and books are only a handful of all the cultural tools available for problem solving or learning. Higher-level processing is mediated by psychological tools, such as language, signs, and symbols (Woolfolk, 2004). After receiving co-constructed help, children internalize the use of the cultural tools, and are better able to utilize the tools in the future on their own. Cultural brokers have a key role in social and cultural processes, as they facilitate the exchange of forms and techniques between different cultural traditions. They initiate practices that ensure the continuity and alteration of the system. They are the individuals who stand between two or more cultural traditions and assume the task of spreading and fostering one into the domain of the other (Hopkins et al., 1977).

Brown (1993) refers to successful learning as acculturation that is, becoming part of the target culture. Redfield et al., (1936) define acculturation as one of the phenomena which arises when groups of individuals from different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact with each other, and subsequently there are changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups. Acculturation refers to a cognitive and interpretive process of cultural learning and the adjustments that occur at the individual and group levels. It often occurs when individuals that have been initially socialized in a particular cultural context are called to function in a new environment, and selectively adapt their prior value and meanings systems (Berry, 1980; Rudmin, 2009; Ward & Masgoret, 2008).

Chirkov (2009) explains that the framework for acculturation situates culture brokering children centrally in the dynamic relationship that unfolds between immigrants and the host multicultural society. This process refers to the gradual and mutual interpenetration of cultural elements originating from both the immigrant and the native-born segments of society. In the context of this study, the actions and strategies of immigrants are dependent upon the attitudes of the dominant society such as those towards multiculturalism or segregation. These strategies include the adoption of the national language balanced with maintenance of the home language, interaction with those from the host country as well as co-ethnics and participation in national and cultural institutions, among other elements (Weisskirch, 2010).

This means that language brokering may also serve the purpose of teaching immigrant parents as well as their children enough about the receiving culture, so as to access resources and achieve success in adapting to the new culture (Valdes, 2002). The immigrant children in this study interact with their families, other immigrants and also with South African citizens. Through this interaction, they learn much about their culture and that of the South Africans; they translate from their home language to English and from other local South African languages to theirs, at times thereby gradually gaining ground as members of the host country.

In addition to these advances, Berry (2005) and Andreouli (2013) assume that acculturation is an ongoing process in which immigrant parents may use their children as language brokers, even when the parents' understanding of the new language is sufficient, in order to build "redundancy in understanding" (Weisskirch, 2010, p. 72). This implies that even though mastery of the target language for immigrant parents might be hard to attain, through the aid of their children they continually make an effort to become more fluent in the language and to understand the language in all its facets.

The adverse effects of acculturative stress have been extensively researched in several ethnic minority groups around the world (Falicov, 2007; Lau et al., 2005; Vinokurov, Trickett, & Birman, 2002; Besevegis & Pavlopoulos, 2008; Kateri & Karadimas, 2009; Pavlopoulos et al., 2009). The same holds true for the negative feelings of burden, adultification, and familial relationship distress, amongst others, which language or culture brokering can stir in migrant youth (DeMent et al., 2005; Love and Buriel, 2007; McQuillan & Tse, 1995; Orellana, 2009; Tse, 1995, 1996; Valenzuela, 1999; Weisskirch, 2007; Weisskirch & Alva, 2002).

Addressing the issue of negative acculturative stress, Weisskirch (2005) points out that even in situations where immigrant children are 'forced' to be bi-lingual/cultural in language brokering through acculturation, they paradoxically develop a stronger sense of attachment and belonging to their home culture. Through language brokering and acculturation, the way immigrant children identify themselves is a specific site of investigation. Weisskirch (2005) refers to language brokering as a means by which the exploration of a sense of belonging occurs.

As stated in Chapter one, this study explores the notion of bicultural identity among immigrant children in the Parow area of Cape Town, South Africa. It also explores the implications of language brokering for immigrant children's identity construction in a

multicultural context. The study purposefully focuses on the outcomes of the acculturative process and on the practice of cultural mediation. Although language brokering is a common occurrence among immigrant groups, it is unique to every child's experience. Immigrant children facilitate their relatives' everyday tasks and encounters with the host culture, and language brokering is considered to be a mediation process.

Even though etymologically acculturation derives from culture, thus presupposing a well-rounded conceptualization of the notion, the way culture is operationalized in the majority of acculturation research is deficient (Chirkov, 2009; Boski, 2008). Language and culture are closely connected. This in turn implies that cultures and societies in which two or more ethnic groups live together and in which more than one language is spoken must have particular social issues to negotiate. One such issue is how immigrant groups and families manage to communicate both on a formal and an informal level with the host country institutions.

In relation to sociocultural theory then, culture may be viewed as sets of embodied and situated repertoires of practice that people develop through their participation in the routine activities of daily life (Gutiérrez & Rogoff, 2003), which take place as a complex process of improvisation (Denzin, 1999). In other words, culture can be viewed as a system of learned and shared standards for perceiving, interpreting and behaving in interactions with others and with one's environment. The key component of this definition is that culture is learned and shared.

People learn culture from those with whom they interact and this occurs from the moment of birth. Family, as well as any other person who cared for us, becomes our teacher of cultural values, beliefs and behaviours. Culture is constantly produced and reproduced by historical actors, whose performance of meaning is unsystematic, changeable and often fragmented (Orellana, 1987).

In language brokering research (Gregory et al., 2004) the assumption is that this practice is reversed. Children are viewed as the experts, and parents as the novices among immigrant communities. In fact, language brokering challenges the theoretical model of expert–novice relationships by advocating role reversal (Baptiste, 1993; Tse, 1995; Tse, 1996; Valenzuela, 1999). Parents are usually regarded as the more knowledgeable and advanced individuals in almost all domains of life. This assumption puts them in a position to help their children to acquire more knowledge. But in the case of immigrant children who do language brokering for their relatives in new host countries, they assume new identities as the more

knowledgeable ones, compared to their parents who have limited proficiency in the languages of the host countries.

Still, parents have life experience or contextual knowledge of how things work that children have yet to build. The roles of the expert, that is, the one who provides knowledge and has authority and that of the novice or learner, flow back and forth between participants involved in the brokering activity, and the respective domains of learning vary as well (Paradise & Rogoff, 2009). Thus, in some ways, as children acquire more proficiency in English than their family members, they become the experts in the brokering activities. They support their parents not just in accomplishing practical tasks, but also in the acquisition of English skills. So instead of children getting help from their parents, the reverse is true.

Yet children are novices in other ways. Parents support their children in managing brokering tasks, and in further developing their skills in two vernaculars. Moreover, children and parents mutually scaffold each other's learning and understanding during language brokering events and together advance their first and second language development, literacy skills and knowledge of the social world. In this sense, a growing body of knowledge shows that children take the lead in family interactions and use their skills to teach others (Gregory et al., 2004; Paradise & Rogoff, 2009). Therefore, young language brokers are viewed as mediators between their parents and people speaking other languages different from their home languages. Language brokers mediate between two (or more) different languages. Children commonly translate for their parents in a variety of contexts but may also be asked to translate for extended family or other members of the broader community.

Kozulin *et al.* (1995) in reflecting on Vygotsky's work, assert that the learning process is not a solitary exploration of the environment by the child on his/her own, but is a process involving the child's appropriation of the methods of actions that exist in a given culture. In the process of appropriation, symbolic tools or artefacts play a crucial role in mediating knowledge.

Kozulin (2002) sees mediators in two categories: human and symbolic. Human mediation usually tries to answer the question concerning the kind of adult involvement that is effective in enhancing the child's performance. Symbolic mediation, on the other hand, deals with the changes in the child's performance that can be brought about by the introduction of the child to symbolic tools-mediators. In the context of this study, immigrant children interact with their peers, neighbours, teachers and other members of the South African community in

which they live. During these social contacts, they make mistakes and learn from these mistakes in the target language, which enables them to become better language brokers for their families and other immigrants facing communication difficulties in South Africa.

Lantolf (2000) stresses that from the Vygotskian perspective the higher forms of human mental activity are always mediated by symbolic means (p. 418). Symbolic mediation refers to the external process via symbolic signs or tools in the social context through which a learner can control mental processes after internalization (Lightbown & Spada, 2006). Lantolf (2000) regards language, among all the symbolic tools, as the most powerful psychological tool.

Through language mediation the child or learner learns how to perform a task or to solve a problem with the help of a more skilled individual (Mitchell & Myles, 2004). In other words, the learning process starts as an inter-mental activity by the more skilled individual sharing through talk, and ends as an intra-mental activity, with the shared knowledge taken in by the unskilled individual. Thus, according to Vygotsky (1978), learning includes two stages: shared understanding in social context through symbolic mediation that is mainly in the form of dialogue and internalization of the shared knowledge by the individual.

The learning process from a Vygotskian perspective is described as new concepts which continue to be acquired through social/interactional means (Mitchell & Myles, 2004). Through socially mediated activities and the eventual individual(s)-acting-with mediational-means, the social and individual planes of human psychological activity are interwoven.

However, international studies of language and identity have traditionally focused on how individuals or groups maintain, construct, project or negotiate their social identities in and through linguistic practices (for example, Gumperz, 1982; Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985; Tabouret-Keller, 1997; Cerulo, 1997). Other studies have investigated the academic socialization in language learning and the learners' identity construction (for example, Morita, 2000, 2004; Duff, 2002; Raymond & Parks, 2002, 2004; Singh & Doherty, 2004; Her, 2005; Menard-Warwick, 2005; Hellermann, 2006).

This study takes on a sociocultural dimension in its exploration of identity construction which describes the ways in which identity is constructed through and by language and how these processes occur within broader social discourses with their inscribed power relations. It draws mainly on the Sociocultural Theory, specifically from Lave & Wenger's (1991) and Firth & Wagner's (2007) work, which demonstrates that second language learning is situated

in social practice and social interaction. It is therefore necessary to examine the significance of this work in relation to identity construction through second language learning. Thus I provide a description of Lave & Wenger's (1991) Community of Practice concept to highlight the importance of social interaction in second language learning.

3.4 Community of Practice

Lave & Wenger's (1991) Community of Practice (COP) framework shows a strong link between the act of learning a second language and the community in which the learning is actually taking place. The COP concept is a perspective that locates learning in the relationship between the person and the world. In the relationship of participation, the social and the individual constitute each other. The idea of COP by Lave & Wenger (1991; 1998) is a prominent concept in the study of language learning as a social practice. Wenger (1998) defines Communities of Practice as groups of people who share a concern or passion for something they do and learn how to do it better as they interact regularly. Lave and Wenger (1991, p. 29) argue that legitimate peripheral participation is the central characteristic of learning which is viewed as a situated activity. The newcomers' participation in the practices of the community is peripheral in that they begin as outsiders and move toward full participation (Lave & Wenger 1991, p. 29).

In this case, learning takes place when newcomers to a community have a legitimate reason or purpose for participation. They begin to see themselves as legitimate members or potential members of the community and they have an intention to enter the community. Likewise, other community members see the newcomers as legitimate or potential members of the community. Lave & Wenger (1991) comment that for newcomers, the purpose is not to learn from talk as a substitute for legitimate peripheral participation; it is rather to learn to talk as a key to legitimate peripheral participation.

The concept of participation is used to describe the way in which a person becomes a member of a sociocultural community through engagement in social practices. The social practices are dynamic and in turn shape the person through the social relations enacted in them. Hence, learning is an integral part of social practice (Wenger & Lave, 1991; Wenger, 1998).

Learning as social practice emphasizes the importance of the person as a social participant and as a meaning-making entity for whom the social world is a resource for constituting an identity. Learning generally involves becoming a knower in a context where knowledge is

negotiated with respect to the regime of competence of a given community. When a new learner comes into a community, he/she gathers experience that reflects his/her competence in the language of the community.

In relation to these assertions Firth & Wagner (2007, p. 807), drawing on the works of Lave & Wenger (1991), view the process of learning as an “inseparable part of ongoing activities, embedded in social practice and interaction”. Framing language learning as a social process inherently implies that learning a second language will often involve a struggle for participation in a new social environment. This environment is influenced by a number of sociocultural and contextual factors that preclude discussion on subjectivity, agency, and multiple identities (Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000).

Weedon, (1987, p. 97) explains “subjectivity” as an aspect of an individual’s psyche by means of which the person identifies themselves and their place in the world. This notion of subjectivity entails the person “inserting” themselves into a particular “subject position” within a chosen “discourse”. Subjectivity is therefore liable to change in the event of a new discourse becoming available, or to changes in power relations between rival discourses, or by different subject positions becoming available within one and the same discourse (Weedon, 1987, p. 32). Although a person may be positioned in a particular way within a given discourse, the same person might resist the subject position or even set up a counter discourse which positions the person in a powerful rather than marginalized position. Thus Ahearn (2001, p. 112) defines “agency” as a socio-culturally mediated capacity to act. This implies that agency enables people to imagine, take up and perform new roles or identities and to take concrete actions in pursuit of their goals.

Roberts (2000) points out that within the developing literature on language, social identity and its relation to second language, the learner is understood as a person with multiple identities. Some of the identities are contradictory. Kramsch (1994) views language as a way of seeing, understanding and communicating about the world. Each language user deploys his/her language(s) differently. Learning English as second language is thus seen as a social practice because communicating in any new language entails learning how to use words, rules and knowledge about that language in order to communicate effectively with its native speakers. It is through learning a second language that a learner participates in the activities of a multilingual community by developing skills and knowledge necessary for full membership.

In this study immigrant children, upon arrival in S.A., attempt to become socialized into their new academic and social environment but face challenges at various levels. Because of its multiculturalism and multilingualism South Africa may have multiple, changing and sometimes competing discourses which can make newcomers' socialization less predictable and less linear.

This study focuses more on the communities to which these immigrant learners belong, both in school and at home. The school playgrounds and the neighbouring communities in which the immigrant families live are considered as a particular kind of COP because the immigrant learners are concerned mainly with their everyday learning experiences. They make extra efforts to learn English, which helps them to be language brokers for their families and other immigrants facing difficulties in communication.

In school, most immigrant learners often have difficulty accessing supportive relationships, whether due to language barriers, scarce resources at their schools, or stereotypes about their educational motivation. Vygotsky's Sociocultural (1978) Approach argues that people within a community such as parents, caregivers, and peers of immigrant children, as well as cultural artefacts, or the culture itself with its specific practices and traditions, are responsible for the development of higher order functions such as language processing and information processing. Child development can thus be seen as a consequence of interactions between children and their social environment, where children are active participants in the construction of knowledge. Knowledge here is understood as the attitudes and abilities a child develops which have specific bearing on the acquisition of language and the development of literacy.

Some newly immigrated learners may feel isolated at school, afraid to share their experiences with others, and unsure of how to ask for help. So the immigrant children who are more proficient in English – perhaps because they have spent more years in the South African community tend to empathize with the newcomers. In most cases, the immigrant learners, both new and old, engage in learning the target language which will enable them to ease communication issues for their families in SA.

Eun (2010) explains that by collaborating towards a common cultural goal, people co-construct new knowledge, building on each participant's contribution. For example, in the case of this study, the South African school community's common goal is educating the immigrant children and improving their literacy levels. However, this goal actually does not

only belong to the school community, but is part of the community in which the immigrant children live. By acquiring English L2 skills, the immigrant children gradually negotiate and construct their identities in the multicultural and multilingual South African community.

Lave & Wenger's (1991) COP framework relates to the poststructural approach which is relevant in second language learning (Block, 2007; Lantolf, 2000; Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000). In the section that follows I discuss the Poststructural approach to language learning.

3.5 Language and identity construction: A Poststructuralist Approach

In order to understand how immigrant children negotiate various identities in different domains in the South African context, I discuss the Poststructuralist Theory in relation to language brokering.

Poststructuralist theorists claim that heterogeneous linguistic communities are sites of struggle for power (Bourdieu, 1977; Weedon, 1997). It has already been discussed that language is the site where the speaker creates his/her identity in relation to the social world (Norton, 2011). This study is informed by the works of poststructuralists such as Mikhail Bakhtin (1984), Pierre Bourdieu (1991) and Christine Weeden (1997). The purpose is to illuminate teachers' understanding and experiences of language brokering by immigrant children. The experiences of immigrant children as language brokers in different domains and how they negotiate identities in English second language lessons is also to be understood through the poststructuralist theory.

The Poststructuralist Theory has achieved prominence in the late twentieth century and is associated with what is called the "linguistic turn" in contemporary social thought. It has its roots in the structuralist linguistic theories of the Swiss linguist, Ferdinand de Saussure.

Saussure (1966) drew a distinction between speech (*parole*) and language (*langue*) in an attempt to provide a way of recognizing that despite geographical, interpersonal and social variations, languages have shared patterns and structure. The distinction between the French words, *langue* (language or tongue) and *parole* (speech) is that "langue" represents the work of a collective intelligence, which is both internal to each individual and collective, insofar as it is beyond the will of any individual to change. "Parole", on the other hand, designates individual acts, statements and utterances, events of language use manifesting each time a speaker's ephemeral individual will through his/her combination of concepts and his/her phonation (the formal aspects of the utterance).

Saussure (1966) points out that the single word linguistics, therefore, covers two different kinds of study. Parole refers to the individual language acts which occur when anyone audibly voices letters, words, sentences, etc. In other words, “parole” is the physical manifestation of speech, while “langue” is the abstract system of principles – language out of which acts of speech (parole) occur (Harris, 1990). Langue comprises all aspects and features of a language taken as a whole that could be found through an examination of the memories of all the users of a language, or the sum of word-images stored in the minds of individuals. The term parole implies the actual or concrete act of speaking on the part of an individual that is, a dynamic social activity in a particular time and place. This implies that parole is the social part of langue.

However, Bakhtin (1984) criticizes the splitting of langue and parole as separating individuals and society where it matters most. He developed a dialogue theory of utterances where language is understood in terms of how it orientates the speaker/writer to the listener/reader. Therefore, words are subject to negotiation, contest and struggle and the language is strongly affected by social context.

Bakhtin (1984) further opposes Saussure’s view of language as a closed system, together with his dichotomous distinctions between language and speech, individual and society, and self and other. Bakhtin (1986) argues that discourse and meaning are fundamentally social. He writes of language development as a process whereby learners appropriate and transform the language of specific people with whom they interact. He explains that words are initially the other’s words, and at foremost, the mother’s words. Gradually, these ‘alien words’ change dialogically to become one’s ‘own alien words’ until they are transformed into ‘one’s own words’ (Bakhtin, 1984).

By this argument Bakhtin is stressing the situatedness of language in particular social, historical, cultural and economic environments. His position suggests that when communication is viewed as a social entity, immigrant learners may learn to make connections between their experiences in their first language speech spheres as they acquire a second language. They may learn that brokering in various contexts, for example in and out of school with peers, at social gatherings, with family, in hospitals, on trains, etc., situates them as both speakers and listeners.

Bakhtin (1986) positions the speaker with their world view, their evaluations and emotions on one hand, and the object of their speech alongside the language system, on the other hand.

This means that learners are tied to their specific position in time and space. Therefore, learning takes place in a specific social context at a particular time.

Furthermore, Bakhtin (1986, p. 71) argues that the *utterance*, not the word or sentence, should be the object of analysis because speech can exist in reality only in the form of concrete utterances of individual speaking people. For Bakhtin (1986) utterances can exist only through a *voice*, which refers to the socially situated speaking person and encompasses such factors as a speaking person's perspective, world view, values and relationship to the voices of others.

In Bakhtin's (1986) view, an utterance can be studied meaningfully only as an inseparable element of verbal communication. For him, the principle of dialogicity is fundamental. Dialogicity stresses both the mutual role of addressee and speaker in the construction of utterances and the connectedness of human speech communication, not only in present interactions but also in past and future discourses. Bakhtin (1986) stresses that an utterance is dialogic, as in an actual dialogue between interlocutors. It is also an inner dialogue among the voices in our heads, and a dialogue with an anonymous and disembodied social "other" in our languages and the social horizons (Morgan, 1987).

He writes of an intense interaction and struggle between one's own and another's word that takes place in the utterance; a process in which they oppose or dialogically interanimate each other (Bakhtin, 1981). For him when we use language, we respond not only to a particular interaction or move, but we also indicate our stance and negotiate our place and positioning toward the others involved.

In this view, Hall (1995) explains, acquiring a language or becoming competent is not a matter of learning to speak. It is instead a matter of developing a range of voices, of learning to *ventriloquate* that is, to (re) construct utterances for our own purposes from the resources available to us (Bakhtin 1986), within and through our social identities. This occurs through varied interactive practices through which we live our lives (Hall, 1995).

In our communication with others we have the opportunity for symbolic freedom as we struggle to create our own voice from the resources given and in response to the voices of others. By using language creatively we can exercise our individual voice and challenge the world we encounter (Hall, 1993, 1995).

It is in this light that Bourdieu (2002) goes on to say that the individual has his/her own habitus, and within it, a class habitus. The individual habitus is the singular composition of different collective strata. The individual can be anyone, such as a worker or boss, young or old, man or woman, black or white, etc. Each individual has different characteristics, which combine to make an individual habitus as a package. Everyone is unique but at the same time is shaped by the collective space. This illustrates the interrelationship between the habitus of class and individual habitus.

According to Bakhtin (1981) language is not a set of idealized forms independent of their speakers but rather situated utterances in which speakers are in struggle with others to create meanings. Bakhtin (1981) steadfastly pursues the idea that language development is a matter of appropriating the words of others. To him, speakers need to struggle to appropriate the voices of others and to bend those for their own purposes.

In agreement with Bahtin's (1981) argument, Pierre Bourdieu (1977) focuses on the importance of power in structuring speech and asserts that there are the unequal relationships between interlocutors. He states that the value ascribed to speech cannot be understood apart from the person who speaks. In the same way, the person who speaks cannot be seen in isolation from the larger network of social relationships. When a person speaks he/she wishes not only to be understood but also to be believed. However, the speakers' abilities to command listeners are unequally distributed because of the symbolic power relations between interlocutors.

It is worth noting that language itself has no power; what makes it powerful, is people who use it. Power is culturally and symbolically created and constantly reinforced through the interplay of agency and structure. This is done through the habitus – the socialized norms or tendencies that guide behaviour and thinking. The habitus is the product of social conditioning and thus of history (Bourdieu, 1990). In the case of this study, immigrants' personal histories and experiences may have an effect on their propensity for certain types of action over others. This could occur as immigrants in South Africa come from different countries with different languages and with varying competences.

Bourdieu (1990) views the habitus as dispositions that reflect the way one behaves, acts and thinks – impulses that the individual is habituated to. It is attained unconsciously through socialization in the family, school, etc. Bourdieu distinguishes two habitus forms: the habitus of class and the individual habitus. The habitus of class believes that a class of individuals

has communal dispositions in their lifestyle and so the individual will have shared orientation through their shared habitus.

The habitus is a product of history. In other words, it produces individual and collective practice in accordance with the schemes generated by history (Bourdieu, 1977). Through a system of ‘present past’ it reinforces the active presence of past experiences which is instilled in an organism through thought, perception and action. This ensures the ‘rightness’ of practices over a period of time. These practices are shaped by past events and structures and shape current behaviour and structures and condition our perceptions. Therefore the habitus is not fixed or permanent and can be changed under certain conditions or over a long period of time.

Bourdieu (1977) defined habitus as “the strategy-generating principle enabling agents to cope with unforeseen and ever-changing situations”. Thus the habitus ensures a dialectical link between past and present, that is, the past is always visible in the present as an individual system of acquired dispositions that impacts on practices (Bourdieu, 1977; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Maton, 2005). Because habitus defines and generates practice, it not only makes routine activity possible but enables one to deal with unexpected and new situations. Therefore, the habitus is socialized subjectivity. In other words, it is an individual’s daily thought and activity. This social action or activity always has a time and space. It is through this same understanding that Robbins (1993) refers to habitus as a social inheritance. At the core of Bourdieu’s habitus lies the tendency to always act the same way in similar situations.

The habitus is acquired during primary and secondary socialization (Bonnewitz, 2009). Primary socialization is the socialization that is shaped by the family during childhood. The resulting primary habitus (*habitus primaire*) is rather stable. The schemes of action and perceptions that are transferred during childhood are linked to the parents’ social position in the social space. Therefore, the primary habitus is about ‘internalizing the external’ as the parents’ modes of thinking, feeling and behaving that are linked to their position in the social space are internalized in the children’s own habitus (Nash, 2003).

This is what Bourdieu (1977) refers to as class habitus (*habitus de classe*) that reflects the different positions people have in society and that leads to different lifestyles tastes and interests among social classes (Bourdieu, 1984; Bourdieu & Darbel, 1969). Primary socialization takes place when the children start learning their place in the social structure by

internalizing it at very young age. In this way, children evaluate themselves according to characteristics such as gender, race, socio-economic status and other forms of cultural belonging (Calboun, 2002; Dumais, 2002; Nash, 1999; Sender, 2001).

The secondary habitus (*habitus secondaire*) is built on the primary habitus and results from one's education at school and university, but also from other life experiences. The primary habitus as "embodied history, internalized as second nature and so forgotten as history" (Bourdieu, 1990a, p. 56) never loses its impact and always influences the development of the secondary habitus. In this respect the primary and secondary habitus can also be summarized into one single habitus that is constantly reinforced and modified by life experiences that give it a dynamic quality (Chudzikowski & Mayrhofer, 2011). Thus the habitus seems to be a never-ending restructuring internal structure (Bonnewitz, 2005). However, this does not imply that our system of dispositions changes with any new life event. This notwithstanding, Bourdieu describes the habitus to be rather durable (Chudzikowski & Mayrhofer, 2011) while not eternal (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 133).

Weeden's (1997) concept of subjectivity is also relevant to identity construction. Weeden, as a feminist poststructuralist is concerned with the conditions under which people speak within contexts. In fact she centralizes the role of language in the analysis of the relationship between the individual and the context. She insists that language not only defines institutional practices but also serves to construct our subjectivity (Norton, 2011). Accordingly, Norton (2011) maintains that subjectivity signifies a different conception of the individual than that associated with humanist philosophy. This presupposes that every person has an essential, fixed and coherent core: "the real me." The term "subject" is a particularly helpful one, as it reminds us that we are often "subject of" a set of relationships (that is, in a position of relative power) or "subject to" a set of relationships (that is, in a position of relative powerlessness). The central point is that our subjectivity must always be understood in relational terms, and our subject position is constructed within diverse discourses or sites of practice (p.172).

In a nutshell, Weeden (1997) appropriates the poststructuralist theory of subjectivity, defining it as the conscious and unconscious thoughts and emotions of the individual, her sense of herself and her ways of understanding her relation to the world (1997). To this feminist poststructuralist the concept of subjectivity is multiple, contradictory and dynamic across historical time and social space. Subjectivity is open to change. Thus from the hermeneutic

perspectives on identity, language is made and remade in conversation, and identity is dialogically created in those conversations.

Drawing on Weedon's concept of subjectivity, Pierce (1995) presents three defining characteristics of social identity: the multiple nature of identity, identity as a site of struggle and identity as changing over time. Social identity in Pierce's (1993) work refers to the relationship between the individual and the larger social world, as mediated through institutions such as families, schools, workplaces, social services and law courts (Norton, 1997). A poststructuralist definition of identity views language as central in constructing ourselves and our subjectivity (Weedon, 1997). Identity is seen as discursively constituted, multiple and in process, fluid, and often contradictory, rather than as fixed and unitary (Weedon, 1997).

Immigrant children try to maintain their home culture while negotiating their new identities in the new multicultural South African society. Adapting to a new environment with different cultures is often not easy and requires many adjustments on the part of the newcomers.

Thus the PVEST discussed in the section that follows, explains how these immigrant children and their families negotiate membership into the South African community through learning the target language. I explain by use of the PVEST, how immigrant children overcome the socialization challenges they face in their host country.

3.6 The Phenomenological Variant of Ecological Systems Theory (PVEST)

Identity construction of any language learner involves constant cultural socialization (Ochs, 1988). Spencer (1995) has developed a theory she refers to as the Phenomenological Variant of Ecological Systems Theory (PVEST). The PVEST seeks to explain how members of a group learn to cope with different sources of everyday stress as part of normal human development. Rogoff (2003) has examined cultural patterns of human development by looking at the regularities that make sense of differences and similarities in communities' practices and traditions. She argues that people develop as participants in cultural communities. Spencer (1995) proposed the PVEST, which can be useful for understanding identities as coping responses.

PVEST simply deals with an individual's world view or how they understand the world around them. In counselling, the starting point of empathy is always the phenomenology because if we can understand how a person is seeing the world, we can imagine or understand

how they feel. Variant means the way people see the world, their phenomenology varies from person to person. Ecological systems stands for the sociocultural influences individuals face that impact on their development. These ecological systems may include schools, communities, families, history, cultural beliefs, etc. So like an individual's worldview, ecological systems also vary among individuals. Therefore, in putting phenomenological variants together with ecological systems, a theory emerges that deals with the interplay between an individual's view of the world and the impact of sociocultural and historical forces that influence that individual's development. Identity construction of any language learner involves constant cultural socialization (Ochs, 1988).

The pioneer of the Phenomenological Variant of Ecological Systems Theory (PVEST), Margaret Beale Spencer (1995) was an American psychologist, whose focus was on resilience. During her search, she noticed that much of the literature focused on deficits. In the mid-1990s, Spencer decided to combine a framework that emphasizes and integrates individuals' intersubjective experiences with Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory to examine an achievement variable (Spencer 1995). Building on Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory, Spencer coupled the notion of identity construction in normal human development with the complex interplay of ecological systems. Thus, the PVEST places identity construction in context and recognizes the impact of perception as well as individual and group level differences on the development of an individual.

Spencer's (1995) assertion is that all humans are vulnerable. This means that all humans have risk factors and they face challenges, but they also have support mechanisms. She argues that vulnerability does not occur in isolation, but is part of a process of systems.

Spencer, Dupree, & Hartmann (1997) argue that it is not solely our experiences but our perspectives and situated selves within lived experience that influence our identity and the development of our self-perception. The self-organization leading to identity formation is determined not only by context but also by phenomenological experiences, such as race, gender, and physical appearance, amongst many others (Spencer, Dupree, & Hartmann, 1997). The interactive nature between experience and identity is thus deeply connected to the social realities of populations who are marginalized within societies dominated by a majority culture other than their own (Bowman, 2011).

The development of self-organization, specifically during adolescence, plays a critical role in the maturation of coping strategies as we develop knowledge about society's expectations,

stereotypes, and biases (Spencer et al., 1997). Furthermore, the recursive self-other evaluation process, how it is impacted by stress, and how it influences decision-making (that over time becomes patterned behaviours) is inherently affected by environmental and physiological change (Spencer et al., 1997).

Spencer, Dupree, & Hartman (1997) use the phenomenological approach to understand how a person understands and/or views experiences in life. Crossing this approach with Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory, creates a system for analyzing biases, stereotypical perceptions/associations, and what is understood by individuals based on the expectations held by society.

Phenomenological Variant of Ecological Systems Theory (PVEST) is linked to the concept of self-organization as it includes the same contextual references (home, school, community) with race, gender, and status. However, the focus of PVEST is to discover a more refined understanding of the effects of interacting with culture, on one's development through life. PVEST appears to be a response to the previous theories, namely the Poststructural and Sociocultural Theories because culture is embedded in communication. In this study, as immigrant children struggle to learn the target language, they are eventually learning the culture of the host country as learning takes place in a given community, which is the S.A. community.

Immigrant children in South Africa are considered to have a minority group status as they come from different cultural backgrounds and speak different languages. Jaret (1995) postulated that the term minority group originated in the work of Louis Wirth (1945). Wirth (1945) defined a “minority” as a group of people who, because of their physical or cultural characteristics, are singled out from others in society in which they live for differential and unequal treatment, and who regard themselves as objects of collective discrimination.

Jaret (1995) associates the term ‘minority’ with the work of sociologists such as Dworkin & Dworkin (1982) and Stone (1985). These sociologists refer to a minority group firstly, as visible to others and distinct from others because of certain physical and cultural characteristics. Secondly, they are seen as relatively powerless, subordinate, and unequally treated or held in low esteem. They have limited social, political or economic opportunities and rights; and are even violently persecuted or oppressed. Finally, they are perceived as having a sense of identity or group consciousness. The key component of this consciousness

is an awareness of social isolation, stigmatization, persecution and discrimination by the larger society (Jaret, 1995, p. 31).

In the context of this study, immigrant children are referred to by South Africans as “foreigners”, that is, people who do not belong to their society. They are often not treated like South African children, no matter how much they may try to adapt. They have to work harder to learn English second language to become competent and to help their relatives to integrate better in the new society.

In sum, Jaret (1995) suggests that Wirth's definition provides a sociological analysis of minority that is not determined by a number. The term denotes a position or status relative to some other group that is conceptualized as dominant. The dominant group has control of resources, and enjoys a status of prestige. The unequal position compromises school adjustment for those who are socially isolated and stigmatized as it may lead to a "reactive" or negative identity because of stress-producing situations that require coping or even maladaptive coping. In this sense, as children develop, their lives are progressively exposed to diverse expressions of social stereotypes and institutional biases (for example, adverse educational practices and negative teacher perceptions).

In light of this, learners not grounded in the mainstream culture such as immigrants, frequently struggle to get along in school settings that are institutionalized according to the moral, social and cultural dimensions of the host society (Roberts & Locke, 2001).

Schools, therefore, can play a special role in adjustment processes as being the first settings of sustained contact with the new culture for immigrant children as well as for children of immigrants (that is, second generation). In fact, it is often the case that schools provide an opportunity for immigrants to become integrated in the local society. Schools, thus, serve as agencies of acculturation that shape what immigrant children learn as well as their motivation and aspirations to learn. In addition, they enhance children's exposure to different peer networks and provide them with opportunities to succeed educationally (Portes & Rumbault, 1996). Schools equally play a critical role in facilitating children's participation in the new society. Therefore, schools are in a favourable position to implement prevention and intervention programmes that address the inclusion of newcomer immigrant children and their adjustment to a new social reality (Hodes, 2000; Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2001).

According to Heller (1999), migrant learners introduce new cross-cultural and multi-ethnic elements to the host society. They are however also associated with problems such as academic failure, discrimination difficult socio-economic situations and tensions between ethno-linguistic groups. This seems to confirm that schools could play a special role in adjustment processes of immigrant children in the new culture and also for the children of immigrants (that is, second generation). Schools, thus, serve as agencies of acculturation that shape what immigrant children learn as well as their motivation and aspirations to learn.

South Africa is an environment in which English is recognized as the primary language of the dominant culture, especially in the domain of education. Immigrant learners in South

Africa use English to carry out many of their everyday activities. In this way, for immigrant learners, the process of becoming a member of the dominant culture is determined by their proficiency in English and their proficiency in the target language also enables them to assume new identities. The immigrant learners may be able to interact socially in their first languages at home or in the host communities where their first language is spoken, but use English in other contexts. Their language interaction in the new host country involves continual negotiation and (re)creation of identities as they move from being novice English users in the classroom, while they assume significant or expert responsibilities as language brokers in other contexts(Ochs& Bambi, 2012).

The PVEST which is very closely linked to this study emphasizes the use of stable coping responses or emergent identities. It suggests that patterned coping methods evolve into emergent identities that represent stable coping responses. Accordingly, for immigrant children in South Africa, their role of acting as language brokers among relatives and friends supports their learning of English. Immigrant children assume emergent language broker identities as they take up family responsibilities which are supposed to be those of their parents. In this way they develop a sense of independence and a positive self-image. A positive life-stage outcome might be academic persistence for a middle childhood youngster with a culturally pluralistic ethnic identity.

For minority or immigrant parents, child rearing efforts require the provision of explicit explanations of minority status and its meaning. The phenomenological approach that emphasizes how the individual perceives or makes sense of an experience is useful in identifying specific points in need of intervention or support for enhancing school adjustment (Van Manen, 2014). The teen years are usually a vulnerable period, even when accompanied

by supportive conditions. The potential for abstract thought influences their sensitivities to others' opinions, attitudes, beliefs and assessments which may be daunting and potentially devastating for social relationships, identity processes and schooling outcomes. Thus the rapidity and complexity of self-organization in the adolescent period should be viewed as somewhat phenomenal.

Identity development for children between the ages of seven and sixteen involves coming to understand oneself as a member of a society within a particular ethnic, cultural, religious or political tradition. In addition, an orientation to a habitual right action, as described by Youniss (1998) is fundamental to identity insofar as defining oneself is concerned. It entails becoming part of a normative cultural tradition.

Critical to and implicit in this perspective therefore, is the acknowledged importance of the person's lived experience which is considered in context. Coping methods and identities may, in fact, represent the same shared values and beliefs generally valued across groups for example, academic achievement, good school adjustment and school completion. However, they are often coupled with behaviours that suggest a significant need for respect as a consequence of an early demonstrated independence and responsibility that accompany human development processes originating in challenging settings.

The PVEST thus seeks to articulate adaptive principles that are responsive to local conditions and local histories (Burgess & Marshall, 2014). It argues that to be human is to be placed at risk (Spencer, 1995). So for Francophone immigrant children, facing challenges in negotiating and forming new identities in South Africa is a step towards adapting better and learning English. In adapting to new conditions, the risks involved for immigrant children are that they are usually expected to learn faster and become language brokers for their parents and other relatives.

Spencer et al. (1997) assert that the nature of the challenges and support needs to change with age. For example, the needs of a young child for a sense of competence and attachment are qualitatively different from those of an adult because the child is still growing up and needs to cope with various life challenges. Spencer's final and perhaps most compelling point is that youth who face persistent challenges based on race, ethnicity, poverty, immigrant status and so forth, must learn to cope with both the normative challenges of growing up and the specialized challenges of stigmatization (Boykin, 1986; Spencer, 1987, 1999, 2000).

Learning to cope productively with these dual challenges can provide sources of resilience. This means that ethnic and racial socialization, for example, can serve as an important and necessary support for the child's holistic development (Caughy et al., 2002; Mandara, 2006). The PVEST thus correlates with Vygotsky's (1978) Sociocultural and the Poststructural theories as it incorporates the COP.

As this discussion indicates, I used the Sociocultural and Poststructuralist theories to examine and understand second language learning and language brokering as social practices. I also used the foregoing theories to portray language as a site of identity construction. Like Vygotsky, Lave and Wenger (1991) also argue that learning is a function of the activity, context and culture in which it occurs. In other words it is situated rather than being something that occurs within the minds of individuals, as cognitive psychologists have traditionally argued.

Immigrant learners become involved in a community of practice, which is viewed as a broad characterization encompassing all social relations contained within a community of workers who share similar activities and identities and who get things accomplished when they come together around mutual engagement in an endeavour (Wenger, 1998).

The PVEST explains that in each instance, a community of practice represents a negotiated set of relations among persons, activity, and the world, over time and in relation to other tangential and overlapping communities of practice. Immigrant children in this case, seek ways of negotiating their membership of the host community. This negotiation is done through learning and using the target language, thereby, acquiring a new culture as well. As the immigrant children use different strategies to negotiate their membership, they construct new identities.

Thus, the PVEST suggests ways of negotiating and constructing identities through participation, collaboration and positive self-perception. Immigrant children, depending on how they view themselves, can develop new strategies to learn faster and integrate into a new host community. Collaborating and cooperating with more knowledgeable peers will help them to learn faster, thereby constructing new identities.

In a community of practice, identity construction is the production of social relations created around work and knowledge. As opposed to being created to carry out a task, the shape and membership of a community of practice emerges in the process of activity as people work and learn collaboratively (Halbe, 2005).

3.7 Conclusion

Coll & Falsafi (2010) explain that the theories about learner identity rely on mainly three aspects of the Sociocultural Approach to identity. There are: (i) those that place emphasis on the discursive or rhetorical nature of identity; (ii) those which view identity construction as deeply embedded in activity and as part of social practice; and (iii) those approaches that emphasize recognition as essential to identity construction. If we dare to pronounce on what these theories have in common, we can claim that the power relations between participants in an interaction have a particular effect on the social meanings of the texts constructed within a given genre, whether oral or written.

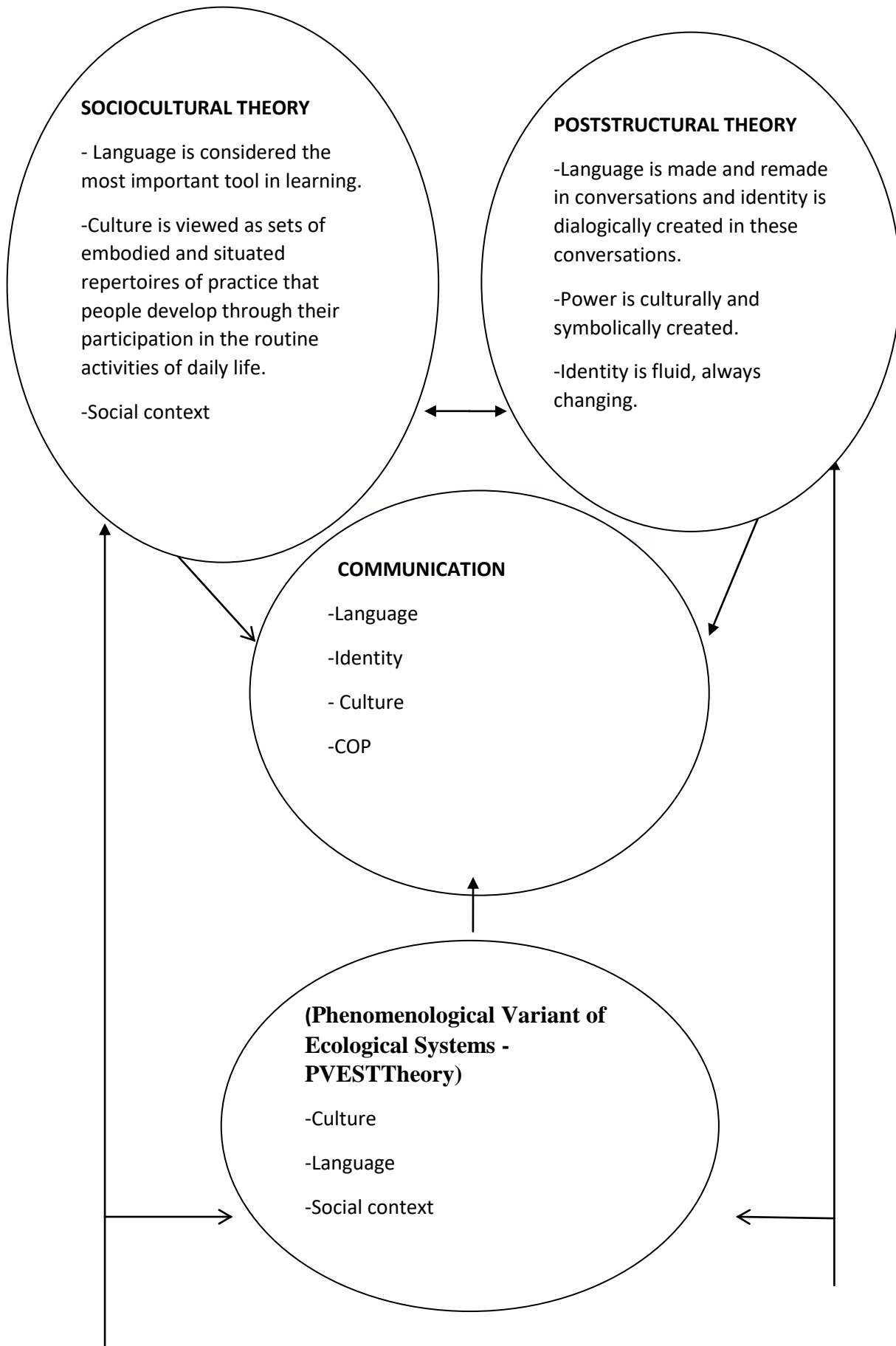
Poststructuralist theories help teachers, policymakers and many others in a myriad of ways, whether teachers are discussing the meaning of texts, or the students' learning strategies. Thus Norton (2011) claims that it is clear that language is a social practice in which experiences are organized and identities negotiated (p. 179).

Language classes are sites where identities are produced and changed and these identities are shifting and tied to language and learning. In fact, this process of formation is not linear; it is, rather, a process that is contingent. This means that language classes have increasingly become global contact zones in which people with disparate historical trajectories and cultural identities meet, clash and grapple with each other often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination.

On arrival in a new host country, people struggle to cope with transitioning into the new culture, but once a bold step is taken towards adapting to the new conditions, then the challenges are minimized. The bold step is often learning the language of the dominant culture to make life easier, thereby, constructing and reconstructing new identities. The language used to convey meaning on a daily basis becomes more powerful as more people speak it.

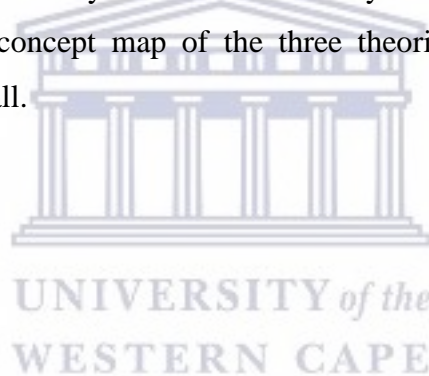
The link between the Sociocultural, Poststructural and PVEST theories is the act of mediation. In this study, mediation is salient as language brokering by immigrant children is more of a mediated act. Immigrant children make use of language to ease communication between different groups of people and by this means act as mediators between the various groups. The diagram that follows shows how the three theories are interrelated.

Figure 1: Relationship between the Sociocultural, Poststructural and PVEST theories



To conclude, it is important to emphasize that the three theories (Sociocultural, Poststructuralist and PVEST) used in this study are closely linked. These three theories agree that language is the most important tool used in communication. Language thus becomes powerful as many people rely on it to communicate. This develops because the people using the language belong to a cultural group, they live in the same community and thus they have much in common.

The immigrant children under investigation, though from different cultural backgrounds, use English to broker for their families, friends and other immigrants living in a multicultural South African country. The immigrant children sometimes learn and use a little Afrikaans and IsiXhosa, which are home languages for their South African peers. This already shows how language, individuals and society are interlinked. They cannot function properly without one another. The foregoing concept map of the three theories used in the study clearly explains what connects them all.



CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

Research methodology refers to the researcher's general approach in carrying out the research project. Mouton (2001) views research methodology as a research process comprising the tools and procedures used in research. Research methodology can also be defined as a global style of thinking used to investigate a research phenomenon (Gobo, 2008). It is a general approach to studying research topics (Silverman, 2007), or an overall research strategy (Mason, 1996). Rajasekar (2006) defines research methodology as a systematic way to solve a problem, that is, procedures used to describe, explain and predict phenomena.

This chapter aligns with all these definitions as it discusses the general approach and tools used in carrying out the research project (Leedy & Ormrod, 2010; Babbie & Mouton 2008). It starts with the research approach adopted in this study and it also sheds light on the research design. It provides background knowledge on case studies and explains how triangulation has been used in the study. Considering that research always takes place in a delineated space, the research sites are described and the sampling methods used in selecting the research participants is also discussed. Data collection methods are presented, followed by ethical considerations. Lastly, I discuss reflexivity that maps out my research journey.

4.2 The Qualitative Research Approach

There are often two types of research approaches in social sciences, namely, qualitative and quantitative research approaches. The terms quantitative and qualitative are used as overarching categories which cover a wide range of approaches and methods within each category. However, the very bases of these approaches differ. Quantitative research, by definition, implies a measurement or numerical approach. The methodology employed in quantitative research is based on the testing of hypotheses deduced from theory. Using statistical inference, the results may be generalised to the population.

Qualitative research aims to provide an in-depth understanding of the world as seen through the eyes of the people being studied. It aims not to impose preordained concepts; hypotheses and theory are generated during the course of conducting the research as the meaning emerges from the data (Perri & Bellamy, 2012).

As mentioned in Chapter one, this study bases knowledge claims on qualitative methodology as it involves collecting information about participants' personal experiences. This was done through interviews, observations and personal narratives of immigrant children who acted as language brokers. The study adopted a qualitative approach as a method of inquiry because the available research and literature discussed in Chapter two, shows limited enquiry into the subject of child language brokering in South Africa and its implications for language learning and immigrant identity construction.

Qualitative research attempts to understand the unique interactions in a particular situation (Patton, 2002, p. 10). To qualitative researchers, reality is constructed by individuals interacting with their social worlds (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, pp. 4-5). This implies that qualitative research is a form of social inquiry that focuses on the way people interpret and make sense of their various experiences and the world in which they live. Qualitative enquiry seeks to gain rich and detailed information in terms of individual interpretations (Berg, 2004; Durrheim, 2006). That is, it assumes that all knowledge is relative and that there is a subjective element to all knowledge and research. This suggests that qualitative, holistic and ungeneralizable studies are justifiable.

Atkinson, Coffey, Delamont, Lofland & Lofland, (2001) explain that qualitative research is an umbrella term which covers a number of different existing approaches such as ethnography, narrative, phenomenological, grounded theory and case study. They explain that most of the approaches have the same aim: to understand the social reality of individuals, groups and cultures (Atkinson et al., 2001). Qualitative research is said to be basically interpretive (Creswell, 2003).

Qualitative research is multi-method in focus as it involves an interpretative naturalistic approach to satisfy its subject matter (Richards, 2003). Qualitative enquiry is well suited to focus on aspects relating to family like feelings and personal life experiences of immigrant children and parents (Blanche, Durkheim, & Painter, 2011).

According to Struwig & Stead (2001) qualitative research acknowledges the individual's environment as an extension of the person. As stated earlier, I investigated how the immigrant children in a primary school in Cape Town construct their multiple identities through language brokering. This entailed moving away from just the patterns of movement and figures recording immigrants in South Africa to a more qualitative oriented approach, focused on understanding the issues being researched from the perspective of the research

participants or ‘through the eyes’ of the participants (Struwig & Stead, 2001, p. 11). As Creswell (2003) states, qualitative research entails interpretive research with the researcher typically involved in an intensive and sustained experience with the participants (Creswell, 2003).

As young immigrant children conversed and interacted with relatives, teachers and peers to make meaning of the world surrounding them, I was guided by an interpretive ‘theoretical lens’ (Morse & McEvoy, 2014, p. 4) to produce knowledge from this world. Through an interpretive theoretical lens, the current study focused on understanding how the participants actively construct the reality of their everyday lives through the meaning they give to their actions.

Table 1 summarizes the differences between the quantitative and qualitative approaches in social research.



Table1: Differences between the quantitative and qualitative approaches in social research

	Quantitative approach	Qualitative approach
Epistemological	Positivism	Phenomenology
Purpose	Cause and effect hypotheses regarding social reality	Construction of detailed descriptions of social reality
Methods	Deductive	Inductive
Key factors	Reliability	Authenticity
Analysis	Statistical	Thematic
Suitability	Seek to control phenomena	Seek to understand phenomena
Language	Concepts are converted into operational definitions and results are numerous;- statistical language is used	Participants' natural language is used
Design	Standardized with fixed procedures	Flexible and unique
Research methods	Systematically standardized	Types of observations are modified to enrich understanding
Unit of analysis	Atomistic (elements that form part of the whole)	Holistic (concentrates on the relationships between elements)
Researcher	Detached	Involved

Adapted from: (Durrheim, 2006; Fouché & Delpont, 2011; Garbarino & Holland, 2009; Neuman, 2011; Tewsksburg, 2009)

4.3 The interpretive paradigm

An interpretive paradigm to research seeks to produce knowledge by exploring and understanding the social world of the people being studied or investigated, It focuses on how they ascribe meaning and on their interpretation of the social world (Ritchie, Lewis, Nicholls & Ormston, 2013). It stresses the importance of understanding their lives from their own viewpoints as they are the ones best placed to reflect on the experience of those lives. This type of research empowers the participants because they do not merely react to the questions

of the researcher but have a voice in the study, and guide it. For this reason the people studied are generally called participants or informants, rather than subjects.

Interpretive approaches rely heavily on naturalistic methods such as interviewing and observation and an analysis of existing texts. These methods ensure an adequate dialogue between the researchers and those with whom they interact in order to collaboratively construct a meaningful reality. The interpretive paradigm is also called the phenomenological approach. This implies that it is an approach that aims to understand people (Babbie & Mouton, 2008).

According to De Vos, Strydom, Fouché & Delpont, (2013) and Neuman (2011) interpretive social science can be traced to Max Weber (1864-1920) and Wilhelm Dilthey (1833-1911). Dilthey (1833-1911) argues that there are two fundamentally different types of science namely the natural sciences and the human sciences. The former is based on abstract explanation while the latter is rooted in an understanding of the lived experiences of people (De Vos et al., 2013; Neuman, 2011).

Weber (1949) maintains that all humans attempt to make sense of their worlds. In so doing, they continuously interpret, create, give meaning, define, justify and rationalise daily actions.

Interpretivism thus focuses on exploring the complexity of social phenomena with a view to gaining a deeper understanding. The purpose of research in interpretivism is to understand and interpret everyday happenings or events, experiences and social structures, as well as the values people attach to these phenomena (Collis & Hussey, 2009, pp. 56-57; Rubin & Babbie, 2010, p. 37).

Interpretivists believe that the social reality is subjective and nuanced because it is shaped both by the perceptions of the participants, and by the values and aims of the researcher. Subjective social constructions are treated as tendencies or broken patterns of relationships with social reality (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012). This implies that changes in structures, power and relationships inform people's perspectives and their experiences in relation to social constructs. Gephart (1999) describes interpretivism as being directed at meaning, and towards understanding the social interactions between humans. Consequently, the mind interprets experience and events and constructs meanings from them.

This implies that meaning does not exist outside the mind. In line with this study context, the language brokering activity carried out by the immigrant pupils is a mediated action.

Mediation is primarily carried out by means of English which is used to translate for immigrant family members and friends.

Willis (2007) as well as Fouché & Schurink (2011) agree with Gephart (1999) that the social sciences should not apply research principles adopted from the natural sciences. Thus interpretivists believe that the subject matter of the social sciences is fundamentally different from that of the natural sciences. Consequently, a different methodology is required to reach an interpretive understanding and an explanation that would enable the social researcher to appreciate the subjective meaning of social actions. Reality should rather be interpreted through the meaning that people give to their life-world or living world. This meaning can only be discovered through language, and not exclusively through quantitative analysis (Schwandt, 2007).

Likewise, Livesey (2011) describes interpretivism as a method that sees the social world as something that can only be produced and reproduced on a daily basis by people. This suggests that something that holds true for the moment (now) might not necessarily hold true tomorrow, or in another society (Livesey, 2011). Knowledge is developed and theory is built through developing ideas from observed and interpreted social constructions. As such, the researcher seeks to make sense of what is happening in the society. The interpretive approach can even generate findings beyond common scientific knowledge (Rubin & Babbie, 2010). So interpretivists attempt to understand subjective realities and to offer explanations which are meaningful for the participants in the research.

Qualitative methods are therefore, suitable for the interpretive paradigm as they include flexible strategies based on open-ended questions and observation data (Silverman, 2005). Qualitative research is concerned with human beings in terms of interpersonal relationships, personal values, meanings, beliefs, thoughts and feelings. The qualitative researcher attempts to attain rich, real, deep and valid data from a rational standpoint. This approach is inductive (Leedy, 1993, p.143).

An inductive approach, also known as inductive reasoning, starts with the observations and theories which are proposed towards the end of the research process on the basis of the observations. Inductive research involves the search for patterns from observation and the development of explanations such as theories for those patterns through a series of hypotheses. No theories or hypotheses would apply in inductive studies at the beginning of

the research and the researcher is free in terms of altering the direction for the study after the research process had commenced.

It is important to stress that the inductive approach does not imply a disregard for theories in its formulation of the research questions and objectives. This approach aims to generate meanings from the data set collected. These will then be used to identify patterns and relationships to build a theory. However, an inductive approach does not prevent the researcher from using existing theory to formulate the research question to be explored.

Inductive reasoning is based on learning from experience (Leedy, 1993). Patterns, resemblances and regularities in experience (premises) are observed in order to reach conclusions or to generate theory. Inductive reasoning deals with collecting, analyzing and interpreting data by observing what people do and say. It refers to the meanings, concepts, definitions, characteristics, metaphors, symbols, and descriptions of things (Berg, 2007, p. 3). It is much more subjective and uses different methods of collecting information, such as interviews, observations and document analysis. Its main aim is to focus on exploring new phenomena or to look at previously researched phenomena from a different perspective.

The inductive approach helped me to collect data using different methods and to draw comparisons between them to see the differences, similarities and contradictions. I collected data by means of semi-structured interviews, in and outside school observations and immigrant learners' personal narratives. In these ways I tried to understand the language brokering experiences of the immigrant children, in conjunction with their parents' and teachers' views on language brokering. I was able to see the emerging themes across the data collected and at the same time to analyze these in order to make meaning of what was said by each participant.

According to Flick (2014), the choice of qualitative research as an approach to conducting research relies on the research question central to the study that requires nothing but a qualitative design.

A qualitative approach in this study enabled me to investigate how the immigrant children in two primary schools in Cape Town constructed their multiple identities through language brokering. The study also examined how the immigrant children coped with the challenges they faced while acting as interpreters and translators for their families and friends in a multicultural country such as South Africa.

In the context of this study, language brokering is viewed as a particular form of the translanguaging practice that is integral to growing up in a country where more than one language is spoken. The qualitative approach allowed me realise how immigrant children attempted to make life easier for their families in the host country by shifting between languages, thereby acting as language brokers in different contexts and situations. In other words, this approach entailed understanding the context and environment in which the immigrant children constructed and negotiated their identities as language brokers.

Following the qualitative design this study investigates the various instances of language and cultural interactions between immigrant language brokers, their peers and their teachers in and outside a primary school in Cape Town. The qualitative design, according to Henning et al. (2004, p. 5), is an inquiry that examines the qualities, characteristics or the properties of a phenomenon for better understanding and explanation..My focus was to better understand the relationship between language brokering and identity construction within a multicultural and multilingual context. The qualitative approach thus permitted me to observe the behaviour and practices of immigrant language brokers, and their peers and teachers as they occurred naturally in and out of school. This approach allowed me to make observations at different times and at different points in order to find out the extent to which language brokering impacts on learning and teaching in multicultural and multilingual settings.

Furthermore, Denzin & Lincoln (2003) explain that a qualitative approach enables the researcher to enter the research participants' real world, to make this world visible through interpretive and material practices and to receive in-depth insights from them. It facilitates an understanding of people's beliefs, attitudes, behaviours, culture and lifestyle (Hoang-Kim, Schemitsch, Sale, Beaton, Warmington, Kulkarni, & Reeves, (2014). May (2001) refers to its flexibility and how it allows for probing beyond the research participants' answers for the interpretation of the information collected.

4.4 Research design

The term “design” refers to a plan or protocol for carrying out or accomplishing something (Maxwell, 2012). Even though this definition presents research design as a work plan, Yin (2009) argues that this concept extends far beyond a work plan in the sense that it guides the researcher in how to get evidence that is compatible with the initial research questions.

Additionally, the term ‘research design’ refers to the conceptual structure within which the research is to be conducted (Lodico, Spaulding & Voegtle, 2010; Babbie & Mouton, 2001). The researcher creates the research design by giving it shape or moulding it in relation to the context and the participants of the study (Richards, 2014). In other words, a research design is defined as “a plan of how a researcher intends conducting the research” (Babbie & Mouton, 2001, p.74). In the same vein, by means of the research design the researcher determines an approach which suits his/her study and e is guided by the objectives of the study. This implies that the research issue determines what type of research design is to be employed (Bryman, 2012; Silverman, 2007). Thus a research design prevents the researcher from collecting irrelevant data.

In sum a research design is what turns research question(s) into a project (Robson, 2002). The framework of the design is thus commonly based on research questions, purpose and theories. It refers to the entire process of research ranging from conceptualizing a problem to drafting research questions, and on to data collection methods, analysis, interpretation and report writing (Creswell, 2012). Yin (2009, p. 27) perceives a design as the logical sequence that connects the empirical data to a study’s initial research questions, and ultimately, to its conclusion. Every empirical study thus has its own research design (Yin, 2009), guided by its research questions.

The research design for this study is a qualitative case study which sought to explore how immigrant children construct, reconstruct and negotiate their identities as language brokers, as stated in earlier sections of this thesis. A case study research design is largely used in the domain of education, including the field of applied linguistics. Language-related issues are so complex that they can best be understood through an in-depth research of the case (Yıldırım & Simsek, 2008). Below I give a description of case studies used for the purpose of gaining a deeper understanding.

4.4.1 Case study design

There have been several attempts to define the term 'case study', but researchers have not agreed on its definition (Hsieh, 2004). A case study can be referred to, as a single instance of a bounded system, such as a child, a clique, a class, a school or a community (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2011, pp. 289 and 296). Through various data collection procedures, a case study provides the researcher with detailed information about a case. Cohen et al. (2007, p. 253) state that case study research portrays 'real people in real situations,' and that one of its strengths is the fact that it recognises context as a powerful determinant of both causes and effects. It studies the effects in their real context. Case study research may be described as being 'strong in reality' as it is a 'down-to-earth' experience (Cohen et al., 1994, p.123).

Creswell (2003, p. 15) refers to an event, a programme and an activity, in defining a case study, while Punch (2009) defines a case study in terms of policy and decision. These definitions seem to be complex since a case study should be seen as a study of a case in its context (Cohen et al, 2011).

Other researchers (Hoang-Kim et. al, 2014) define a case study as an in-depth study of a system, based on data collection materials, and the researcher as one who situates this system or case within its larger context or setting. Thus, a case study provides a rich and deep description of the case which is investigated within its natural setting, its complexity and its context with the purpose of gaining understanding of that particular case (Punch, 2009).

Willis (2007) defines a case study as a means of accessing thick descriptive data through the examination of a specific phenomenon such as a programme, an event, a person, a process, an institution, or a social group. Willis (2007, p. 239) suggests that case studies are about real people and real situations.

Case studies vary in type and thus include those which are ethnographic, evaluative, educational, and action research in nature (Stenhouse, 1985, pp. 49-50, Hsieh, 2004, p. 93). A case study can also be viewed as a research strategy that focuses on the behaviour, history, social context, symptoms, and treatment of one organization at one defined point in time, or a small number of individual cases that have features in common (Cargan, 2008). A case study can be useful for generating theories or for developing tentative conclusions, so it is appropriate for descriptive or exploratory studies (Cargan, 2008).

A case study design involves a number of data gathering techniques, such as in-depth interviews, participant/non-participant observation, the documentary materials found in available data sources (Punch, 2009).

Yin (1993) categorises case studies into three types according to the analytical level of their outcomes. These are explanatory, exploratory and descriptive case studies. Exploratory case studies define the questions and hypotheses while explanatory studies explain cause-effect relationships and discover theory (Hsieh, 2004). Descriptive case studies narrate accounts of certain phenomena (Merriam, 1988).

This study has characteristics of a descriptive case study because it explores immigrant children's language practices in a multicultural South African context.

Case study research is also considered as soft research (Yin, 2013) in that it is flexible and straight-forward. But Yin provides researchers with the means to make it hard research as he advises researchers to use multiple sources of information for the purpose of triangulation. Yin (2013) argues that case studies –like experiments – are generalizable to theoretical propositions and not to populations and the universe. In this sense the case study, like an experiment, does not represent a sample. In conducting a case study the goal is to expand and generalize theories (analytic generalization) and not to enumerate frequencies (statistical generalization).

When Flyvbjerg (2006) and Yin (2009) examine the reliability of case study research, they point out that case study researchers are said to be subjective and to hold biased views that lead to arbitrary judgements. That is to say the investigators' views 'influence the direction of the findings and conclusions' (Yin, 2009, p. 14) as they might not be completely detached from their research participants (Desai, 2012). The view Punch (2009) holds serves to ameliorate this critique as he explains that a case study seeks a deep understanding of the case in its natural setting by exposing its complexity and its context to analysis.

However, this study has used varied qualitative methods (semi-structured interviews, non-participant observations and narratives) to enhance the reliability of outcomes.

In my research, I use a case study design because it forms the foundation for all the procedures required to investigate, examine and explore real lived experiences. It allows for various methods of data collection, such as interviews and observations. Through detailed

descriptions and exploration of the immigrant children's language brokering experiences, I was able to answer my research questions accordingly.

The social context is the South African context, specifically the two primary schools in which the immigrant children are pupils. The phenomena are the constructed identities of the participants. Through dense description and an exploration of the immigrant children's experiences I was able to gain insight into the various instances of language and cultural interactions between the language brokers and their teachers in two primary schools in Cape Town. I was also able to examine the relationship between language brokering and identity construction within a multicultural and multilingual context.

I used the case study research design in order to understand or comprehensively represent the teachers' experiences in teaching immigrant pupils in English and the children's experiences in acting as language brokers for their parents, relatives and peers. Thus the qualitative methods enabled me to explore the relationship between language brokering and identity construction, and to describe the unique interactions between language brokers and their parents, peers, and teachers both inside and outside classroom. Following the qualitative research methods which are a generative form of inquiry (Ritchie & Spencer, 2002) I used a variety of techniques for triangulation. In the section that follows I provide a description of triangulation.

4.4.2 Triangulation

Triangulation refers to the use of multiple methods or data sources in qualitative research which are intended to develop a comprehensive understanding of phenomena (Patton, 1999). Stake (1995) presents four different types of triangulation namely, data source triangulation, observer triangulation, methodological triangulation and theory triangulation.

Data source triangulation uses more than one data source or the collection of the same data on different occasions, while observer triangulation uses more than one observer in the study. Methodological triangulation combines different types of data collection methods for example, qualitative and quantitative methods, while Theory triangulation uses alternative theories or viewpoints. Stake (2005) refers to triangulation as the use of multiple perceptions to clarify meaning and to verify the repeatability of an observation or interpretation.

According to Denzin (1989), the use of multiple methods triangulation is a plan of action that raises sociologists and other social science researchers above the personal biases that stem

from single methodologies. Triangulation is important as a means whereby to increase the precision of empirical research. By using multiple methods in the same study, observers or researchers can partially overcome the deficiencies that flow from one method to another (Denzin, 1989, p. 236). When one analyses data collected through different techniques one is likely to arrive at more valid and reliable findings than when one assesses data collected using a single technique. A researcher may understand and describe a concept if he/she looks at it from two or more perspectives. If he/she ends up with the same results, the researcher could become more comfortable with his/her conclusion.

Thus Denzin (1978) sees triangulation as the application and combination of several research methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon.

Hussein's (2009) slightly broader frame refers to triangulation as a means of widening and deepening a study. Hussein (2009) goes further to explain two different types of triangulation namely between-method (or cross-method) triangulation and within-method triangulation. The between-method triangulation utilises quantitative and qualitative methods to investigate one single phenomenon whereas the within-method triangulation involves the use of different but complementary methods within the same research paradigm in collecting and analysing the data. The need for triangulation is strong when relying primarily on qualitative data, which is broader and richer.

I used triangulation of data in this study to strengthen my research. Triangulation of data allowed me to enrich my data because it provided me with additional sources of information which gave more insight into the topic of my study. It allowed inconsistencies in data sets to be easily recognized and enabled me to obtain more comprehensive data.

This study used Hussein's (2009) "within-method triangulation" or what Stake (1995) refers to as "data triangulation" since it has been informed by a qualitative research paradigm rather than mixed methods. Data were collected by means of multiple methods namely semi-structured interviews, non-participant observations and document analysis to ensure the validity and reliability of the same fact (Rowley, 2002). When one analyses data collected through different techniques, one is likely to come out with more valid and reliable findings than when doing so with data collected using a single technique (Kemende, 2014).

As noted in Chapter one of this study, the main focus is on how immigrant children coped with the challenges they faced while acting as interpreters and translators for their families and friends in a multicultural country such as South Africa.

Using different methods for data collection helped me to understand not just the relationship between language brokering and identity construction within a multicultural and multilingual context, but also the implications of language brokering for English (second language) teaching and learning in multicultural classrooms. In this study the rich description of the case, taken from various angles, confirmed that triangulation is one of the great strengths of case studies. Following the immigrant children from school to their homes and sometimes around the playgrounds, gave me deeper sense of how immigrant children assumed different identities when they acted as language brokers in varying situations.

In the following section I provide a brief history and information of the two primary schools where the immigrant children were learners.

4.5 Research setting and choice of sites

Context plays a key role in the study of a case (Alvesson & Sandberg, 2011). The research setting is the site where the research is conducted. This study was conducted in Parow and its surroundings as some parents live in Parow and others in Goodwood. It was carried out in two primary schools in Parow which is one of the suburbs of Cape Town.

Parow is a residential suburb of Cape Town, located some 16km from the city centre. It was established by Johann Heinrich Ferdinand Parow, a Prussian ship's captain who was shipwrecked at the Cape in 1865. He purchased the land in 1886, and the village was proclaimed in 1901. Located in the northern suburbs of Cape Town, Parow is situated to the east of Goodwood and south-west of Bellville with easy access to some of the mother city's major arteries or national roads, such as the N7 and the N1 (Malherbe, 2006).

A village management board was established for Parow in 1902. It was upgraded to a municipality in 1939. The municipality was incorporated into the City of Tygerberg in 1996. The Parow Valley was included in the Cape Town municipal land area in 1944. During the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, Parow was largely transforming into a commercial area, with many shopping centres opening around Voortrekker Road, one of the longest roads in Cape Town.

However, over time the demographics of the area changed because with the extreme political struggle against apartheid in the 1980s and the advent of democracy in the 1990s, Parow's popularity started to decline and many of its higher income population moved further north. The area is now inhabited by "coloured", "blacks" and immigrants from different countries. This is the main reason why the two schools in Parow were considered as research sites for

my study. The medium of instruction has changed from Afrikaans to English to accommodate the cultural and linguistic diversity of the student population.

The Parow community is viewed as “the others”, described by Swartz (2009) as “historically excluded identity groups” because it has a high population of immigrants. It was thus chosen for its diversity in terms of languages and cultures. Here follows a brief background information sketch of the two primary schools, whose pseudonyms are Beauty and Ethic Primary Schools, respectively. These two schools are both located in Parow.

4.5.1 Beauty Primary School

Beauty Primary School is located in a very quiet environment, away from main roads. It is found about 18kms from the main road which connects Parow to neighbouring Elsie's Rivier. This primary school opened its doors to the public in the mid-1960s with a total number of sixteen pupils. It was a white-dominated school because this area used to be seen as mostly only "white" during apartheid. During the apartheid regime the medium of instruction in this school was Afrikaans.

After 1994 the school, opened its doors to learners of all cultural backgrounds. The "white" children constitute the highest percentage of about 60%, with "coloured" learners of about 30% and 10% of "black" learners. On the school premises integration of various "races" is encouraged through the activities learners get involved in such as soccer. The school encourages the Foundation Phase learners, both boys and girls to participate in soccer matches so that they can learn important skills such as team work, participation, respect, hand-to-eye co-ordination and ball skills. Cultural activities are run under the guidance of staff members and learners are also offered the opportunity to develop their leadership potential.

4.5.2 Ethic Primary School

Ethic Primary school was founded in the early 1990s. At the time it was founded, there were 52 teachers and more than 800 learners. The school is located north-east of Parow, close to one of the longest roads in Cape Town, called Voortrekker Road. It is surrounded by big shopping centres and this makes it easy for pupils and teachers to meet and interact with people from different backgrounds.

Initially it was white-dominated with very few "coloured" learners and only "white" teachers. But it has come a long way to accommodate learners from different cultural backgrounds, now catering for about 80% of "white", 25% "coloured" and 5% "black" learners.

The multicultural and multilingual nature of the schools makes it possible for the few immigrant children who attend them to acquire English (L2). As a result some of the immigrant pupils act as language brokers, not just for their family members, but also for some of their immigrant school peers. In so doing they negotiate various identities. The two schools provide a platform for learners to share and express themselves through different languages and cultural activities.

4.6 Sampling and sampling techniques

4.6.1 Sampling methods

A sample is a smaller selection of individuals from the population (Neuman, 2011, p. 240). Cohen, Manion & Morrison, (2007, p. 110) and Babbie (2011, p.178) confirm that there are two main methods of sampling, namely, probability and non-probability sampling methods. Probability sampling is also known as random sampling while non-probability sampling, is referred to as purposeful sampling.

In probability sampling members of the research population are chosen at random. Groups are represented in the sample in their true proportions or where unequal probabilities are used, the data is reweighted back to the true proportions. The aim is to produce a statistically representative sample, suitable for hypothesis testing. This often occurs in quantitative research to ensure that the sample group is representative of the entire population. The results may then be generalized to the entire population.

By contrast, qualitative research uses non-probability sampling as it does not aim to produce a statistically representative sample or to draw statistical inference. Indeed, a phenomenon needs to appear once in the sample (Neuman, 2011). Purposive sampling is one technique that is often employed in qualitative investigation. With a purposive non-random sample, the number of people interviewed is less important than the criteria used to select them. The characteristics of individuals are used as the basis of selection, most often chosen to reflect the diversity and breadth of the sample population. However, there are different approaches to purposive sampling some of which focus on different aspects of the sample members. For example, cases are chosen because they are considered more extreme.

4.6.2 Types of qualitative sampling

There are three main types of qualitative sampling: purposeful sampling, quota sampling and snowballing sampling (Patton, 2002).

The purposeful sampling is the most common sampling strategy, widely used in qualitative research for the identification and selection of information-rich cases for the most effective use of limited resources (Patton, 2002). In purposeful sampling, we sample with a *purpose* in mind. This involves identifying and selecting individuals or groups of individuals that are especially knowledgeable about or experienced in a phenomenon of interest (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). In this type of sampling, participants are selected or sought according to pre-selected criteria based on the research question. For example, the study may be attempting to collect data from lymphoma patients in a particular city or county. The sample size may be predetermined or based on theoretical saturation, which is the point at which the newly collected data no longer provides additional insights (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011).

Quota sampling by contrast, is a sampling technique whereby participant quotas are preset prior to sampling. Typically, the researcher attempts to gather data from a certain number of participants that meet certain characteristics for example, ones relating to age, sex, class, marital status, HIV status, etc.

Snowball sampling is also known as chain referral sampling (Cohen et al, 2007, p. 116). In this method, the participants refer the researcher to others who may be able to potentially contribute towards or participate in the study. In snowball sampling research, a small number of individuals possessing the characteristics required for a specific study are identified. The selected individuals play an equal part in helping to identify others, and so the circle may become larger (Cohen et al, 2007, p. 116). This method often helps researchers find and recruit participants that may otherwise be hard to reach.

Snowball sampling, however, has its advantages and disadvantages. One advantage of this sampling method is that there are no lists or other obvious sources for locating members of the population of specific interest. The disadvantage of this sampling approach is that there is no way of knowing the total size of the overall population in advance. Snowball sampling also lacks definite knowledge as to whether or not the sample is an accurate representative of the target population. The targeting of only a few selected people does not always render it indicative of the actual trends within the result group. Identifying the appropriate person to

conduct the sampling, as well as locating the correct targets is a time consuming process which renders the benefits as only slightly outweighing the costs (Babbie, 2011).

4.7 Selection of participants

While purposeful sampling is appropriate for a qualitative research study, I opted for the snowball sampling method to select the participants of this study because gaining access to a big group of immigrant learners who were acting as language brokers for their parents was a bit difficult. This was due to the fact that most immigrant learners were at higher education institutions and could not be considered as child language brokers. Moreover, I was aware that not all the immigrant children in Cape Town were language brokers because some immigrant parents did not see the need for language brokering by their children as they maintained the use of their first languages. These parents and their children did not have enough to share with me because they struggled to communicate their thoughts clearly in English.

In addition, I struggled to get children who were willing to share their experiences, probably because of a lack of self-confidence in using English as a second language. I elected to use the snowball sampling method in my study because not all the immigrant children met the selection criteria for the study. The study needed immigrant children who had spent at least two to three years or more in South Africa and who were registered in primary schools. Some were too young (not yet of Grade one age) and did not have enough to share and others were very new in South Africa and could not express themselves freely in English. Also, gaining access to immigrant children registered in the same primary school was difficult. Since it was difficult gaining access to immigrant children registered in the same school, I selected children from Beauty and Ethic Primary Schools.

All five selected immigrant children were from a non-English-speaking background. Three of them are from Congo and were doing Grade one and Grade ten respectively. One is from Cameroon and was in Grade seven, while the last was a Grade eight learner from Burundi. In order to avert the further stress of finding immigrant parents, I approached their parents and teachers to request their participation in the study.

Furthermore, I live in the same neighbourhood as one of the immigrant families who have a seven-year-old girl whom I refer to here as Belleange to protect her identity. The little girl inspired me greatly as I always witnessed her language brokering situations with her mother

at home. She was anxious to perform well at school and she would ask me to assist with her homework as her parents could not help much because of their limited proficiency in English. When I decided to carry out this research, I tried going to the nearby primary schools to find out if I could get immigrant pupils to participate in my research, but I did not succeed. At one point, I decided to use university students as I came across many immigrant students at the higher institutions. But I finally decided to adhere to my initial plan of researching immigrant child language brokers as this area is under-researched, especially in the African context.

Subsequently I asked Belleange's parents to introduce me to other parents of immigrant children. Through them, I got to know three other immigrant families; two from Angola and one from Congo. I was later introduced to a Burundian family and I got myself two Cameroonian families since I am also from Cameroon. In fact, I ended up with nine immigrant pupils who agreed to participate in the study.

However only five finally participated in the interviews and four wrote the personal narratives.

One of the pupils (Grade three) did the first interview and later refused to continue participating because her parents refused. The other five simply withdrew from the study without giving reasons. I could not force them to complete the study because the consent form that was given to their parents stated clearly that their participation in this study was voluntary and they had the right to withdraw at any stage of the research. Therefore, the main participants of this study were five immigrant pupils attending a primary school in Parow, Cape Town, who spoke Lingala, Swahili, Bassa and Kirundi as home languages. The sample included two males and three females. My intention was to seek greater insight into what male and female immigrant learners thought about being interpreters and translators for their parents and other immigrants in South Africa.

The selection of participants was based on my having access to interviewing immigrant pupils who had spent at least two to three years in South Africa and who were registered in South African primary schools. The rationale was because they would have had more experience to share as language brokers in different domains in the new South African context. I also interviewed immigrant students' parents (three) and two of their teachers. To protect their identity the immigrant children were given the following pseudonyms: Claire, Dieudonne, Belleange, Pierre and Helen.

4.7.1 Learners' personal profiles

For the duration of the data collection period Claire was a sixteen-year-old Grade ten Congolese girl. She was born and raised in Congo, Brazzaville and had moved to South Africa with her parents eight years prior. She could speak and understand Lingala, Swahili, English, French, Afrikaans and IsiXhosa. She wished to become a diplomat and find a full-time job in South Africa or elsewhere after finishing her studies. Claire's parents had Lingala and Swahili as their home languages and so she inherited these two languages. She had had French as a medium of instruction in her early school days in Congo before moving to South Africa with her parents.

The second learner, Dieudonne, was a fourteen-year-old male Burundian Grade eight pupil. He was born and raised in Burundi, and had moved to South Africa with his family three years earlier. He spoke and understood Kirundi, Swahili, French and English. He hoped to develop a better proficiency in English to enable him to communicate in South Africa. Dieudonne had Kirundi and Swahili as home languages inherited from his parents. He had had French as a medium of instruction before moving to South Africa with his family.

Belleange was a seven-year-old female Grade one learner. She was born in Congo but moved to South Africa with her parents when she was just three years old. She spoke and understood Swahili, French and English. She worked hard at school and hoped to help her mother and other immigrants who were facing language difficulties in the multicultural South African society. Belleange had Swahili as a home language and her parents used French at home sometimes, so she learnt it as well.

The fourth learner, Pierre, was a thirteen-year-old male Cameroonian Grade seven pupil. He was born and raised in Cameroon, and had moved to South Africa four years earlier. He spoke and understood Bassa, French and English. Pierre was born to Cameroonian-Francophone parents. He had previously been in a French-dominated city. During Pierre's early literacy encounters he was exposed to French and Bassa as his first language. The lingua franca in his school life was French and he was a very competent speaker of this language. At home both French and Bassa were used. Because of emigration to South Africa he was instructed in English as it was the medium of instruction in his school.

Lastly, Helen was a sixteen-year-old female Congolese Grade ten learner. She was born and raised in Angola. She had moved to South Africa with her parents ten years earlier. She spoke

and understood Portuguese, Lingala, French, English, IsiXhosa and some Afrikaans. She hoped to be more confident in English, like her friend and cousin, Claire. Helen was born into a Congolese home with Lingala as a home language and her parents spoke French as well. But she had Portuguese as a medium of instruction as they were in Angola.

As illustrated, the learners in this study came from diverse home language situations. With the exception of Helen and Claire who had Lingala as their home language, they all had different first languages (Swahili, Bassa and Kirundi). In most African countries, kids grow up with two home languages as a result of being the offspring of ‘mixed marriages’, where parents come from different ethnic groups and speak different first languages, as in the case of Belleange, Dieudonne and Claire.

Table 2 summarizes the immigrant pupils' profiles with regard to country of origin, gender, language proficiency and age.

Table 2: Immigrant children’s profiles

	Belleange	Dieudonne	Claire	Helen	Piere
Country of origin	Congo	Burundi	Congo	Congo	Cameroon
Gender	Female	Male	Female	Female	Male
Age	7	12	16	16	13
First language	Swahili	Kirundi	Lingala	Lingala	Bassa
Second language	French	French	French	Portuguese	French

4.7.2 Teachers' personal profiles

As stated earlier, I decided to approach teachers of the immigrant children because it was difficult finding teachers at random to participate in the study. They were three in number, but one decided to withdraw for personal reasons. So only two finally participated in the study and they were given the pseudonyms Candice and Mr. Robin.

At the time of data collection, Candice was a forty-year-old South African woman. She held a teachers' diploma which she had obtained at Hewat Training College. She had been a teacher for fifteen years and had taught a few immigrant children over a period of six years. She spoke Afrikaans and English well. Afrikaans was her home language.

The second teacher was Mr. Robin. He was a thirty-eight-year-old Nigerian man. He held a first degree in Environmental Studies, from Enugu campus, Nigeria and a B.Ed from the University of the Western Cape. He had been a businessman in Nigeria after he graduated but had no job at the time of the research. He had moved to South Africa nine years before, and after having done small business for some time, decided to sponsor himself to obtain the B.Ed degree at the University of the Western Cape. He had been teaching at a primary school for almost three years during the period of data collection. He spoke and understood Ibo, English, IsiXhosa and Afrikaans. His home language was Ibo. He hoped to raise money to further his studies at the University of Western Cape.

What follows in Table 3 are the teachers' personal profiles.

Table 3: Teachers' profiles

	Candice	Mr. Robin
Country of origin	South Africa	Nigeria
Gender	Female	Male
Age	40	38
First language	Afrikaans	Ibo
Second language	English	English

From the teachers' profiles in Table 3 the diversity of ethnic groups may be noted. The participants are all from different countries and this influenced their responses in the interviews. The opinions of teachers count when it comes to verifying the implications of language brokering for English teaching and learning, and identity construction in multicultural classrooms. With different responses from the two teachers, I could understand how immigrant children negotiated their identities in English (second language) lessons.

4.7.3 Parents' personal information

I consulted the parents of immigrant children selected in the study and three of them agreed to participate too. They were given pseudonyms as Madam Bijoux, Mr. Abel and Madam Marina. Madam Bijoux was Claire's mother, Mr. Abel was Dieudonne's father and Madam Marina was Belleange's mother.

During data collection, Madam Bijoux was a forty-year-old Congolese woman. She had moved to South Africa with her family eight years prior to the research study. With the help of her daughter she could communicate with her customers in English and hoped to enlarge her small cosmetic business after finishing her English course. She spoke and understood Swahili, French and a bit of English. Her home language was Swahili.

The second parent, Mr. Abel was a thirty-four-year-old Burundian man. He had moved to South Africa with his family three years earlier and had hoped for a better future by taking an English course alongside a basic counselling course. He used to be a veterinary nurse back in his country and had hoped to take a professional course in future to be able to practise in South Africa. He spoke and understood Kirundi, Swahili and French. His home language was Kirundi.

The third and last parent was Madam Marina. She was a 36-year-old lady at the time of data collection. She was a Congolese woman who moved to South Africa with her family four years prior to the research study. She was a house-keeper and a mother of three children. She was still struggling with English but could express herself in simple sentences she had been taught by her seven-year-old daughter. She spoke and understood Lingala and French. Lingala was her home language.

Table 4 provides a summary of parents' profiles.

Table 4: Parents' profiles

	Madam Bijoux	Mr. Abel	Madam Marina
Country of origin	Congo	Burundi	Congo
Gender	Female	Male	Female
Age	40	34	36
First language	Swahili	Kirundi	Lingala
Second language	French	French	French
Child's name	Claire	Dieudonne	Belleange

In total, I had ten participants in the study: five children, two teachers and three parents. Claire, Dieudonne and Helen were friends. Madam Bijoux and Madam Marina were also very good friends. In the following section, the various methods used in data collection are described.

4.8 Data collection methods

According to Pole & Morrison (2003) and Brewer (2000), methods are the tools for data collection and analysis in the research process. These methods could include interactions such as interviews, questionnaires, observation and other techniques with which information is collected and analyzed. They entail becoming involved in people's activities by carefully observing their actions in order to understand the meaning of their actions and what is meaningful to them (Eisenhart, 2001).

The methods for data collection in this study comprise document analysis, non-participant observations and semi-structured interviews. These methods were activated with immigrant pupils who at a tender age had moved to South Africa with their parents for a variety of reasons. Interviews, observations and immigrant students' personal narratives were used as methods of data collection for triangulation purposes and to ensure triangulation. Chaudron (2003, p. 804) states that triangulation is well recognized as a way of ensuring validity. The data were collected in 2016.

As stated earlier, the aim of data collection was to examine the identity of immigrant children as *language brokers* in South Africa. Central to this study is how the immigrant children coped with the challenges they faced while acting as interpreters and translators for their families and friends in multilingual South Africa. I also investigated the parents' and teachers' understanding and experiences of language brokering by their children.

In the following section, the focus is on how various methods such as non-participant observation, semi-structured interviews and personal narratives were used to collect data for the study.

4.8.1 Non-participant observations

Non-participant observation involves observing participants without actively participating. This option is used to understand a phenomenon by entering the community or social system involved, while remaining separate from the activities being observed (Liu & Maitlis 2010).

The observation process is a three-stage funnel. It begins with descriptive observation, in which researchers carry out broad scope observation to get an overview of the setting; they then move to focused observation, in which they start to pay attention to a narrower portion of the activities that most interest them. Finally, the selected observation 'material' is used to investigate relations amongst the elements that observers have selected as being of greatest interest. Observation should end when theoretical saturation is reached and this occurs when further observations begin to add little or nothing to researchers' understanding. This usually takes a period of days or months, but, depending on the phenomenon in question, sometimes it takes several years (Liu & Maitlis, 2010).

For the purpose of this study, observation aimed at investigating how the immigrant children in two primary schools in Cape Town constructed their multiple identities through language brokering in and out of school. As noted in Chapter one of this study, the observations also aimed at investigating how the immigrant children coped with the challenges they faced while acting as interpreters and translators for their families and friends in South Africa. The main aim was to observe the interaction of other pupils with immigrant learners when facilitating learning. I also wanted to investigate how teachers tried to explain certain difficult and new concepts to learners in the English language and whether they used other learners as a resource in terms of translation or interpretation. In other words, the observation sought to

identify kinds of support available to learners who did not speak the medium of instruction. This helped to shed light on the implications of language brokering for English (second language) teaching and learning and identity construction in multicultural classrooms.

Observation refers to methods of data generation which involve the researcher immersing him/herself in a research setting and observing the different dimensions of that setting (Creswell, 2003: p.186). According to Creswell (2003: p.188) the researcher records in an unstructured or semi-structured way, activities at the research site. The qualitative researcher may also engage in roles, varying from a non-participant to a complete participant. Hence, Robson, (2002) refers to observation as a method which provides rich, contextual data that can take various forms, such as participant and non-participant observations.

Furthermore, observation is a popular method used in almost every form of qualitative research to provide the researcher with first-hand data (Dowling & Brown, 2010; Baker, 1999). There are two types of observations, namely participant and non-participant observations. In the former, the researcher takes part in what is happening. In non-participant observation, the researcher follows the flow of events (Flick, 2009) without being involved in the situation under scrutiny (Petty, Thomson, & Stew, 2012). This study made use of the non-participant observation.

The purpose of the reliance on non-participant observation was to gain additional information about the process of translation in which language brokers were engaged. Immigrant children were observed at their homes where they tried to explain to their non-English speaking parents what their teachers had taught them at school. These observations took place for a period of six weeks.

The observations were audio-recorded and the researcher also took notes during and after the observation for data analysis purposes. Non-participant observations were conducted to gain more information on the interactions between the immigrant learners, their peers and other people with whom they communicated out of school that is, the planned and unplanned activities that took place in school during lunch and out of school.

Non-participant observations allowed me to investigate and understand how the immigrant learners in the study interacted with their peers during lunch and outside the school without getting involved in what they were doing. It enabled me to investigate the relationship between the immigrant learners, their peers and other people with whom they communicated on a daily basis. This technique also enabled me to investigate the implications of language

brokering for English learning and identity construction in a multicultural context. Similarly I took note of facial expressions and body language of immigrant pupils during plays and discussions.

Such non-participant observations also helped me to gain more insight into issues that I could not access during the interviews. This was necessary as the participants did not tell me all about the strategies they used in negotiating and constructing their identities through English second language learning and language brokering.

In this study I made use of field notes as a way of capturing the data collected from observations. In the field, I took notes to capture data; and I kept records of what was observed, including formal and informal conversations with participants, and records of interviews. Recordings facilitated gathering useful information that could not be jotted down. Dewalt (2002) describes field notes as both data and analysis, as the notes provide an accurate description of what is observed, while also being the product of the observation process. This means that observations are not data unless they are recorded in field notes.

Thus the documents such as field notes, taken during non-participant observations, gave me more information about the implications of language brokering for English (second language) learning and identity construction by pupils who were raised in a multicultural and multilingual South Africa. I was also able to understand the experiences of immigrant children as language brokers in different domains.

4.8.2 Interviews

Blommaert (2006) describes interviews as a particular type of ordered conversation formed by questions that the researcher wishes to address to the individuals for discussion. A conversation is a talk between individuals where natural conversational engagement is expected, and not an interrogation (Blommaert, 2006). Similarly, Brinkmann (2014) considers interviews to be an objective method of gaining qualitative features of human experience, talk and intersection.

Interviews are also considered to be an interchange of views between two or more people conversing around a theme of mutual interest (Brinkmann, 2014; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2008, 2009). However, in the field of research, Kvale (2008) and Kvale & Brinkmann (2009) define the research interview as a process where knowledge is constructed in the interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee that is, between the researcher and the participant.

According to Babbie & Mouton (2001), a qualitative interview is essentially a conversation in which the interviewer establishes a general direction for the conversation and raises specific topics raised by the respondents.

Similarly, Byrne (2004, p. 182) contends that the qualitative interview generally refers to in-depth, loosely or semi-structured interviews which are particularly useful for accessing individuals' attitudes and values.

In this way, qualitative research interviews constitute an attempt to understand the world from the subjects' point of view, to unfold meaning from peoples' experiences and to uncover their world prior to scientific explanations (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). They vary in type and are probably the most widespread technique used for collecting qualitative data (Brinkmann, 2014; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009; Bryman, 2008; DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006; Baker, 1999).

Silverman (2000) identifies three types of interviews: structured, semi-structured and unstructured interviews. It is for this reason that Creswell (2003) describes interviews as involving unstructured and generally open-ended questions that are few in number and intended to elicit views and opinions from the participants (Creswell 2003, p.188).

In structured interviews the researcher comes to the interview with a set of questions and does not deviate from those questions. He/she asks the same questions to all participants. In contrast to this, the semi-structured interview is carefully planned before it is carried out, but the researcher can change the order of questions, omit questions or vary the wording of the questions depending on what happens in the interview. Semi-structured interviews are often preceded by observation, and informal and unstructured interviewing in order to allow researchers to develop a keen understanding the topic of interest necessary for developing relevant and meaningful semi-structured questions (Richards, 2003). The inclusion of open-ended questions provides the opportunity for identifying new ways of seeing and understanding the topic at hand. In short, the unstructured one is the more conversation-like interview and allows for the greatest flexibility.

Nunan, (1992) claims that semi-structured interviews involve questions which can explore in depth the participants' subjective experiences. Semi-structured interviews can be conducted like everyday conversations and are regarded as an independent research method that can provide information about participants' everyday social interaction (Blommaert, 2006). Semi-structured interviews are generally characterised by an interview guide which can be either an

outline of the topics to be covered or a detailed sequence of questions (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009).

In both cases, interviews are guided by the interviewees' or participants' responses (Stuckey, 2013) which allow the researcher to probe beyond the interview guide if the flow of the interview talk suggests it (Cousin, 2008). In other words, the researcher can either adapt, alter and/or add other questions to the prepared ones (Cousin, 2008). This allows for flexibility with regard to questions.

Brinkmann (2014) explains that semi-structured interviews can make better use of the knowledge to facilitate dialogues that can be followed by the interviewer. Because of the latitude they offer to the researcher to participate in the construction of knowledge, semi-structured interviews are probably the most widely used type of interview in qualitative research (Brinkmann, 2014; Stuckey, 2013).

In this study, I used semi-structured interviews in order to give the participants enough freedom to express themselves, and to bring out their innermost experiences of using English second language for both academic and social purposes. I created a friendly environment especially during the interviews with immigrant pupils' parents so that they would not feel that they were being interrogated about their children.

However, interviews have limitations as they are sometimes biased in answers and accuracy (Creswell, 2003). This can happen when the interviewer and the interviewee are familiar with each other or when the issue under research is very sensitive. In such cases, the interviewee will fail to give the right information for fear of the unknown. In some cases, the interviewer could be biased in analysing the responses given by the interviewee. The interviewer may formulate a particular impression about an interviewee and carry this impression to the analysis of the data collected. The interviewee too may also give biased responses based on the researcher's attitude or the issue under research (Silverman, 2000).

In the case of the immigrant children used in this study, some were uncomfortable in that they felt that their interviews might be used against them even though they were guaranteed anonymity and confidentiality in the consent form. In such cases, I reminded them verbally about changing their names and replacing them with pseudonyms that nobody could identify. I even promised them that I would not let anyone know their exact home addresses and families. This was in line with Sieber (1992) who suggests that all identifying characteristics,

such as occupation, city, and ethnic background, should be changed to protect participants' identities.

Also, inaccurate responses can sometimes occur when the interview questions are not written down and do not follow the same order. By this, I mean that the researcher asks the questions randomly which may confuse the respondents. To prevent this confusion, my questions were written down and administered in the same order to all the interviewees. Changes occurred in cases when I needed more information that was not envisaged at the beginning of the research. Thus further questions were posed immediately to probe particular issues.

As noted earlier, I interviewed three parents, two teachers and five immigrant children. In the following discussion I provide a detailed account of how interviews were conducted with the different participants.

4.8.2.1 Learners' interviews

I started with the immigrant children's interviews from April – July, 2016. These interviews were conducted with two Grade ten learners. There was one immigrant learner from Grade one, Grade seven and Grade eight in two primary schools in Parow, Cape Town, where I did my research. Their ages ranged from seven to sixteen years old.

The semi-structured interviews elicited information relating to the experiences of the selected immigrant children as language brokers in different domains.

I asked probing questions, and in many cases, I asked the same questions in different ways to make it clearer and to get more information from the immigrant learners. I created a relaxed environment and encouraged the respondents to be free to ask questions or to state when the question was not clear.

Questions for the interviews were constructed to cover areas such as the educational background of each immigrant learner, their experience as language brokers and their social interaction. This was in order for me to understand identity construction, as illustrated in Appendix 4. The immigrant children were given full freedom to use either French or English, or even to switch between the two languages so that the deepest and most uninterrupted expression might be forthcoming.

I conducted individual interviews so that I could have sufficient time to probe and gain an understanding of each child's experiences. The interviews lasted 45-60 minutes with each learner and where necessary, I gave a break of about 5-10 minutes.

At certain points, I allowed for elaboration, both on the questions and the answers. The semi-structured interviews were conducted in English for Claire, Belleange and Helen, as they preferred using English. I allowed some of them to use French. For example, Dieudonne and Pierre sometimes responded in French because there were matters they could explain better only in a language in which they were more proficient. In such cases, the interviews were later translated by the researcher.

I was aware of the limitations of expression that would occur during the interviews due to participants' proficiency levels in English as a second language. For example, there were moments when participants could not find the right word to express their thoughts. This allowed the participants to explain the particular events in detail and in different words. It provided me with more information for my analysis.

For ethical considerations, as indicated earlier, I have kept the identity of these participants anonymous by giving them pseudonyms. The pupils' responses were transcribed, and some of them are presented in Chapter 5.

4.8.2.2 Parents' Interviews

The reasons for the selection of parents are explained in Section 4.6 of this study. The three parents of three of the immigrant children were interviewed so as to understand their views on their children who acted as language brokers for their families in South Africa. They were parents to Claire, Dieudonne and Belleange, respectively. I made personal arrangements and met the three parents in their homes for individual interviews. Parents of the immigrant children were asked to explain their views and experiences of their children as language brokers in South Africa.

During the interviews the parents were given full freedom to use either French or English, or even to switch between the two languages so that the deepest and most uninterrupted expression could be forthcoming. The interviews were done individually with the selected parents. Two of them are from Congo and one is from Burundi. The interviews lasted for approximately 30-45 minutes.

Mr. Abel's and Madam Marina's interviews were conducted in French because they could not express themselves in English clearly. For the purpose of this thesis, their responses were translated into English by the researcher herself. However, Madam Bijoux's interview was conducted in English as she insisted it would help her improve her knowledge in the target language. She insisted on switching on her phone recorder during the interview because she wanted to keep a copy. The interviews were semi-structured and open-ended to allow time for comments and to probe for further information. I used the same question guidelines for all three parents. The interviews will be fully presented and analysed in the next chapter (Chapter five).

4.8.2.3 Teachers' interviews

I used the immigrant children in the study to access their teachers. I had anticipated easy access to the teachers, but three of the five teachers refused to be interviewed. One of them told me he could only assist in identifying the immigrant children in his class, but he was not going to participate in the interview process. To my disappointment, the teachers were difficult to find and so the best I could do was to approach the teachers of selected immigrant children who were willing to be interviewed.

Two of the teachers showed interest in the interview. One was a male and the other a female. The male teacher taught Grade ten while the female teacher was responsible for Grade one. I finally interviewed the two teachers who were teaching English and Life Orientation, to find out what impressions they had about their immigrant learners as language brokers in the classroom. The teachers were asked to explain the implications of language brokering for English second language learning and learners' identity construction.

I experienced challenges in getting personal information regarding qualifications, teaching experience and language background from the teachers because they were concerned that by providing personal information they could easily be identified. I did not find anything particularly wrong with their decision because ethically, they had the right to full confidentiality. This occurred despite my assurance that every piece of information that they provided would be treated confidentially and that their names would not be disclosed (would be kept anonymous). This experience supports the notion that interview participants are human beings with their own set of rights, issues and potential problems which have to be respected (Miller, 2002). I kept the identities of my participants confidential in writing up the research report by using pseudonyms – as indicated earlier.

The teachers' interviews elicited information regarding their understanding and experiences of language brokering by immigrant children. The detailed structure and contents of the interviews are discussed in the next chapter, and the interview guides are attached as shown in Appendix 3.

The pupils' interviews were supplemented by personal narratives which aimed at understanding the in-depth feelings, thoughts and experiences of the immigrant learners. In the section that follows I present the immigrant learners' narratives.

4.8.2.4 Learners' narratives

According to Creswell (2003) documents for research may be public documents, (for example, newspapers, minutes of meetings, official reports), or private documents (for example, personal journals and dairies, letters, emails). Written narratives can also be collected as data in qualitative research. Pavlenko (2002) explains that the telling of life stories in L2 may be a means of empowerment that makes it possible to express new selves and desires previously considered untellable.

Solé, (2007) explains that a personal narrative is a type of discourse which describes one's life events, though it is not just a story about the narrator's personal experience and past events. This implies that by narrating their experiences, narrators implicate themselves and try to identify themselves to others and to themselves. Narrators try to make sense of themselves in light of their various experiences thereby giving their lives more meaning. According to Mishler (1999) a personal narrative is a form of case-centred research. Therefore the immigrant children's narratives align with the case study design of this study, as noted earlier in this chapter.

The narrative form was used in this study because I realized that not all the immigrant children under investigation could actually reveal their true attitudes in the interviews and even in class, because they were not all comfortable or fluent in English. However they could write it reasonably well. Thus I wanted the pupils to express themselves freely, and so I gave them the opportunity to write either in French or English.

These personal narratives were written in the form of essays and they spent two weeks on them. These narratives helped me to identify and interpret their thoughts and feelings –those which might have been left out during the interview and observation sessions. They enabled

me to get more information on the immigrant learners' experiences as language brokers as they negotiated their identities in English.

The immigrant learners' written narratives were relevant in this study as they provided me with the language, feelings and lived experiences of the immigrant learners. They were more reliable as the learners wrote in my absence, and thus the information was unfettered and thoughtful. The learners' narratives allowed for the experiences of the participants to come to the fore (Andrews & Squire, 2008). Their narratives were like a replay of the events as they had happened, an expression of identity, a cultural trace (Squire, 2005). Through these personal narratives, their voices could be heard as they recounted or reflected on their experience of daily life in South Africa.

The other unique characteristic of personal narratives is that the stories that are narrated are not only produced by the narrators, but also shaped by others (Pavlenko, 2002). As Pavlenko emphasizes, the influence of social, cultural and historical conventions on narratives, as well as the relationship between the narrator and the interlocutor must be considered in the analysis. To acknowledge this co-constructed nature of narratives, I was conscious of the possible influence of my language choice, as well as that of my academic background on the interviews and narratives with which the participants provided me.

It is my assumption that my academic background also played a role in shaping their narratives as the five immigrant pupils and I shared a very similar background in that French is a second language to all of us. I could relate to them and I saw myself as one of them. We were non-native English speakers who had moved to South Africa for various reasons. In addition, I made them understand that I was not going to judge them for what they were talking about as I had had similar experiences too.

This reassurance helped the participants to feel more comfortable in sharing their achievements and the challenges they had experienced in South Africa as language brokers for their parents, friends and other immigrants in need. In other words, the stories that the pupils told me in the form of written narratives were representations of their own experiences as language brokers for their families and friends in a multicultural South African context. The immigrant children's written narratives formed a response to the question: "What are the experiences of immigrant children as language brokers in different domains?"

4.9 Ethical considerations

The term ethics is derived from the Greek word *ethikos* which itself is derived from the Greek word *ethos*, which means custom or character (Burton & Bartlett, 2005). Ethics is a code of professional conduct and it is guided by the principles governing an individual or a group of professionals. Ethics distinguishes between behaviour that is acceptable or unacceptable. It could also be a method, procedure, or perspective for deciding how to act and for analyzing complex problems and issues (Shamoo & Resnik, 2015).

Mouton (2001, p. 238) however, defines ethics as consideration of what is wrong and right when conducting research. What is common in these definitions is the fact that they all refer to a value statement, which is like a constitution with general principles intended to guide behaviour.

Ethical behaviour is an imperative when conducting any kind of social research and there are ethical standards declaring that researchers have the obligation to protect research participants (Ary et al, 2014). Research outcomes may have implications for researchers in the same setting or for people in the future (Hammersley & Traianou, 2012). It is for this reason that Cohen et al. (2007) warn social researchers to protect people by preserving their dignity as human beings when conducting research. Therefore issues regarding informed consent (Silverman, 2010), confidentiality and anonymity (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009) were taken into account in conducting this study.

Informed consent refers to the procedures in which individuals choose whether to participate in a research process or an investigation, after having been informed of facts that would be likely to influence their decisions (Diener & Crandall, 1978). It demands that the researcher includes only mature individuals who can make appropriate decisions for themselves. Informed consent promotes the rights of a participant as autonomous beings who have to be treated with justice and respect (Ary et al, 2014). For consent to be given, research participants need clear information about the research before the investigation.

Information about the purpose, the methods and the intended goals of the research was made as clear as possible to enable the participants to make an informed decision to participate in this study (see Appendix 2). I provided detailed information about the advantages and possible dangers participants could encounter once involved in the research and I also gave them to understand that they had the right to voluntarily participate in the research or to

withdraw whenever necessary (Silverman, 2010). All participants reported to have understood the essence of the study and to not find it risky, and none of them withdrew from it. This implies that no participant was compelled to be part of the research and that the information on hand was gathered from participants who were willing to co-operate.

Further, I had to consider issues of confidentiality and anonymity.

Confidentiality and anonymity are crucial in any research project. The fundamental characteristic of confidentiality is that the researcher should not reveal the information provided by participants (Cohen et al., 2007), especially when issues being researched are sensitive. Cohen et al. (2007) posit that participants are likely to be vulnerable when their privacy is violated during data collection or denied after the investigation is completed. In the present research the participants' privacy was protected and no reference to their particular identities was made.

In this study, data collection was conducted strictly in accordance with the ethical principles outlined in the foregoing section. Fieldwork was conducted after the researcher had obtained approval from the Western Cape Education Department and from the Western Cape and the University of the Western Cape Senate Research and Ethics Committee. This was crucial as the research entailed working with children who were vulnerable not only as immigrants, but also as young people whose dignity and rights had to be protected. It is for this reason that their parents were asked for their consent (Robson, 2002).

This study also dealt with a vulnerable group of parents who had limited literacy skills and who could not express themselves well in English. The parents were verbally reassured that all the data used in this study would be treated confidentially and kept anonymous so that it could not be identified with them and their children. In addition, they were notified about the purpose of the study, reassuring them about the safety of their children. They were also provided with information about the purpose and process of the study (Denscombe, 2003; Darlington & Scott, 2002).

To maintain anonymity and ensure that individuals' responses were disassociated from them, participants' names were not used (see Appendix 3). The researcher used fictitious names to refer to participants when transcribing information from the different participants. This was in line with Kvale's & Brinkmann's (2009) perspective of ethics. As I reflect on my research journey, I have noted that conducting this study has not been easy, although I have learnt a lot as a researcher. Below I provide a brief account of my research journey.

4.10 Reflexivity

Reflexivity is a process that challenges the researcher to explicitly examine how his or her research agenda and assumptions, subject location(s), personal beliefs, and emotions have entered into their research (Blaxter, Hughes & Tight, 2001). Blaxter et al. (2001) identify two kinds of reflexivity, personal reflexivity and epistemological reflexivity. Personal reflexivity involves reflecting upon the ways in which one's own values, experiences, interests, beliefs, political commitments, wider aims in life, and social identities have shaped the study.

Epistemological reflexivity requires an engagement and reflection concerning how the research question has defined and limited what can be found. In addition, it sheds light on the extent to which the research question has given rise to a different understanding of the phenomenon under investigation. It is imperative for qualitative inquiry because it conceptualizes the researcher as an active participant in knowledge (re)production, rather than as a neutral bystander (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995). This implies that qualitative researchers must take into account their own position in the research setting and situation.

The main objective of reflexivity in qualitative research is to acknowledge and interrogate the constitutive role of the researcher in the research design, data collection, analysis and knowledge production. Reflexivity therefore, requires an awareness of the researcher's contribution to the construction of meanings throughout the research process, and an acknowledgement of the impossibility of remaining outside one's subject matter while conducting research. It enables the researcher to be part of his/her study.

I decided to keep a reflective journal from the beginning of my study to reflect on my research journey. I would write ideas about my topic and how to go about gathering the necessary data, on an almost daily basis. At one point, I almost changed my topic because the first few immigrants I had met and explained my study to discouraged me. Some of them were from Cameroon, the same country of origin with me. Their claim was that it was not going to be easy to find research participants as many would not want to be ridiculed and they would be scared of saying something that may be misinterpreted by South Africans.

I was threatened that most immigrant parents would discourage their children from participating in the study because recounting their experiences as language brokers in various spaces in South Africa could cause them trouble in different social spaces.

Another issue was finding willing schools because I realized the primary schools I had identified were headed by "white" principals and I was told that they would not permit me to investigate them or their teachers. I felt bad and I was stressed about my study as I deemed Parow necessary as site for my investigation. Due to this experience, I wrote in my research journal in bold letters **“I THINK I WILL NEVER GET TO THE END OF THIS PhD PROGRAMME IF I KEEP THIS TOPIC...”**

When I finally got the letter from the WCED permitting me to conduct my research, I presented it to the first primary school I had selected. The principal refused to let me carry out my research, claiming that they already had another researcher in the school. This situation was like a confirmation of what I had been told before concerning the “white principals”. My heart was broken, but I still decided to give it a try. When I tried to explain my work, he told me his secretary was going to contact me after a week. I was very disturbed and almost thought it was because of the topic. But I did not give up. I began to think of changing the topic completely. But when I revisited my journal, I was inspired by the fact that I was also an immigrant who had faced challenges of learning English as a second language. This gave me the courage to continue with the topic, especially as no work had been done on immigrant child language brokers in Cape Town. I then communicated with my journal, imagining and writing down questions that could lead to getting rich data for my study. This was the beginning of my research journey.

I decided to carry on with my topic despite the challenges I had already faced. Following Blaxter et al.’s (2001) definition of personal reflexivity, I tried to use my personal experience to shape my study. When I asked semi-structured questions, I put them in such a way that would generate the answers for the topic under investigation, or would focus the discussion. I asked probing questions whenever the responses were not clear so that I could get better information from the immigrant children.

Epistemologically, even though I knew there were some factors that may not change soon to give immigrant families a better situation, I was impelled to shed light on some disturbing immigration issues concerning their position in the South African community. During and after conducting my study I learnt that it is not always clear whether and how research might change the lives of the researched and, most importantly, whether and how my conclusions and recommendations might alter mindsets. Though instances of racism, inequality and discrimination may be explored, the powerful may become more so and the powerless

continue to be disregarded. I retained my topic and I am proud of the contribution it might have concerning language brokering and immigrant situations globally and particularly in S.A.

4.11 Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter has provided a detailed account of the research design, the research methodology applied in data collection and the ethical considerations. The chapter described the research paradigms framing this study, the research setting and participants, the research activities that were carried out to collect reliable and valid data. I used various methods to achieve triangulation of the study and ethical issues were observed to achieve the aims of research.

The next chapter deals with the presentation and analysis of data collected.



CHAPTER FIVE

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter research methodology was presented with regard to design, sampling techniques and instruments used for data collection. This chapter also dealt with issues of validity, reflexivity and reliability. In this chapter I focus on data presentation and analysis. Raw data collected by means of interviews, observations and personal narratives are presented and analyzed.

The key themes that emerge from data analysis are highlighted in categories that align with the research questions and objectives. As a point of departure, I discuss the different conceptualizations of data analysis to illuminate the common trends in my data which are discussed in Section 5.4 of this chapter.

5.2 Data analysis

Knobel & Lankshear (2004) define data analysis as a process of organizing all pieces of information systematically by identifying and interpreting their key features or relationship with regard to themes, concepts and beliefs. This involves preparing spoken data for analysis by putting it down in words and turning it into a written script (a transcript). The process of identifying significant features in data is always informed by a theory and it is directly related to one's research question(s) in order to make sense of the collected data.

Data analysis involves organizing what has been seen, heard and read so that sense can be made of what has been learned (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992). Kvale (1999) claim that real analysis involves developing the meaning of the interviews, bringing to light the participant's own understanding as well as providing new perspectives from the researcher about the phenomenon. There are various schemata for data analysis in qualitative research, namely, framework analysis, grounded theory, content analysis, discourse analysis and narrative analysis which I briefly describe next (Wengraf, 2001).

Narrative analysis deals with the reformulation of stories which are based on different experiences presented by people in different contexts. Narratives are transcribed experiences. This implies that every interview or observation has a narrative aspect. The qualitative

researcher has to sort out and reflect upon these narratives, enhance them and present them to the reader in a revised manner (Brannen, 2005).

Alternatively Content Analysis is the procedure for the categorization of verbal or behavioural data for the purpose of classification, summarization and tabulation. Content Analysis can be done in two different ways, namely in descriptive and interpretative forms. In the descriptive form data is presented by describing it while the interpretive form deals with the meaning of the data (Brannen, 2005). Hence both Content and Narrative analysis involve the same type of coding techniques. However, while Content Analysis may be used with nonverbal material, it deals primarily with verbal material.. Narrative analysis deals only with verbal material, usually stories or accounts of personal experiences (McBride & Mazur, 2010).

As stated earlier, the other method of data analysis is Discourse Analysis. Unlike the Narrative and Content analysis, Discourse Analysis is a method used for analyzing a naturally occurring talk (spoken interaction) as well as all types of written texts. It aims at understanding how people produce and make sense of everyday social life. In other words, it looks at how language is used in everyday situations. For instance, it may be relied on to critique instances when people express themselves in a simple and straightforward way, or vaguely and indirectly. In using Discourse Analysis, the researcher must refer to the content when interpreting the message because the same phenomenon can be described and understood in a number of different ways, depending on the context (McBride & Mazur, 2010).

The Framework Analysis, on the other hand is a variant of the Content Analysis developed by Jane Ritchie and Liz Spencer in Britain (UK) in the early 1990s. This form of analysis familiarizes the research with the data as it entails transcribing and reading the data. It also involves identifying themes through the initial coding framework which is developed from prior and emergent issues. It deals with the mapping out and interpretation of data which involves searching for patterns, associations, concepts and explanations in the data (Ezzy, 2002).

Contrasting somewhat is Grounded Theory, an analytic induction which starts with an examination of a single case taken from a 'pre-defined' population, in order to formulate a general statement about a population, concept or hypothesis (Brannen, 2005). The researcher then examines another case to see whether it fits the statement. If it does, a further case is

selected but if it does not fit, two options may be considered: either the statement is changed to fit both cases, or the definition of the population is changed in such a way that the case is no longer a member of the newly defined population. Then another case is selected and the process continues. This method is only for a limited set of analytical problems: those that can be solved with some general overall statement (Egger, Spark & Donovan, 2005).

While there is a close relationship between these analytical frameworks, for the purpose of this study, I adopted the Framework Analysis which sits within a broad family of analytical methods often termed Thematic Analysis. In Thematic Analysis one has to identify commonalities and differences in qualitative data, before focusing on the relationships between the different parts of the data, thereby seeking to draw descriptive and/or explanatory conclusions clustered around themes. One of the advantages of Thematic Analysis is that researchers' interpretations of participants' experiences are transparent (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003).

Qualitative approaches are to a great extent diverse, complex and nuanced (Holloway & Todres, 2003), so Thematic Analysis should be seen as a foundational method for qualitative analysis because it provides core skills that are useful for conducting many other forms of qualitative analysis. Holloway & Todres (2003, p. 347) identify "thematizing meanings" as one of a few shared generic skills across qualitative analysis. For this reason, Boyatzis (1998) characterizes Thematic Analysis not as a specific method of data analysis but as a tool to use across different methods.

Another advantage of Thematic Analysis is its flexibility as it allows the researcher either to collect all the data and then analyse it or to do data analysis during the collection process (Ritchie & Spencer, 1994). Thematic Analysis can be understood as a means of identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns or themes within data (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 79). It helps to organize the data, provides rich detail and is particularly relevant for narrative interviews as the story-teller reports those features of the event that are relevant to his or her perspective on the world. As narrative interviewing and observation are techniques for eliciting stories (Jovchelovitch & Bauer, 2000), Thematic Analysis can be helpful in grouping these stories and life events which the narrator provides. Through its theoretical freedom, Thematic Analysis provides a flexible and useful research tool which can potentially provide a rich and detailed account of data. Hence I chose it as the most appropriate analytical tool for my study.

In the following section, I provide an explanation of how I used Thematic Analysis in this study.

5.3 Relevance of thematic analysis in this study

As highlighted earlier, in this study data analysis is informed by the qualitative research design. Henning et al., (2004, p.102) argue that qualitative research data analysis involves breaking up the data into manageable themes, patterns, trends and relationships in order to make sense of it. In the case of this study, the data collected by different techniques such as interviews, observations and immigrant children's personal narratives are interwoven in order to give a coherent account of the data or research events. The aim is to uncover emerging trends and to understand the bigger picture by using the data to describe the phenomenon and to attach meaning to the events. Hence Thematic Analysis is an essential method for reporting meaning and for capturing this in the experiences of the participants (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The analysis resonates with the research objectives and the data collection methods stated in the previous chapter.

It has been noted however, that data analysis is the most vulnerable aspect of the qualitative research process because in analyzing data researchers are alone with their thoughts, and they play a central role in shaping the research outcome (Mauthner & Doucet, 1998). To control this limitation the use of Thematic Analysis in this study was also informed by the "voice-centred relational method" as described by Mauthner & Doucet (1998, p. 1).

The voice-centred relational method deals with exploring individuals' narrative accounts in terms of their relationships with themselves, their relationships with other people around them and their relationships within the broader social and cultural contexts wherein they live (Mauthner & Doucet, 1998, p. 9). This method emphasizes human relationships which means the voice of the self ("I") is represented in the account of personal experiences. The voice-centred method was used in this study to project the immigrant children's perceptions, their voices and their understanding of the world or the South African context in which they live. This implies that the immigrant children's voices were represented in their various experiences of language brokering in the South African context.

After collecting the data by using recorded interviews, the data was transcribed as the first step in preparing and organizing the data for analysis (Creswell, 2003). The interviews were transcribed verbatim to avoid losing any valuable data. This aided in preparing data for

analysis and theorizing (Lerner, 2004). For easy access and navigation between the data, the transcribed data was coded.

Coding is the first step in the conceptualization of the data and it is seen as a key process that serves to organize the copious transcripts that were created from the recordings (Bryman & Burgess, 1994, p. 443).

In order to address the research questions stated in the first chapter of this study, data was coded into themes. The codes are useful as they are most often a word or a short phrase that signals an important symbolic, cumulative, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a specific portion of language-based or visual data (Saldana, 2013, p. 3). Language-based or visual data means video, audio recordings or written notes. This implies that coding is primarily an interpretive act because once the information has been gathered the researcher then assigns 'a word or a short phrase' to represent sections of the data. Then the researcher examines and categorizes the codes to see what patterns and theories emerge. In this study, these codes made it easier to group elements of the same narrative and subsequently to formulate relevant themes (Ryan & Bernard, 2003).

Searching for themes began with collating the coded data which led to a list of different codes identified from the data set as proposed by Braun & Clarke (2006). I analyzed the interviews alongside the written narratives in order to get an in-depth view of the participants' experiences of language brokering and identity construction through English (L2). I then interrogated the comments in narratives and the responses to semi-structured interview questions so as to compare the participants' experiences. In this way, I was able to make direct comparisons and draw conclusions from the triangulated data. The resultant codes led to the subsequent summary of topics together with the following broad themes that correspond with the research questions:

- 1) Immigrant children as language brokers;
- 2) Parents' experiences of children's language brokering;
- 3) Teachers' views on language brokering.

In the next section I present data that corresponds with each theme. Each theme is discussed under sub-themes or categories as suggested by Henning et al. (2004).

5.4 Immigrant children as language brokers

Under this broad theme– Immigrant Children as Language Brokers – four interrelated sub-themes emerged. These sub-themes emphasize the children’s emotional state as language brokers. They uncover how children perform language brokering in various social domains. Finally, they highlight the hegemony of English (L2) in the language brokering process. Therefore, the main categories that describe how immigrant children performed language brokering are as follows:

- 1) Language brokering as an emotional activity
- 2) Spaces for language brokering
- 3) Schools as sites of language brokering
- 4) English hegemony and language brokering.

These sub-categories are discussed in detail in the following sections. To illuminate the key issues that support each category, excerpts from the raw data are provided, where necessary.

5.4.1 Language brokering as an emotional activity

During the semi-structured interviews immigrant children were asked to explain their experiences as language brokers in different domains. Data collected from interviews showed that four out of five of the immigrant children were conscious of their role in helping their families and friends in South Africa. Data from interviews and personal narratives indicate that four immigrant learners played a significant role as translators across different languages. It should be borne in mind that translation is an aspect of language brokering (Orellana, 2009).

For example, the youngest participant (Belleange) explained that whenever she went to the shops, social gatherings and meetings at school she had to perform the role of language broker. She expressed her feelings as a language broker as follows:

I feel fine helping mama ...then I'll be very happy she understands after.

(Belleange, interview, 20/04/2016)

The foregoing excerpt reflects the child's positive feeling as a language broker. In other words, she finds the experience exciting and so reports positive feelings about her language brokering performance. For instance, she added:

...I also enjoy talking to my siblings in English ... I do it so they can be proud of me... I like being a translator to my family and others who are in need.

The fact that this child uses words and short phrases like "enjoyed" "talking with siblings in English" "being a translator to my family and others...in need" shows that she acknowledges that she belongs to a particular community which lacks certain language skills such as English language competence. Therefore English is treated with high regard, and proficiency in it seems to be a marker of high status. Hence, those who lack proficiency in it are proud of those who have it at their disposal. Language brokering involves communication which is a language skill. So, the more one talks, the more he/she gains speaking skills and confidence to be able to perform better not only as a language broker, but also as an English speaker.

However, in another interview Belleange explained that she was unhappy because she could not help her father due to her lack of understanding of "big English words."

I feel bad not helping papa with his work paper ...I couldn't understand the big English words...

(Belleange, interview, 20/04/2016)

The above excerpt seems to suggest that while Belleange acted as a language broker for her parents, she had a limited vocabulary in English. This could be attributed to her young age and her few years of exposure to English. She was seven years old and she had arrived South Africa only four years prior to the interview.

Literature on child language brokering confirms that young immigrant children like Belleange could serve as language brokers for families and friends. In their study of migrants in the US, Morales & Hanson (2005) found that language brokering starts from one to five years after entering the immigrant country and the child may be as young as eight or nine years old. Language brokering not only enables children to translate information and communicate things to their parents but also aids in developing an understanding of cultural practices and norms (Weisskirch, 2010).

Belleange's proficiency levels in English – which still seemed underdeveloped – could also be explained in relation to Cummin's (1989) Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP). As noted earlier in this study, Cummins (1989) states that students' proficiency in reading academic texts, termed Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) lags significantly behind their oral proficiency, termed Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills

(BICS). In the case of Belleange, her BICS which takes two to three years to develop (Cummins, 1989) is not a problem since she could communicate orally in English. The problem seemed to be with the CALP which was not yet fully developed as she was still struggling with written texts. She could not help her father with paper work because she did not understand the “*big English words.*”

In the same way, the sixteen-year-old Claire explains how proud she is to be a language broker. She indicates that she does not do language brokering for her family only, but for all immigrants who face difficulties in communicating due to lack of English proficiency:

It is a pleasure for me to help explain things in English to my family members and others and also explain to them what is said in English...I feel honoured when I receive just a “Thank You” after helping people understand what is said...

(Claire, interview, 24/05/2016)

She indicated how she facilitates communication by acting as a language broker for other immigrants.

Almost every day, I come across immigrants struggling to pass a message through in the little English they know... It’s embarrassing when one feels impotent because one doesn’t know the language. I help translate wherever and whenever I can and I am glad to be of help

(Claire, interview, 24/05/2016)

The foregoing excerpt shows how immigrant children act as language brokers across space and time in their host country. Claire uses the expressions, “I help translate”, “wherever” and “whenever”, to better explain how this happens. From Claire’s responses to the interview, it can be deduced that home language maintenance is a linguistic asset in multilingual settings. Language brokering may serve as a means of preserving home language competence among children (Tse 1995). Maintenance of the home language appears to be a means of sustaining positive relationships amongst immigrants in a new country. Claire's home language is Lingala which she used everywhere after she had just arrived in South Africa. Her Congolese friend who was born in South Africa and could speak English helped her to understand English by translating information from English to Lingala. She also introduced her to her English-speaking friends from whom she could learn English. Subsequently Claire mastered

English and she started to explain things in English to her mother and other immigrants who were still learning English. This happened at meetings in schools or in other social gatherings.

Claire was motivated by her family and other immigrants she brokered for. She felt very positive about life and her future as she was also recognized by her school authorities as hard working and a good language broker.

In the last excerpt, Claire expresses positive feelings about being a language broker for her family and others. Affirmation by other immigrants motivated her to do better in language brokering for her immigrant community in South Africa.

Belleange's and Claire's positive feelings can be understood in relation to Lave & Wenger's (1991) Community of practice (COP) framework which shows a strong link between the act of learning a second language and the community in which the learning is actually taking place. This concept is a perspective that locates learning in the relationship between the person and the world; at its centre is how the social and the individual constitute each other. Lave & Wenger's (1991) COP framework is included as part of the Poststructural Approach to second language learning identified by Block (2007) and other scholars (Lantolf, 2000; Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000).

As discussed in Chapter 2, Communities of Practice (COP) by Lave & Wenger (1991; 1998) is a prominent concept in the study of language learning as a social practice. Wenger (2006: p.1) defines Communities of Practice as groups of people who share a concern or passion for something they do, and learn how to do it better as they interact regularly.

In this study, firstly, Claire reveals passion in the manner she describes her feelings for example, to be "proud" and to "feel honoured." Secondly, Claire identifies herself as part of a COP where language brokering seems to strengthen her relationship with other immigrants, and it gives her a sense of fulfilment for being of assistance to the immigrant community, as illustrated in the excerpt.

These two children's utterances seem to imply that English is a prestigious language which affords or cultivates high self-esteem in the person who speaks it. This relates to Bourdieu's (1977, 1991) works which draw attention to the importance of power in structuring discourse with interlocutors who hardly share equal speaking rights.

Bourdieu (1991) argues that the value attributed to speech cannot be understood in isolation of the speaker. And the person who speaks cannot be understood as being apart from the larger networks of social relationships, many of which may be unequally structured. Legitimate and illegitimate speakers are distinguished by their right to speak and their power to impose reception (1977, p. 648).

Bourdieu (1991) considers the use of language as a social and political practice in which the value of an utterance and its meaning is determined in part by the value and meaning ascribed to the person who speaks. In this case study, Claire is considered as a person of power and high status as she can understand and speak the language of high status in South Africa namely, English. The compliments and appreciation she receives from other immigrants motivates her to learn English. In this way, she can negotiate and construct a new identity through English which is seen as a prestigious language, not only in South Africa but across the globe.

Similarly, Pierre who was thirteen years old during the interviews expressed joy in helping family members and other immigrants. He had this to say:

I lack words to express the joy in me knowing that my mother and siblings can now go to the shops and feel free communicating with anyone now because I always make sure I explain things to them in the best English I know...My mother always says I saved them from embarrassment...

(Pierre, interview, 28/06/2016)

Interestingly, Pierre switched to French to emphasize his good feelings:

Permettez-moi de vous dire que j'ai une joie immense en moi que les membres de ma famille peuvent mieux communiquer avec tout le monde ici en Afrique du Sud grâce à moi...

(Pierre, interview, 28/06/2016)

Permit me to tell you that I have an immense joy in me that members of my family can communicate better with everyone here in South Africa thanks to me ...

(Researcher's translation)

In Chapter two of this study the point was raised that learning a dominant language like English may undermine the minority language and culture of the immigrants (Baker, 2003). However, in the case of my study, perceived bilingualism is regarded as an asset. In the foregoing excerpt, Pierre demonstrates pride in L1 which is the French language. He strongly identifies himself with French. For him the positive feedback on the proficiency of English clearly brings out the significance of bilingual competence. Pierre's identification with French reminds me of Makalela's (2014) work, where attention is not only on languages as social constructs but also on the users of these languages who attach their sense of being to these languages and identify with them.

Language systems in Makalela's (2014) study are conceived of as fluid and dynamic constructs of multilingual speakers who utilise these systems to perform their personhood. This implies that speakers choose who they want to be through the language(s) they use. It thus follows that bilingual and bicultural people could be described as having fluid identities, possessing the ability to activate a set of distinct concepts or mental frames, which include the various aspects of their identities (Raguenaud, 2009). An immigrant child who is bilingual, therefore, can choose to be identified with a particular language at a particular time or situation.

In addition, Pierre expressed the willingness to improve his level of English as follows:

I don't intend letting anybody or anything stand on my way of becoming a better English speaker...I will do anything to have the best level of English for a better future...Even if it means asking my dad for permission to have extra classes with my white friend who always comes among the first three in class (Pierre, personal narrative, 01/09/2016).

In this excerpt, Pierre is highly motivated and would want to use other methods to improve his competence in English. Interestingly, he mentions the "white" friend's assistance: an element of English dominance and identity construction is apparent in this reference. Pierre uses English to negotiate and construct his new identity.

Ratele & Laubscher (2010) affirm that in South Africa, race is historically positioned as a pivot on which power is balanced. In modern society whiteness has maintained this weight. This has made it possible to use any trait of whiteness in blacks as a signifier of dominance and a measure of power.

Pierre's refusal to speak local languages, and his opting for English, might also be associated with English dominance or superiority. This may lead to subtractive multilingualism because he might gradually lose Bassa and French as he puts more effort into improving his English. Furthermore, the assistance Pierre expects from his "white" friend places his friend as the "knowledgeable other," scaffolding the less knowledgeable one or newcomer as discussed in relation to one of the concepts under Vygotsky's (1978) Sociocultural Theory.

Scaffolding may be considered as tutorial behaviour that is contingent, collaborative and interactive (Wood, 1988, p. 96). Behaviour is contingent when an action depends on, (influences and is influenced by other actions. It is collaborative when the outcome is jointly achieved – whether this is a conversation or the solution to a problem. And it is interactive when it includes the activity of two or more people who are mutually engaged.

Pierre taking "extra classes" with his "white" friend is like having a tutorial through which more understanding is gained through interaction. Illuminating this point Donato (1994) explains that scaffolding occurs routinely as learners work together on language learning tasks, and therefore it appears useful to consider the learners themselves as a source of knowledge in a social context. This implies that learners can mutually assist and scaffold each other's performance in the same way that experts scaffold the progress of novices. It suggests that peer interaction might provide language learners with various learning tasks or environments. Through such interaction scaffolded help from peers could facilitate improved performance.

Swain (2000) also supports the importance of a collaborative dialogue and a knowledge-building dialogue, as language use mediates language learning. Swain regards language as a mediating tool and explains how language helps knowledge-building, as shown in Vygotsky's Sociocultural Theory (1978). Swain (2000) explains the role of language in knowledge-building by showing how language mediates learning in areas such as mathematics, science and history.

In the case of second language learning, it is dialogue that constructs linguistic knowledge and allows performance to outstrip competence. He explains that language learners construct linguistic knowledge and attempt to solve linguistic problems through joint efforts and it is this collaborative performance that moves the learners beyond their current cognitive and linguistic states. This joint effort is referred to as the language learning process. Pierre would like to jointly work with his "white" friend who always "comes among the first three". He

believes that by working with his friend he will eventually perform better in school and learn English.

Helen who was sixteen-years-old expressed similarly strong positive emotions being a language broker. She recounted:

...Eish, there were instances my parents, particularly mama, would not open her mouth until we get back to the house...she may still not be perfect in English now, but I'm proud of the fact that she can talk to people...she says it is thanks to me, her "English translator and saviour"

(Helen, interview, 30/06/2016)

In her personal narrative Helen expresses her desire to learn more so as to be of greater help to her family and other immigrants:

I admire my friend Claire as she is always quick to translate things for others without hesitation...I know how to translate too, but I need to learn more to be fluent and fearless like her...I'm proud of being able to help translate too, especially as I know my parents have sacrificed a lot and would want me to be the best

(Helen, personal narrative, 20/08/2016)

In this excerpt Helen's motivation is further increased by her admiration for her friend, Claire, whom she considers as a better language broker. She uses expressions such as "I admire my friend, Claire", and "I need to be fluent and fearless like her". These illustrate that she has both intrinsic and extrinsic motivation to learn English in her new context.

The data presented here clearly indicates that four of the five immigrant children who participated in the study expressed good feelings about fulfilling the role of language broker for their families. Thus the affirmation from family members motivated them to adopt effective strategies for learning English.

MacIntyre (2002) claims that with the exception of studies about language anxiety, emotion has not been given sufficient attention in the literature of language learning (p. 45). Some studies have documented positive effects of language brokering for children, including those that outline the development of strong metalinguistic and interpersonal skills (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1991; Valdés, 2003).

The data presented in this study shows that language brokering is a continuous learning process as immigrant children perform brokering acts for their families and peers on a daily basis. In the light of this it is likely that the immigrant children will not only be proud of having competence in English, but will also have increased confidence in using the language (McQuillan & Tse, 1995; Walinchowski, 2001). The fact that her mother uses phrases such as “English translator and saviour” means much; it will give Helen more confidence in herself and motivate her to take on larger tasks beyond the brokering she performs for her fellow immigrant family and peers.

Unlike the other four immigrant children, Dieudonne expressed negative feelings about language brokering. In other words, his emotions were different from the other immigrant children as he explains below:

Je m'exprime pas bien en Anglais...mon papa aime me demander de traduire un tas des trucs et je l'explique seulement c'est que je connais...mais mon mieux ne jamais suffisant...je préfère ne plus l'expliquer les choses ...je suis fatigué de traduire ce que je ne maîtrise pas...

(Dieudonné, interview, 06/05/2016)

I do not express myself well in English ... my dad likes to ask me to translate a lot of stuff and I can only explain what I know ... but my best is never enough ... I prefer not to explain it ... I am tired to translate what I do not master
(Researcher's translation, 30/05/2016)

This excerpt suggests that Dieudonne has limited proficiency in English and also low self-esteem. He lacks confidence in himself as he explained, "I do not express myself well in English". The father of the immigrant child emerges as one who has high expectations of his son and this places the task in a negative light thus causing Dieudonne to view language brokering as a burden.

Interestingly, Dieudonne expressed himself in French. This may be seen in light of protesting or resisting acting as a language broker for his father, or having to learn English – which would compete with French. His consequent negative attitude towards language brokering could negatively affect his motivation to learn English. It could also lead to anxiety that might affect his relationship with his parents.

As discussed in Chapter two, researchers have raised concerns about the negative repercussions of language brokering on the emotional development of youth (e.g., Chao, 2006; Umana-Taylor, 2003). In qualitative studies, descriptive accounts of children like Dieudonne feeling stressed and burdened from language brokering highlight potential risks associated with language brokering. Such accounts include children going to bed well after midnight so as to accommodate both school and family obligations. They may feel anxious about making mistakes during translation and this could lead to their resentment of the stress and responsibility imposed on them by family members (Hall & Sham, 1998; Morales et al., 2012).

Negative feelings about language brokering, such as feeling embarrassed and/or nervous when performing it, have been related to personal acculturation stress and the development of poor self-esteem (Kam, 2011; Weisskirch, 2013). In addition, Umana-Taylor (2003) and Morales & Hanson (2005) suggest that parents' dependence on their children may diminish their authority and this may lead to the reversal of roles referred to earlier. It occurs within the family and negatively affects the parent-child relationship.

In support of this perspective, several studies have found excessive language brokering or a higher demand for language brokering to be associated with greater family conflict, higher levels of family stress and lower levels of parenting effectiveness (Hua & Costigan, 2012; Jones & Trickett, 2005; Kam, 2011; Martinez et al., 2009; Trickett & Jones, 2007). Negative feelings about language brokering are also associated with family-based acculturation stress and more problematic family relationships (Weisskirch, 2007).

Dieudonne's behaviour can be explained in relation to the Phenomenological Variant of Ecological Systems Theory (PVEST) which claims that self-perceptions influence an individual's behaviour, thoughts and actions (Spencer, Dupree, & Hartmann, 1997). This insight suggests that Dieudonne seemed to have low self-esteem because he felt he belonged to the minority group of immigrants in South Africa. He wanted to learn English quickly and become a better language broker for his family and other immigrants.

But because the process of language brokering is not easy and requires a certain level of cognitive ability, some children experience negative emotions, as did Dieudonne. Though this may come as a developmental advantage, it may be perceived as a benefit by the child in adolescence only (Love, 2007). McQuillan & Tse (2009, p. 9) are of the view that because of

the added stress and burden with the increased responsibility resulting from language brokering, frustration, resentment and embarrassment may result.

Several studies support this observation, that language brokers experience feelings of frustration, embarrassment, or pressure to translate accurately (DeMent & Buriel, 1999; Love, 2003; McQuillan & Tse, 1995; Ng, 1998; Tse, 1995a; Valenzuela, 1999; Weisskirch & Alva, 2002). Some children may refuse social invites as they might be required by their parents to serve as brokers. Consequently, some researchers argue that using children as translators and interpreters may affect the emotional development of the children negatively. For example, Umaña-Taylor (2003) argues that language brokers take on adult roles during their adolescence and these experiences could have negative implications for their identity development. Others argue that language brokers do not find their experiences helpful or enjoyable, and for the most part do not feel good about translating and interpreting (Weisskirch & Alva, 2002). For example, Dieudonne expressed negative feelings as he explained his relationship with his father:

...If it's my father, he would make me feel bad and sometimes I interpret or translate wrongly because I don't want to have problems with him...

In this excerpt, Dieudonne expresses negative feelings about brokering for his father as he fears saying the wrong thing and getting into trouble with him. He would prefer going out with his mother and siblings who did not put pressure on him, although he appreciated the translating he could provide for his mother. Relatively this shows how language brokering may evoke feelings of insecurity and anxiety.

Gender has been addressed in some studies that have explored culture and language brokering, but the findings from those studies are inconclusive. For example, in their study of first and second generation adolescent Latino students, Buriel, Perez, DeMent, Chavez & Moran (1998) found that girls reported language brokering more frequently than boys. Chao (2006) found the same gender difference amongst Mexican and Chinese American adolescent language brokers. Another study also found that the eldest female tends to be the primary language broker for her family (Villanueva & Buriel, 2010). Valenzuela (1999) found a similar trend, reporting that girls participated more than boys in activities that required detailed explanation or translation.

In many immigrant families, girls are viewed as family caretakers and develop a sense of family obligation, which includes language brokering activities (Fuligni, Yip, & Tseng, 2002;

Orellana, 2003; Tseng & Fuligni, 2004). Several other studies have also found that girls were more likely than boys to engage in language brokering (Buriel et al. 1998; Buriel et al. 2006; Chao 2006). De Ment et al. (2005) found that girls reported language brokering for mothers and boys for fathers. Chao (2006) also reported that girls were more likely to translate for mothers, in particular single mothers, although there was variability by cultural group and generational status.

A study with Mexican-American adolescents (12-14 years old) found that boys reported translating more often for their parents than girls (Weisskirch, 2007), while Love & Buriel (2007) found no gender differences in language brokering. The differences may be due to the gendered nature of certain activities in some cultures where girls are viewed as being more apt than boys to explain things in detail.

A few studies have confirmed that the eldest child and girls especially, are most often designated as language brokers in the family (Chao 2001; Morales and Hanson 2005). Since many non-Western immigrant families emphasize rank and position in the families, eldest children tend to assume more responsibilities than their younger counterparts. In addition, linguistically, it is more likely that the eldest child retains facility in the heritage language. Subsequently, younger siblings may develop less capacity in the heritage language and are then less likely to act as language brokers (Stevens and Ishizawa 2007).

However, adolescents' perception of how much they matter to their parents may also influence whether language brokering is perceived as building efficacy or as being burdensome (Wu & Kim 2009). In this study both girls and boys were proud to act as language brokers for anybody, whether female or male the exception was Dieudonne who preferred being a language broker for his mother. This is mostly related to the fact that he was closer to his mother than to his father. He respected both his parents, but seemed to be distant towards his father because the latter was strict with him.

In summary, four key issues emerged from the analyzed data. These include (1) power relations between immigrant children and their parents; the role of language brokering in power reversal (ii) English power or hegemony (iii) language brokering as a stimulator of children's emotions; and (iv) intrinsic and extrinsic motivation as an integral part of immigrant children's language identity construction. These issues will be discussed in the next chapter. In the following section I discuss the second theme that emerged from the data.

5.4.2 Spaces for language brokering

Research on child language brokering suggests that child brokers from different cultures and languages perform a variety of tasks and take on roles as mediators and decision makers (Downing & Dwyer, 1981; Harris & Sherwood, 1978; McQuillan & Tse, 1995; Schieffelin & Cochran-Smith, 1984, Shannon, 1990). As noted earlier in this study, language brokering involves interpreting and translating between culturally and linguistically different people and it mediates interactions in a variety of situations, including those at home and at school (Tse, 1996; Bolden, 2012). In other words, a broker acts as an intermediary between different participants, between a speaker with better proficiency and a recipient with limited proficiency in the target language.

It involves translation to facilitate communication and understanding between individuals. In the process of mediating and problem-solving, mediators may alter the interpretation for certain outcomes (Gustafsson, Norström & Fioretos, 2013). Language brokering tends to involve a certain level of teaching, including correcting other parties' language usage (Ikeda, 2007). This may lead to a distortion of information as a consequence of the speaker's understanding of the languages, and their ability to move between linguistic and cultural boundaries.

Thus language brokers facilitate communication between two linguistically and/or culturally different parties. Unlike formal interpreters and translators, brokers mediate, rather than merely transmit information (Tse 1996). For Vygotsky (1978), mediation represents the use of tools such as computers, learning activities, direct instructions, which are involved in the process of problem solving and learning. Among these tools, language is the most significant one. It is through language that one expresses information and ideas in different forms (for example, discussions, narrations, and arguments).

In this study, Vygotsky's Sociocultural Theory forms a premise on which to explain how language is used by immigrant learners who seek to mediate communication between their family members and South Africans who are English-speaking. Language is viewed as a symbolic tool which allows individuals to collaborate with others to shape their world according to their goals. Hence the immigrant children are seen to be performing acts of mediation for their families and other immigrants in various social domains.

5.4.3 Medical space

The analyzed data of this study indicate that immigrant children navigate different spaces as language brokers (Crush & Towodzera, 2014). The medical space in particular, seems to be a harsh space for immigrants who cannot speak local languages. This resonates with Crush & Towodzera's (2014) observation.

Claire shares her experience as a language broker in a health facility as follows:

My auntie always takes me to the hospital with her when she needs medical attention because her English isn't good. Whenever the nurses in hospital saw us, they would just assume that we all are lacking something in language... Even when I spoke in English they ignored me... Sometimes I would think it's better to speak the little Afrikaans or IsiXhosa that I learnt from friends around, depending on the nurse we meet. ...It really gets complicated sometimes I'm trying to help my auntie, I have to translate from Afrikaans or IsiXhosa to English and Lingala... I could possibly speak and understand all these languages... I really would like to help as my family has made sacrifices for us to be where we are and they are still doing a lot for us here in South Africa.

(Claire, personal narrative, 06/06/2016)

Language does not only facilitate communication, but also plays the role of a marker of social status and affiliation. So, dialects and accents or lack of both, have close ties with prejudice, and this may have an effect on the development of young learners (Durkin, 2004).

In her personal narrative, Claire translates from Afrikaans or IsiXhosa to English and Lingala. This illuminates an element in the act of crossing borders, where individuals move between languages for identity construction. According to Kamwangamalu (2003) language crossing is concerned with code - switching into languages that an individual is generally not thought to 'belong to'. Rose & van Dulm (2006) affirm that code-switching is a widespread phenomenon in South Africa and they define it as "alteration of language within one conversation, often involving switches within a single speaker turn or a single sentence" (p. 1). In this study, code switching is defined within the in-group space. In other words, it is used to describe immigrant children who experience language crossing in an attempt to gain entrance or acceptance to the in-group. Kamwangamalu (2003) illustrates how expectations

of rules of interpretation for the use of languages are used to determine a participant's claim to membership in a given group. The rules portray power dynamics. For example, the interaction between the nurses and patients with limited proficiency in one another's languages reflects power relations that can be frustrating to those who are less proficient in the target language.

Apart from this obstacle, there is also the issue of harsh words used by medical workers that may make the immigrant patient(s) feel bad. Even though Claire in this study does not translate exactly what has been said, she is also psychologically affected as she uses phrases like "...just assume that we all are lacking something", "they ignored me".

This seems to reflect an aspect of "othering" described by Spivak (1985) as a multidimensional process, in the sense that it touches upon several different forms of social differentiation. Othering as a concept can be associated with intersectionality (Crenshaw 1989; 1991) or interlocking systems of oppression (Collins, 1989) in feminist theories (Collins, 2000; Brah & Phoenix, 2004; Gans, 2008). Wren (2001) concurs that the theory of identity formation inherent in the concept of "othering" assumes that subordinate people are offered, and at the same time relegated to, subject positions as "others" in discourse.

In these processes it is the centre that has the power to describe, and the other is constructed as inferior. The assumption that immigrants are "lacking something" makes immigrant children feel as if they are not accepted in other South African spaces. It also encourages them to work harder to be part of the host community by negotiating and constructing their identities through English language learning.

5.4.4 School playgrounds

Another interesting observation was that Claire could diffuse the power of English outside the classroom. She would encourage her immigrant peers to speak English even if they were making mistakes. Claire's eagerness to engage in language brokering activities around the school drew the attention of her classmates who became interested in helping immigrant learners to integrate into the South African community through language learning. Some South African learners started to broker for their immigrant classmates to understand lessons taught through the medium of English. Claire encouraged her South African peers to speak to immigrant children in their own home languages such as Afrikaans and IsiXhosa, so that they

could easily learn together. This was one of the strategies to construct new language brokering identities and a means of learning English better and faster.

The immigrant pupils in this case had an opportunity to enrich their language repertoires and to do better language brokering with their families and friends. This implies that although Claire and her immigrant peers were positioned in a particular way within a given discourse, they were able to set up a counter discourse which positioned them in a powerful, rather than marginalized position.

The concepts of 'position' and 'positioning' (Davis & Harré, 1990) have their origins in marketing, where position refers to the communication strategies that allow certain products to be placed in a market among their competitors (Tirado & Gálvez, 2007, p. 20). The concept of positioning was also used in the social sciences to analyze the construction of subjectivity in the area of heterosexual relationships (Tirado & Gálvez, 2007).

Positioning here was explained as relational processes that constitute interaction with other individuals. In this study, as immigrant children make use of English in interaction it becomes apparent that the process of identity construction through positioning does not "reside within the individual but in intersubjective relations of sameness and difference, power and disempowerment" (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p. 607). Thus to interpret multilingual children's positioning requires looking at the day-to-day interactional moments and other practices, and also the wider political discourses in which these practices may be embedded and historically rooted (Maguire, 2005). The day-to-day moments of practice involve different "acts of identity" (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985). In this case, Claire assumed a kind of power of imposing acceptance into the South African society by engaging in conversations/interactions in English and other local languages.

This implies that language use actively constructs identity. People "do," or perform, identity through discourse. As I examined the interactions of immigrant children in the study, I considered the actual conversations they had had with various people at different spaces. As Claire encouraged her South African peers to use their home languages such as Afrikaans and IsiXhosa to communicate with immigrant learners, she also encouraged her fellow immigrants to learn. The use of language in this case positions the immigrant learners and their South African peers as certain kinds of people. At this point Claire and her peers can state that they belong to a certain social category because the way we use language may be associated with a certain group of people. What can be said at this point is that identity cannot

be fully known because it is a moving target, constantly shifting and evolving and its meaning depends not on internally defined states, but on a lot of external meanings: those of other people, of the context, culture, ideology (Schilling-Estes, 2004).

In relation to this study, immigrant children's identity construction proceeds through diverse perspectives which do not necessarily follow developmental stages. The efforts they make to become members of the South African community are revealed through the various ways they construct their identities. The immigrant children understand who they are and this opens the door to acknowledging themselves as significant human beings who need to impact positively upon their immigrant community.

As a result, Claire played the politics of language, which functions to create and maintain a sense of belonging. To play the politics of language implies that one uses language to integrate into a given community. For example, if using English and local South African languages is the way forward for full membership into the S.A. community, then Claire and fellow immigrant peers are ready to learn so that they can be accepted. In the South African context, lack of proficiency, particularly in English, is a source of prejudice, especially for immigrants who seek for acceptance in their host country (Durkin, 2004). Claire exploited the language resources she was exposed to as a means of integrating into the host community, for example, by learning additional languages such as Afrikaans and IsiXhosa. By learning these languages, she and other immigrant children negotiated and constructed their identities.

The more one 'mixes' English with local languages, the more one is bound to be an accepted member of the new space. This supports the view that identity construction emerges through complex social interactions and is affected by power differentials that place constraints on the kinds of identities language learners can construct (Rajadurai, 2010). Translanguaging thus holds potential for immigrant language brokers by enabling them to move between languages as they adapt to the new environment (Hornberger, & Link, 2012). Makelela (2015) claims that using a large linguistic repertoire which is at the students' disposal is important for identity formation; that is, it affects the choice concerning who one is and who one becomes. Instead of separating the self and the other, translanguaging gives room for both and legitimizes their interrelationship to advance the acquisition of new knowledge.

Other scholars such as Canagarajah (2013), Madiba (2014) and Makalela (2015) claim that language practices involve complex communicative strategies including crossing, code-meshing, polyglot dialogue, plurilingualism etc. The terms crossing, code-meshing, polyglot

dialogue and plurilingualism all refer to having a command of more than one language and being able to switch between the various languages. The only difference is that in addition to this characteristic, code-crossing happens mostly in languages that are stigmatized, languages that are thought not to 'belong'. So these scholars suggest that learners should be encouraged to cross between all known languages in multilingual contexts.

This study reveals that immigrant children such as Claire were ready to use any language that was necessary in the situation(s) they encountered. It appears that such children understand that in order to survive in their new host country, they need to communicate properly by using the different languages they may be able to acquire.

Literature shows that besides the parent-child relationships and feelings that result from language brokering, identity construction is also a critical issue among immigrant children (Orellana, 2009). Love (2007) highlights that clashes might be apparent between the children and the new culture in which the child is immersed. The culture-clash is particularly strong with adolescents who serve as language brokers. In support of this assertion, research into bilingual Latino 5th graders in America has brought to light that children who serve as language brokers might feel caught up between two cultures (Weisskirch & Alva, 2002).

Identity can never be separated from language, and literature shows that identity is constructed through sameness and difference (Hall, 2000). Hall (2000) goes on to state that the same power of promoting difference embodied by language can also serve to exclude others (Hall, 2000). Simultaneously, languages function as "points of identification and attachment and carry the capacity to exclude, to leave out, and to render outside" (Hall, 2000, p. 17). Bucholtz, M. & Hall, K. (2005) claim that language changes one's identity and this identity is shaped by different forms in which one uses language. This implies that one's relations and positions in the communities are defined, to a great extent, by the language one uses. Thus even language is not a fixed concept.

5.4.5 Residential space

One of the participants in this study – Helen – had lived in a "black" township in Cape Town (Nyanga) and had great fear with regard to what language to use in different spaces. She explained in her interview how she and her family were attacked by South Africans in 2008 when she was only eight years old:

It was our second year in South Africa and my parents could only afford to rent a house at the location as it was cheaper. I was six years old and the school I enrolled in was a Xhosa one...there was an English school, but my parents preferred sending me to the Xhosa one because we were living in their location... most of the time my parents would encourage me to speak IsiXhosa so that I could be identified with the Xhosa kids...they said it was better that way so that they could consider me as one of them...My mother would take me along when she wanted to buy foodstuff because she once expressed herself in the little English she knew and it was not accepted by the black South Africans...

(Helen, interview, 30/06/2016)

This excerpt illustrates an earlier point that although English is viewed as possessing economic power in South Africa, in many places especially townships, those who adopt English as the main medium of communication are perceived as outsiders to the community (Rudwick, 2008). Helen's parents had enrolled her in a Xhosa-speaking school since they were living in a township. This allowed them to negotiate their identity in a Xhosa-speaking community. So because Helen's mother used English there it was not well received.

Helen explained, that her mother expressed herself in English and "it was not accepted by the black South Africans". This is so because this community of South Africans appear to imagine that anyone who identifies him/herself as an English-speaker is projecting an attachment to 'whiteness'. Hence Helen experienced rejection by speaking English in a predominantly Xhosa-speaking area.

It is important to point out that in South Africa, the dynamics of language revolve around a colonial history of dominance, power and class positions, all embodied in the English language (Achebe, 2006; Alexander, 2004). Even if some people can speak English, they are

reluctant to use it because of its association with historical power. The fear of continuous xenophobic attitudes highlighted by Helen's mother in the foregoing excerpt indicates that some people have to distance themselves from English or their home languages as these are both associated with victimization and in the worst cases, physical attacks. The continuous experience of xenophobic attitudes in many ways creates a fear of speaking or being associated with languages that are not South African vernaculars as these languages are always stigmatized.

Helen's experience might be attributed to the forced regime in Cape Town. Dubow (1989) explains that segregation became an important feature of Capetonian society between 1875 and 1902. Over time Africans came to live in various parts of Cape Town's suburbs and on the slopes of Table Mountain. They were living mainly in Horstely Street in District Six and barracks at the docks. Other Africans rented plots, owned homes and settled informally in Windemere (now Kensington) amongst "coloured" and "Asian" people. Africans were perceived as immoral, indecent, dangerous, criminal and a health hazard that threatened the well-being of the city. These stereotypes were reinforced by general debates in scientific racism and a desire to push Africans out of the city to create space for the expansion of "white" suburbs (Swartz, 2009).

Further to this history, Cell (1982) notes that the passing of the Native Reserve Location Act in 1902 gave impetus to the racial segregation of Africans resident in Cape Town. Under the Act portions of land in urban areas were allocated for the settlement of Africans in locations outside areas of "white" settlement. The Act made it compulsory for Africans to live in Ndabeni unless they were registered voters or had received permission to reside outside the location. As a result some Africans who were discriminated against have harboured a hatred for "the white race" and everything else white, including English (Malherbe, 2006). Segregation in South Africa encompassed many different social relationships. This is why some black South Africans expect other black Africans to speak local African languages, irrespective of their place of origin. In this regard, immigrants, both young and old are bound to learn one of the local South African languages to be fully integrated into the South African community, especially in the black townships.

Data reveals that the Home Affairs Department is another popular space where language brokering by immigrant children took place. This is so because most immigrants, both old and young struggle with English or other local South African languages and find it difficult to

communicate with the Home Affairs officers and guards. Claire explained how she served as a language broker for her friend's father and other immigrants at the Home Affairs offices thus:

My friend Dieudonne's father had to go to the Home Affairs to renew his expired paper and I opted to help explain things to the refugee officer ...I told the officer that I was going to interpret and if it was possible for her to go slower and she said yes, that it wasn't a problem...There were many other immigrants from Congo, Cameroon, Rwanda, who asked me the favour to help them also explain things to the refugee officers...I found myself translating from Swahili to French, from English to the different languages I could manage...Even my friend's father only understood later on our way back home that I pleaded on his behalf for the lateness to renew the Asylum paper...I couldn't explain anything to him there because I was helping many other immigrants...

(Claire, interview, 24/05/2016)

Claire's multilingual skills are a resource to the immigrant community because she is able to plead on behalf of her friend's father and at the same, she brokers for other immigrants from different countries. This sheds light on the power of mediation and multilingualism through language brokering. It is in this light that Garcia (2008) suggests that multilingual learners should be encouraged to reflect and draw on their rich store of language information and skills in order to facilitate the learning of English.

Research indicates that immigrants' communication problems can often be attributed to a lack of understanding of culturally different communicative styles and native speakers' negative preconceptions of English, rather than to English proficiency (BardoviHarlig, 2001; Kasper, 2001; Rose, 2005; Rose & Kasper, 2001).

The Home Affairs Department is one of the most popular domains for language brokering because immigrants normally have to be sure of the status of their various permits as it is not advisable to stay in a country illegally. Immigrants in South Africa come mainly from other African countries with different home languages and most of them do not understand English and other South African languages which are widely used at the Home Affairs offices. Therefore, language brokering is always necessary.

In most cases, immigrant children who have acquired English skills act as language brokers for their parents and other immigrants in need. In the case of miscommunication there could be serious consequences that could include arrest or being repatriated as an illegal immigrant. That explains why in the last excerpt, Claire pleaded with the Home Affairs officer “to go slower” so that she could interpret correctly for the other immigrants.

Furthermore, Claire explained in her personal narrative how she had mediated between some immigrant women and a taxi driver. Her experiences corroborate her interview utterances reported earlier. The following excerpt is extracted from her personal narrative and concerns her role as mediator.

...Two Congolese women and one Cameroonian lady...heard them speak French. I decided to explain to them in French what the taxi driver meant and I also tried explaining to the driver that they didn't understand. He even shouted more and said, 'ay these 'kwerekwere'... I was caught between two angry groups of people and each wanted me to explain to the other what was being said... I tried to bring peace by not using the same angry words that were meant by each group of people

(Claire, personal narrative, 06/06/2016)

In this excerpt Claire offers voluntary assistance by being a language broker for her fellow immigrants. It confirms what the literature says about the strategies immigrant children use in complex language brokering events. Child language brokers often play significant roles that influence the desired outcomes. In other words, they do not remain passive in language brokering situations (Bauer 2010; Hall & Guéry 2010; Shannon 1990) but bring about social understanding through communication, and connect people from diverse backgrounds.

Claire's narrative highlights the understanding that volunteer work, with its symbolism of altruism, provides a sense of social worth and connectedness to one's community. Also, through her contribution she projects the role of voluntary brokering which enhances a sense of belonging and solidarity across differences. She draws upon an alternative discourse of social worth and contribution that challenges the discourses of dependency which would position her as a non-contributory member of the community (Fuller et al. 2008, p. 163).

Fuller, Kernshaw & Pulkingham (2008: 163) argue that volunteer labour provides an arena for demonstrating social worthiness within discourses of active citizenship. In the case of

language brokering, volunteers believe that they are contributing to society by giving something free of cost to others.

Interestingly, Claire ‘tried to bring peace’ by not giving the exact translation of what each party was telling her. She decided to give an interpretation that she found more peaceable so as to solve the problem between two parties that arose due to the language barrier.

This is in keeping with research which shows that language brokers may be selective about the information they translate, especially for their parents (DeMent & Buriel, 1999). For example, a number of children who translated notes from school for their parents often omitted information that was negative (DeMent & Buriel, 1999). Although this may call into question the accuracy of language brokers, we can only speculate that children are omitting this type of information because they do not want to hurt or cause shame to their parents or other immigrants they are helping.

The social exclusion of immigrants in different spaces such as public transport explains the fear that immigrants often have in a new country. Being "othered" through the language one speaks becomes a significant marker of exclusion. The derogatory term “*kwerekwere*” has largely been used to refer to non-South African Africans residing in South Africa (Tafira, 2011). They are singled out for ridicule and abuse by some "black" South Africans (Nixon, 2001).

The term “*Kwerekwere*” is part of the South African history and it is also intertwined with language, making it complex to deduce its origins (Tafira, 2011). In attempting to deconstruct this derogatory term, Khanya (2008), comments that the term originates from the colonial times in South Africa when the Dutch found the local people in South Africa and called them by a Greek name “*varvari*”, a term associated with barbarians. Apart from the barbarism, the term also signified the sound of the click that the Hottentots pronounced and which was strange to the Dutch. This was because “to the Greek ears, they brayed ‘bah bahs’ in unintelligible tongues. In the same way South Africans claim to hear ‘*kwerekwere*’ when migrants open their tongues” (Nixon, 2001, p.30). Therefore, the term “*kwerekwere*” carries connotations both of an uncivilized nature and of the sounds of a foreign language. Francis Nyamnjoh (2006, p. 49) affirms this by stating that, “*kwerekwe*” are individuals who are dark, invasive barbarians or stutterers who must be confined to the fringes.

It is important to note that language, African origin (darkness) and perceived barbarism are all intertwined to exclude people with these perceived traits. The inability to speak local

languages in South Africa not only serves as a signifier of origin but also in some cases, a marker that one is a “*kwerekwere*” (Gordon, 2010) and, therefore, is incapable of articulating local languages that epitomise economic success and power (Nyamjoh, 2010, p. 65).

This makes brokering in the South African context an important strategy for concealing identity in spoken language. It often occurs that parents and other family members who have limited proficiency in local languages require children to mediate for them in spaces where they might be labelled “*kwerekwere*” with all the negative connotations that inhere in this term.

In contemplating this reality Muchiri (2012) explains that after decades of isolation from the rest of the African continent and the world, during apartheid, South Africa finally opened up to the rest of world in 1994. At the dawn of the “new South Africa” in 1994, the country became a home to many outsiders as it offers protection and refuge to people who have suffered unfavourable conditions in their home countries. However, the term ‘foreigner’ in South Africa has usually been attributed only to African and Asian non-nationals. As noted earlier other foreigners, particularly those from the Americas and Europe go unnoticed, as they are often referred to as ‘tourists’. This may be attributed to the fact that South Africans consider immigrants from other African countries as being too African, too black as Valji (2013) puts it.

Claire also writes about another instance of language brokering in the hospital, where her language brokering aimed at “effecting desired outcomes”:

...while waiting for my auntie, there was this Congolese lady who just had her baby...the nurse asked why the baby seemed so thirsty...*did u breastfeed this baby?* ...but the communication wasn't going through as the lady kept stirring at her and talking to herself...Realising she was Congolese, I explained to her ...*elle demande si vous avez allaité le bébé* then the nurse sighed and said...*how long has she been in Mzantsi that one?since you speak the same language, tell her to breastfeed the baby well instead of thinking it's a stomach ache*...I didn't like what she said, but I was tired of all the negative energy, so when the Congolese lady smiled and asked me what the nurse said, I decided just to maintain the fact that she was insisting she breastfeeds the child more...

(Claire, personal narrative, 06/06/2016)

In the last excerpt there are elements of stigmatization, discrimination and othering. The nurse seemed to not accept the fact that her Congolese patient could not speak English or any other South African language to ease communication between them. Hence she asked how long the Congolese woman had spent in South Africa. Referring to her patient as “that one” seems to be an “othering” comment. Claire displayed maturity as she did not convey the negative information to the Congolese woman, but ensured that she was offered assistance. This aligns with the literature which presents children as manipulating or censoring information in an effort to protect their parents from ‘discrimination’ and ‘humiliation’, while ensuring that they received adequate services and support (Orellana, 2009; Valdés et al., 2003).

The analysed data also shows that another social domain in which language brokering takes place more often is the market or shops, where there are people from different cultural backgrounds. In her interview Belleange explained how she used to accompany her mother to do shopping so that she could help with her brokering skills where necessary.

Mama doesn't like going to the shops or the market without me because sometimes even to ask for what she needs, she would not know the word in English...I make things easier for her when I go shopping with her because she would communicate very well through me to others...

(Belleange, interview, 20/04/2016)

This excerpt shows that the parent relies on her daughter as the latter could speak on her behalf. Literature shows how young language brokers like Belleange take on complex and challenging adult-like responsibilities and influence decisions that affect the entire family (Tse, 1995b). In this case, role reversal is a consequence of language brokering. Parent-child relationships can become skewed when children are involved in family decisions where the parents depend on their advice, guidance and ultimately decision-making (Umaña-Taylor, 2003). But in the case of my study, young language brokers state they established stronger and more trusting relationships with their parents through language brokering.

Similarly, in an interview with Pierre, he explained how he had helped his mother communicate easily by translating for her in the shop.

There was this day my mother was hosting dad's colleagues at home and had to do shopping...She asked me to make a list of things she enumerated in

French...I wrote them down in English and gave the list to her, but she insisted we go shopping together because of her level of English...

(Pierre, interview, 28/06/2016)

Apart from the fact that a child language broker can become more mature when brokering for a parent, language brokering enhances the development of higher cognitive abilities, which allows the children to increase their linguistic talents and improve their social and interpersonal skills (DeMent & Buriel, 1999; Halgunseth, 2003; McQuillan & Tse, 1995; Tse, 1995a, 1996a; Walinchowski, 2001). Children often interact in an adult context which requires the use of advanced vocabulary and cognitive abilities (Acoach & Webb, 2004). This can be seen in the foregoing excerpt as Pierre develops writing skills when he makes a list of things to be bought.

Apart from social and other public domains such as hospitals, markets, etc. immigrant children in this study also acted as language brokers for other immigrant children who had communication problems due to low proficiency in English. This occurred inside and outside the school.

5.4.6 Schools as sites of language brokering

Although brokering in schools has been looked at in the literature, it is still mostly confined to brokering between parents and teachers (Prokopiou, Cline & Crafter, 2013; Cline, 2014). It barely looks at brokering among students and teachers.

In this study there is a concern about the well-being of learners who could not speak English and other local South African languages. This necessitated the intervention of a language broker. The analyzed data shows that immigrant children brokered between teachers and parents, between learners and teachers and also between learners themselves as discussed below.

As discussed in chapter 4, I observed the learners' intervention outside the classrooms. For example, I observed Belleange with her peers as she interacted with two new immigrant children from the same country she hails from namely, the Congo. I observed that she acted as a bodyguard and ambassador to make the life of the new immigrant children easier. Every time she noticed they could not play freely with the other kids because they could not speak their language, she would intervene. She would use Swahili where necessary to explain

things to her immigrant peers. In one instance, I heard her explaining to a fellow immigrant learner that:

“avocado” is the same as the “avocat” and that if the teacher says “shut up” in class, they must not feel bad as it is a normal way of saying “silence”. I smiled at her because she seemed smart for her age. Whenever she walked passed me, she would say “Bonjour, tantine”, meaning “Good morning, Aunty”.

On the playground, I would also hear Belleange sometimes saying a word in Afrikaans or IsiXhosa, depending on who she was addressing. This was reflective of her own neighbourhood where she communicated with South African kids in various mother tongues. This portrayed Belleange as a multicultural and multilingual child with good capabilities as a language broker in different spaces.

Similarly Claire, who was older than Belleange brokered for her peers at school. She described her experience when she arrived in South Africa when she was just eight years old:

...I could only speak and understand Lingala. I met a friend in my class who noticed I didn't understand what the teacher used to say... She also could speak and understand Lingala as her parents were from Congo too. She would explain things the teacher said in Lingala and give me the English words.

(Claire, interview, 24/05/2016)

From this excerpt, it can be deduced that language is a tool by which to access knowledge in the teaching-learning process. Claire also explained how she acted as a language broker for one of her school friends:

Like in middle school year, one of my friends just came in from Congo and she didn't know any English. She used to be my friend back at home, in Congo, even our parents were friends. But we left them and travelled to South Africa. Now, when she just arrived South Africa, I was better in English. So I had to help her. Like in the first day of school, I helped her see the whole school, see the classes and help her say like how to go to the restroom and the important stuff, like how to get her lunch. When we were going on excursion I insisted on taking the same bus with her, so if she didn't understand anything, I could go and help her. My company could help her learn to communicate with others in South Africa

(Claire, interview, 24/05/2016)

I also noticed that Dieudonne, though he was in Grade six, used to interact a lot during lunch and after school with Claire who was in Grade ten. He explained to me that Claire used to encourage him to feel free to ask her for explanations each time he had difficulties, whether in school or out of school.

Vygotsky's Sociocultural Theory which is discussed in detail in Chapter 3 is useful for understanding Dieudonne's and Claire's interactions. This theory states that with collaboration and direction, the learner is always able to do more and solve more difficult tasks (Vygotsky, 1978). Claire was able to provide Dieudonne with "scaffolding" to support his learning and understanding of English (L2). In this case, scaffolding, which often occurs within the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD) can be considered as a form of tutorial support between Claire and Dieudonne.

Dieudonne displayed low self-esteem. He saw himself as being "less than" his South African schoolmates. This could be understood in terms of language and inferiority complex which could affect one's identity construction. In his narrative he explained how much work he needed to put in so that he could help his immigrant family and friends with confidence.

...Je reconnais parfaitement mon origine et ce donc nous avons besoin pour être confortable dans notre pays d'accueil. Je ne veux pas tromper mes parents où quelqu'un d'autre, et je ne peux aussi pas confirmer mieux m'exprimer en IsiXhosa, en langue Anglaise, en Afrikaans où être capable de traduire parfaitement à mes parents où à d'autre personnes. De jour en jour, je vois comment les étrangers comme moi même sont traités lorsqu'ils ne parviennent pas à bien s'exprimer en Anglais. Parfois lorsque mon père me demande de lui traduire quelque chose donc moi-même je ne maîtrise pas parfaitement, je fais recours à mon amie qui amise un peu plus de temps dans ce pays. Elle s'exprime mieux en Anglais que moi et comprend parfaitement Swahili, la langue avec laquelle mon papa communique parfaitement

(Dieudonne, personal narrative, 30/05/2016)

"...I know exactly where I'm coming from and what we need to get comfortable in our host country. I don't want to lie to my own people or any other person. I cannot say I already know IsiXhosa, English language or

Afrikaans to be able to translate perfectly to my father and other people. I see how immigrants are being mocked every day when they cannot speak English well. Sometimes when my father asks for something I cannot help explain very well to him, I call my friend who has been here long before me (she knows English better and understands Swahili in which my father communicates very well). This friend does a better job as a language broker than me...I want to improve first, and then I'll be able to help my family and other immigrants

(Researcher's translation, 29/06/2016)

In this personal narrative, Dieudonne brings out the element of stigmatization of non-English speaking immigrants because of their inability to speak English well. This data clearly shows that English is regarded as the dominant language for communication in the South African context. Its status is acquired at the expense of other languages. The data that follows illustrates the hegemony of English.

5.4.7 English hegemony and language brokering

As discussed in the second chapter, in scientific publications and academic exchange there is an increasing number of papers expressing concern over the dominance of English (for instance, Ammon 2000; 2006; Flowerdew 2000; 2001; Canagarajah 2002; Carli & Ammon 2007).

In South Africa, speakers of Indigenous African Languages (IALs) consider English to be indispensable for economic emancipation. Despite this, only a small percentage of the population is adequately competent in the language. Moreover, the status of English as a global language and its reputation as the language of socio-economic advancement has been reported by researchers as being an enticing incentive for parents to opt for English for their children (Chetty, 2012). Despite many years of colonial independence and the numerous policies drafted, mother-tongue education remains an ideal undertaking that has not been achieved, and English continues to dominate in formal sectors such as education.

Therefore it is important to look at English dominance in South Africa as this country is a host to a number of immigrants and refugees. The aim is to uncover how English dominates amongst immigrant children and parents who tend to see no social and economic value in their languages in South Africa.

Claire explained how proud she was to be a better language broker for her fellow immigrants who just arrived in South Africa. She proudly stated that she had helped her father consider the idea of going back to school:

There are some immigrant students in my class who still face difficulties in English. I help them most often and we study together after school. We decided to use neither French nor Lingala nor Swahili, but rather to use English everywhere so we can better our level...

(Claire, interview, 24/05/2016)

Language is one of the most important components of culture because through it culture can be defined, shaped and eventually handed down to the next generation (Brothy, 2012). Language is an essential part of being since it is an exclusively human attribute which allows people to communicate and thus distinguishes them from animals.

In this study, immigrant children pay more attention to English because they and other immigrants need to be part of the South African community where English is the dominant language in education. De wet (2002) confirms this fact. He explains that English is considered to be the ruling language in trade, industry and education and that it is seen as being indispensable for economic emancipation (De wet, 2002). That is why Claire, together with other immigrant children in her school decided to learn English at the expense of other home languages so that they could survive in economic domains in South Africa. The fact that Claire and her immigrant friends decided to use English and not French, Lingala or Swahili, attests to English dominance in the country. They decided to learn to use English.

Through learning to use English, they are negotiating and constructing their new identities. Claire and her fellow immigrant peers believe that studying “together” could improve their English proficiency and could help them to be part of the new community; and using “English everywhere” will help them learn faster. In other words, adequate exposure to English will facilitate their English language acquisition.

In a similar vein Pierre explains the importance of English for him and his family in South Africa:

...it is not long since I started speaking English. However I prefer using English all the time, even at home, so that I can be a master and be able to

explain things to my family members, particularly my grandmother who came a year ago...

(Pierre, interview, 28/06/2016)

This excerpt shows Pierre's desire for mastery of English for a particular purpose, which is to help his family members, especially his grandmother. He believes that "using English all the time" will help him improve his English proficiency. Pierre explains why he would prefer making more effort to learn English than other languages:

Being able to speak different languages (Bassa, French and English) make me to change depending on where I am and who I talk to. Although I speak three languages, I put more effort in English because it will permit me help my family member and friends who cannot communicate well in South Africa. In Cameroon I used to speak just Bassa and French

(Pierre, interview, 28/06/2016)

Throughout my observations in and out of school, Pierre played mostly with "coloured and white" classmates. He believed that these children knew English better than his "black" peers (both South African and immigrant). History repeats itself here as the English language is being seen as a language of the "whites" and some "coloured" South Africans only. In the following excerpt, it can be deduced that Pierre regarded English as a "white" language:

In Cameroon, my family is purely Francophone and my parents always say you must follow the dominant group to succeed... I only started taking English serious here in South Africa because my parents said it's the dominant language used everywhere. In school and in my neighbourhood, only the white and some coloured kids use English regularly...the black kids and most immigrant kids use their mother tongues and interact with people from their ethnic groups. My English is better because I interact with the white kids and my father works with mostly whites in the movie industry. So even the gatherings we go to, English is used. When I help my mother or others who don't understand English, I give them the best and I am confident...it's just that sometimes also some of my fellow immigrants and black South Africans think I'm showing off by speaking English and making friends with white kids ...

(Pierre, personal narrative, 01/09/2016)

Again, an aspect of segregation is brought up as Pierre interacts with “white kids” and his father works with “mostly whites in the movie industry”. McBrayer, David & Hickson (2010) claim that the state’s determination to control how South Africa was portrayed and perceived on screen during apartheid extended to the film industry. Ashworth (2004) explains that during this period, film content was closely monitored and resulted in films being described as mostly bland and racist. This notion of white supremacy is still visible in the film industry although most of the films have aided South Africa’s transition because they show that the country is making progress towards integration (Ashworth, 2011). This explains why Pierre emphasizes the fact that his father’s colleagues in the film industry are mostly whites. And because his parents believe the whites speak better English, they prefer their son to associate only with the white kids.

Many parents like Pierre’s, have chosen English as the language of prestige and high status. In other words, the hegemony of English is increasing in post-apartheid South Africa and the rest of the world. This has put enormous pressure – on parents to choose instruction in English for their children, and on schools to provide English language instruction from as early as possible (de Klerk, 2000; Kamwangamalu, 2003; Setati, 2008; Makoe & McKinney, 2014).

Interview data showed that children's language brokering does not only increase the desire to learn English, but potentially also strengthens parental relationships with their children. For example, Belleange was like a friend to her mother. From as young as seven she brokered for her mother and her immigrant peers who needed help. She displayed great maturity in her interaction with her mother.

My mom, she is my best friend. She makes me laugh with her English. I always like to correct her because she encourages me a lot and speaks so well of me. Even though she is my mom, she does not get angry with me when I correct her poor English. Many people have noticed us going to the shops and market together and some call us *friends indeed*

(Belleange, interview, 20/04/2016)

When immigrant children were asked to write their language brokering stories this made them think of events they had experienced. The exercise thus elicited an expression of

identity and cultural trace (Squire, 2005) as the identity of child brokers is influenced by their environment, their parents' own identities and events in their current context. Hence the exercise confirmed that narratives are the most convenient means of gathering information about experiences.

In this study the narrative space allowed immigrant children and their parents to project their voice, to tell their own stories about their experiences. These experiences, also noted in Latinos in the United States of America (Tse, 1995; Weisskirch & Alva, 2002; Orellana, 2003) are sometimes referred to as emergency narratives, in which the voices of the immigrant children and their families are recognized.

The multilingual skills which some immigrant children possess give them access to many spaces not just linguistically but also culturally. These provide acceptance in other language groups making it easier for the children to blend in. However, the immigrant children are also sensitive to the rejection resulting from the use of their home language as well as the use of a colonial language, English. They react by beginning to reject their own home languages. Interestingly, English is also rejected in some spaces. As Helen responds in her interview:

There are some other places that you can't speak English coz if you speak English they will hate you. You can see even the way they look at you, they are not happy, they are not happy with the language because if you are speaking, some they even ignore you...

(Helen, interview, 30/06/2016)

In attempting to mask their identity to blend into those spaces, children serving as brokers are trying to obey rules that govern language to gain acceptance in the host community. Helen explains:

I always change to suit the situation whenever my parents go out...I would speak IsiXhosa as if I was born Xhosa and my parents sometimes wonder how I learnt so well and fast...

(Helen, interview, 30/06/2016)

It appears that official and social spaces like hospitals present children with brokering opportunities as they have to serve as mediators where immigrants struggle to receive

services due to their limited ability to speak local languages. Crush & Towodzera (2014) affirm the need for brokers in these spaces to receive better service.

The story of discrimination affected Helen's life so negatively that years later the fear could still be seen in her. During my observations she could be seen avoiding most of her Congolese classmates who like herself spoke Lingala. Her Congolese friend (Claire) was more open with everyone. On one occasion Claire spoke to her in Lingala, and she quickly pulled her into a corner and said: "wena (you), you don't listen..." Helen seemed to be confused about which language to use as she spoke more IsiXhosa than English while interacting with her South African friends.

It is worth noting that children serving as brokers are provided with an identity of their own by acquiring a new local language. Children language brokers are active participants in this regard and therefore view language brokering as an enhancement of the self. The idea of "whiteness" seems to be one of the elements most resisted in blacks by other blacks in South Africa. It seems that the use of English in conversation with other blacks in social domains is perceived as suggestive of "white superiority, high class or whiteness."

Helen's position was expressed clearly in her personal narrative where she explained that she would use to the fullest the advantage she had as a multilingual and multicultural individual. She explained that she had learnt to be very cautious towards South Africans because she and her family were victimized despite the fact that they tried being peaceful. She went on to say that English language dominance can never be ignored:

...whether we like it or not, the South Africans will always recognise us as foreigners...whether we learn to speak their language or not, it's the same...I understand and speak Portuguese, English, Lingala, French, IsiXhosa and some Afrikaans. It's to my advantage to express myself in all these languages. But I know that English is the most important because it's global...

...I want to use more of English that can help me everywhere in the world. I'm always going to be proud of my African languages, but for me to succeed internationally, I need English language. I am glad to be useful to my fellow immigrants as I can express myself in many languages.

(Helen, personal narrative, 20/08/2016)

It is clear that Helen, like Claire, understands the benefits of multilingualism. She is “proud” of her African languages, but also understands that gaining more proficiency in English will take her to greater heights around the world.

Most immigrant children like Helen are obliged to rescue their immigrant friends and families from humiliation, by offering brokering services whenever and wherever needed. Helen, in her narrative, mentioned one occasion in which she helped her aunt find accommodation. She explained that just because her aunt could not speak a local language, everywhere she called to search for accommodation, she got a negative response. Then there was an IsiXhosa-speaking lady who had a room at her place. Her aunt told her the woman was speaking only IsiXhosa. So Helen decided to speak the woman's local language (IsiXhosa), and once she started with: "Molo (Hello)...Kunjani (How are you?) ...Ndifuna igumbi (I'm looking for a room) ...Enkosi (Thank you) ..." there was a place available for rent. What Claire expressed in her personal narrative could be regarded as a way of embracing language diversity and integration in South Africa.

5.5 Parents' experiences of children's language brokering

In this section I focus on parents' experiences of children as language brokers. As discussed in the previous chapter, during the interviews parents of the immigrant children were asked to explain their views and experiences of their children as language brokers. In answer to this question all three interviewed parents expressed pride in their children who were brokering for them. Two parents said that they would continue to ask their children to be language brokers for them because through that process they could learn English and more about the cultural developments in South Africa. Madam Bijoux expresses her curiosity about the host country's cultural development:

My English isn't so bad like before because I learn from my child everyday...I ask to do home work together with her when her home teacher is helping...I tell myself “this is gonna help me learn also new things about the culture and people of South Africa because my child is going to school and bringing new information every day.” (Madam Bijoux, interview, 28/02/2016)

The same parent (Madam Bijoux) expressed her happiness at having a child who could be her personal language broker at any time. She had become a learner herself as she put it, “I learn

from my child everyday”. She wanted to encourage her daughter, Claire, to be her language broker so that she could gain more confidence and feel comfortable in South Africa.

A similar study by Roche et al. (2014) maintains that language brokering actually has a positive impact on families as the immigrant children gain self-efficacy and feel more confident. The child's responsibility as a language broker is espoused in literature and it is linked to role reversal (Orellana, 2009) as the children mediate for parents or other people. This is a shift in roles as the parents are supposed to play the role of brokers for their children in learning languages in a new country. Instead, parents ask questions from children who perform the brokering task. This positions the child at the adult end of the knowledge continuum, thus reversing the traditional roles of parents and children. Moreover, the child speaks for the parent even in social scenarios (Weisskirch, 2005), thus acquiring power and authority over their parents.

Some parents also expressed pride in their children’s multilingual capabilities. For example, Madam Bijoux is proud of her child and has high expectations of her. She expresses herself thus:

My daughter is gonna be a star, you know she can speak Afrikaans, IsiXhosa and English very well. I’m not forgetting our home language Lingala. I’m so proud of her! Even when I speak English to my Congolese sisters and friends, they wonder where and how I learnt that, but all is thanks to my intelligent daughter. Because of her I also know a few things in Afrikaans and IsiXhosa, you know I come across different people every day. It is because her that my husband has decided to go again to school. He says the future is very bright for us here in South Africa because not only our daughter will get a good job, but he also will get a better job than being a security worker

(Madam Bijoux, interview, 28/02/2016)

This excerpt indicates that language brokering is being associated with success in life as Madam Bijoux uses expressions as such “My daughter...(becoming) a star” and displays pride in her daughter’s multilingual abilities: “She can speak Afrikaans, IsiXhosa and English”.

Again, multilingualism and language brokering are associated with high levels of intelligence and better socio-economic opportunities, “My intelligent daughter”, “Future is bright”, our

daughter will get a good job”. This aligns with Hall & Sham’s (2007) work with Chinese adolescents in England. Their findings show that for these children the language brokering activities they undertook were not only complex and demanding but made a significant economic contribution to family life.

Madam Bijoux recounts during the interview that teachers requested her permission for her daughter to serve as a language broker:

When other immigrant kids arrived like they did, that they came only knowing Lingala, Swahili or French, the teachers have asked my daughter (Claire) for help so that she can show them the school, teach them how to ask for lunch, help them with their English. Because one time one of her teachers sent us a letter asking us if she could help them and I asked her if she want to do it, I mentioned to her those kids are feeling the same way you did when you started school and that was a motivation for her to help, and if she helps others besides us that is good for her

(Madam Bijoux, interview, 28/02/2016)

Unlike Madam Bijoux, Madam Marina faced more difficulties in English than her friend. She revealed that her daughter (Belleange) used to watch certain English television programmes even while they were still in Congo. Belleange could understand English even if she was not as proficient as children born in an English-speaking country. So from the moment they arrived in South Africa, Madam Marina expected her daughter to play the role of a language broker for her whenever there was a need. Although Madam Marina seemed to be experiencing many challenges in English, she also expresses pride in her daughter:

Je ne parle toujours pas bien l'anglais, alors je compte vraiment sur ma fille, même si son père dit que ça dérange ses études ... J'ai du mal à communiquer parce que je n'ai jamais fait l'anglais auparavant. À la maison et même ici, je parle Lingala avec des gens à qui je suis habitué ... Mais je sais que de temps à autre, quelques mots de ma fille en anglais vous aideront.

(Madam Marina, interview, 12/01/2016)

I don't still speak English well, so I really rely on my daughter though her father says it disturbs her studies...I find it difficult to communicate because I have never done English before. At home and even here, I speak Lingala with

people I'm used to... But I know picking a few words from my daughter in English from time to time will help me.

(Researcher's translation, 03/03/2016)

Madam Marina reports her feelings about having her daughter interpret or translate for her:

Eh bien pour moi, c'est une grande aide, car si elle n'était pas là avec moi, je me sentirais muette, je serai silencieuse dans ce pays ; Ce serait comme avoir une langue et une bouche mais pas capable de parler

(Madam Marina, interview, 12/01/2016)

Well for me it's a great help because if she wasn't here with me, I would feel mute, I will be muted in this country; it would be like having a tongue and mouth but not able to speak

(Researcher's translation, 03/03/2016)

This excerpt agrees with the literature that claims children 'give voice' to their parents in formal and informal situations where parents are not able to express themselves or they lack the linguistic tools to do so (Bauer, 2013). For example, Bauer's (2013) participant, Rosa (Mexican) described her role as 'caring responsibility' and one in which she derived 'a nice feeling to be able to offer that type of support and help to [her parents] who were quite vulnerable, marginalized and don't have a voice'. In the same way, Belleange's mother, Madam Marina felt that it was because of her daughter that she had a voice: "If she wasn't here...I would feel mute".

An interesting point about Madam Marina's and Madam Bijoux's experiences is the maintenance of home language. Even though they encouraged their children to learn English, they continued to use their home languages with their families and friends. Madam Bijoux says, "I'm not forgetting our home language Lingala" and Madam Marina said, "I speak Lingala with people I'm used to".

Within these interactions parents may hand over power to children who serve as brokers through acculturation. This happens as they try to learn more about the language from the child. Since acculturation is ongoing, immigrant parents may still utilize their children as language brokers, even when the parents' understanding of the new language is sufficient. This could result in redundancy in understanding (Valdés et al. 2003). In this situation,

parents often use language brokering to further their acculturation by verifying and confirming the communication.

According to Weisskirch (2010) the need for acculturation and survival may require of parents that they become innovative and more flexible about family structures in order to guarantee success for the family.

In this study children play a pivotal role in the families as they were the main facilitators of acculturation for their parents and other family members. The safety of the home was used as a place in which to teach parents and siblings about South African cultures and languages as seen in some of the children's interview responses and personal narratives referred to in the previous section.

The immigrant children played a role in reducing their parents' anxieties about learning to speak South African local languages. In this sense, acculturation was facilitated by children in the home environments. However, Mr. Abel felt bad that his son acted as language broker. He said that he would save some money so that he could take extra English classes because sometimes he felt he was over-working his son, Dieudonne. Interestingly, Dieudonne had expressed frustration and stress in brokering for his father. His negative experiences of language brokering are presented in Section 5.4. Dieudonne's father expresses himself as follows:

Dans mon pays d'origine au Burundi, je communiquais à Kirundi ou au Swahili que je connaissais ... ici en Afrique du Sud, les choses sont différentes. Nous rencontrons parfois d'autres étrangers qui parlent français, mais mon français est très pauvre, vous ne pouvez même pas le comprendre clairement ... mon fils a beaucoup de travail pour me traduire du français au Kirundi, de l'anglais au Kirundi ; c'est trop pour lui. Où je travaille en tant que sécurité, j'ai parfois des problèmes parce que je ne comprends pas l'anglais et même s'ils appellent un autre étranger comme un collègue congolais, je ne communiquerais qu'en swahili, ce qui n'est parfois pas très clair ... Je veux économiser de l'argent et aller de retour à l'école et un jour, je peux également aider d'autres qui sont comme moi

(M. Abel, interview, 03/03/2016)

In my home country Burundi, I used to communicate either in Kirundi or the little Swahili I knew...Here in South Africa, things are different. We sometimes meet other foreigners who speak French, but my French is very poor, you can't even understand it clearly...my son has a lot of work translating things to me from French to Kirundi, from English to Kirundi; it is too much for him.

Where I work as security, I have problems sometimes because I don't understand English and even if they call another foreigner like a Congolese colleague, I would only communicate in Swahili which is sometimes not very clear ...I want to save some money and go back to school and one day I can also help others who are like me (Researcher's translation, Mr. Abel, 03/05/2016)

The notion of the COP was brought up by Mr. Abel as a means of solidarity to settle in a new country. He referred to a meeting with "other foreigners who speak French". It is not unusual that immigrants who speak a common language tend to group themselves together.

Mr. Abel explained how he witnessed the challenges his son faced as a language broker. He remembered the day they arrived in South Africa when his son was forced to start brokering for him. His son was unprepared for this task. Their luggage did not arrive on time and they were asked to present receipts and explain which flight they had taken and at what time they had arrived. Mr Abel described the difficulty Dieudonne experienced in interpreting for him:

C'était notre première fois en Afrique du Sud, nos bagages manquaient et nous étions tous deux en difficulté avec l'anglais. je m'attendais à ce que mon fils soit plus intelligent, à interpréter pour nous, mais il ne pouvait pas interpréter ce que les préposés nous disaient, mais il a fait un visage triste, comme frustré, j'ai remarqué qu'il ne pouvait pas interpréter

(Mr. Abel, interview, 03/03/2016)

It was our first time in South Africa, our luggage was missing and then we were both struggling with English. I expected my son to be smarter, to interpret for us, but he could not interpret what the attendants were telling us, but he made a sad face, like frustrated, I noticed that he was not able to interpret

(Researcher's translation, 25/03/2016)

All three parents encouraged their children to go to school on arrival in South Africa. They felt that educating their children would enable them to adapt easily to South African society and that it would help them to be better prepared for life and get better jobs. Madam Bijoux shares the following:

I know that my children can get a better job here. I know that they can study more here and become better and have a better job than me. The way I see my daughter behaving, I know there is a brighter future ahead for the whole family. (Madam Bijoux, interview, 28/02/2016)

Similarly, Mr. Abel shares his hopes and dreams for his children in the future:

Mon fils peut avoir l'impression que je suis dur pour lui, mais c'est parce que je sais qu'il a besoin d'un exemple pour ses frères et sœurs. Au début, son anglais n'était pas bon, le pire était pire, mais nous y arrivons. Il vaut la peine de continuer et de lutter contre la langue que l'on ne sait pas, il vaut la peine d'avoir des emplois qui nécessitent beaucoup de force physique et nous fatiguer, il vaut le sacrifice que l'on fait pour être loin de son pays d'origine, de sa maison, les personnes auxquelles on a l'habitude de voir et de parler.

(M. Abel, interview, 03/03/2016)

My son may feel I'm being hard on him, but it's because I know he needs to set an example for his siblings. At first his English was not good, mine was worst, but we are getting there. It's worth keep going and fight against the language that one does not know, it is worth having jobs that require a lot of physical strength and make us tired, it is worth the sacrifice that one makes to be away from one's home country, one's home, the people one is accustomed to see and talk to.

(Researcher's translation, 03/05/2016)

Madam Marina who was still struggling with English expressed how her daughter (Belleange) would become an important lady, not only among immigrants, but among South

Africans. She states how her success would make more immigrants feel confident about educating their children in South Africa:

Je veux dire à mon précieux Belleange qu'elle réussira dans cette nouvelle terre, qu'elle nous rendra fière et que les autres enfants immigrés puissent accomplir beaucoup ici, et c'est tout, et je vous félicite parce que vous avez aidé votre les parents, votre mère, et comment vous êtes un modèle pour toute la communauté des immigrants en Afrique du Sud

(Madam Marina, interview, 12/01/2016)

I want to tell my precious Belleange that she will succeed in this new land, that she will make us proud and for the other immigrant kids that they can accomplish a lot here, then, and that's it, and congratulate you because you have helped your parents, your mother, and how you are a role model for the whole immigrant community in South Africa.

(Researcher's translation, 17/01/2017)

Madam Marina tried to learn English but she was not successful. In her case learning from her daughter suggests that the relinquishing of power by the parent to the child in the learning process is positive as it is recounted with nostalgic laughter and excitement. This association with learning a new language supplants the negative feelings of embarrassment, frustration, or anxiety that usually accompany a lack of proficiency in English. Madam Marina's case illustrates the possibility of replacing these feelings with fond memories of togetherness that strengthen unity among families. This is consistent with the literature that emphasizes the transfer of power by the parents for the survival of the family in host countries. It may actually occur as an acculturation strategy that is beneficial to the family (Weisskirch, 2010; Berry, 2007).

The situations in which the child language broker is asked to translate or interpret vary according to domains (Puig 2002). Each situation may require a particular set of skills that the child broker may develop over time, such as the development of a more refined vocabulary and problem-solving abilities (Halgunseth 2003; Walinchowski 2001). It is apparent that children who broker for their parents engage in adult situations that may enhance their cognitive development. For example, Belleange who was just seven years old

took up a mature role in the life of her family members in South Africa. This role could shape her into a responsible adult in the future.

The high or prestigious status of English is clearly recognized by the immigrant families. English is regarded as an asset for socio-economic advancement as highlighted in all the parents' responses by the use of specific markers of success such as "good job", "brighter future", "role model", etc. The immigrant parents' aspirations correspond with the South African parents' view of English as an important asset in their children's lives (Prah, 2005). South African parents, as represented by a democratically elected school governing body, do have the power to choose the language of instruction in a particular school.

However, research shows that many parents go to great lengths to have English as the sole medium of instruction and this is a trend evident in other parts of Africa too (Benson, 2004; Bunyi, 1999; Busch, 2010; Cummins & Hornberger, 2007; De Klerk, 2002; Holmarsdottir, 2005; Maile, 2004; Msila, 2005; Stroud, 2002; 2003; Woolman & Fleisch, 2006; Wolfaardt, 2005; 2010; Wong-Fillmore, 1991).

English is also seen as the language of political and economic liberation (Lombard, 2007; Maile, 2004; Msila, 2005). Clearly, the basis upon which parents make choices with regard to their children's schooling is not simple, but stems from their political history and knowledge of the past as well as the goals that they aspire towards for their children's future. South Africa is not the only multilingual country in the southern African region, nor are its language-in-education policies uniquely problematic (Nkosana, 2011, Mooko, 2009, Papien, 2007; Prah, 2009, Wolfaardt, 2010). Like other African countries, the lure of English is difficult to resist. High levels of proficiency in English persist as "the distributor of power" (Nkosana, 2011, p.11).

As stated earlier, the power and dominance that is inherent in English is closely linked to the history of South Africa and the politics of language. Thus in situations where immigrants can only communicate with locals through English, these traits of dominance and power imbalance seem to be attached to them by local South Africans. In this regard, data shows that there are role reversals through the language brokering process. Parents, as lifelong learners rely on their children to learn English, which is associated with better life chances and/or opportunities. Through English, parents are given a voice by their children to adapt to a new environment.

5.6 Teachers' views on language brokering

Chapter 4 refers to two teachers who were asked about their views on language brokering in multilingual contexts. To this question, both these teachers empathized with their immigrant learners, but had different ways of helping them to adapt to their environment.

For example, Candice understood what her immigrant students were going through, that is, studying in English which was a third or fourth language to most of them. She expresses her limited capacity in being able to help them:

I come from an Afrikaans background and used to think my first language could take me everywhere, but when I had to start studying in English second language, it was difficult. ...so yes, I really imagine how it can be difficult for my immigrant students who are from different countries with different first and second languages in their repertoires.

But what can I do? We are supposed to teach in English and no extra consideration is given to people who do not understand...I cannot change the medium of instruction or ask the institution to hire all kinds of translators from various immigrant countries...they manage to help themselves through peers, relatives who know a little English more than them; they become language brokers for each other

(Candice, interview, 15/04/2016)

This affirmation by Candice about language policy in S.A is echoed by Heugh (1993) who explains that in the Western Cape, teachers in formerly "white" or "coloured" schools who now have Xhosa-speaking or other home language (s) speaking learners in their classes often feel helpless and frustrated in the face of language difficulties encountered by these learners. Heugh (1993) explains that the teachers sometimes argue that it is not their responsibility to deal with these difficulties and learners should either not be admitted to the school or that they should be given special programmes by specialist language teachers. Candice, explains:

Like I said before, the school language policy insists on the use of English as medium of instruction...immigrant children cannot learn by using their home languages...may be if they could organize extra English lessons after school...

(Candice, interview, 26/06/2016)

In the teachers' interviews, light is being shed on aspects of empathy, as in Candice's interview: "I really imagine how it can be difficult..." She uses her own past experience in English classes and remembers how her classmates acted as language brokers for her.

However, Mr. Robin had a slightly different opinion to his South African colleague. He felt obliged to do something for his immigrant students as he was also an immigrant. He studied in English unlike some of his immigrant students who started learning English as a third language before coming to South Africa:

I feel bad when I hear some of my immigrant students complain about learning in English... I have a student whose first language is Swahili, second language is Lingala and third language is French... His father speaks Swahili, mother speaks Lingala and he started school in Kinshasa, where the medium of instruction was French. He moved to South Africa with his parents at ten and had to start studying in English... This is not easy, not even for me as his teacher... The school does not have any special treatment of such cases, but I decided to assign a student whom I considered qualified to help explain things to his fellow immigrant brother... The assigned student is also from Congo, but at least he immigrated to South Africa with his family when he was much younger (three) and so has been studying in Afrikaans, then English. I always encourage them to go everywhere together and successfully had a meeting with their parents so they can interact more out of class...

(Interview, Mr. Robin, 15/04/2016)

This extract reveals the case of a multilingual immigrant student who plays the role of a language broker for his fellow immigrant classmate. It also shows how immigrant children construct their identities in a multicultural South African context. The excerpt also shows the teacher's empathy and understanding of language brokering by immigrant children.

There was a need to know how language brokering could help the children develop cognitively. So the two teachers were asked whether language brokering could help immigrant children's English learning and what cognitive benefits it could yield. Mr. Robin's reply was as follows:

I believe that encouraging immigrant children to perform acts of language brokering for their peers who may be lacking English proficiency in the classroom can bring out a lot...most of these children have rich linguistic backgrounds and could learn if they are given the opportunity, thereby yielding a great cognitive development...

(Mr. Robin, interview, 28/06/2016)

Mr. Robin, together with his colleague Candice, encourage the immigrant learners to develop learning strategies like peer support. The only difference between the two teachers' method of support is that Mr. Robin, knowing the capabilities of his learners, *decided to assign a student* whom he considered *qualified to help explain things to his fellow immigrant brother*. By doing this, Mr. Robin used an alternative strategy to support his immigrant learners. Coyoca & Lee (2009) explain that through repeated language-brokering exchanges, relationships get formed where expectations for brokers and brokees are developed and established. The more proficient immigrant children in this study acted as language brokers for their fellow immigrant peers who had low proficiency in English.

This data and analysis of teachers' views on language brokering, sheds light on the challenge for teachers of immigrant children to learn more about the linguistic tools that the immigrant learners bring to multicultural classrooms. Another challenge is how to support learners' access to learning in an environment that is becoming more diverse through immigration.

If teachers of immigrant learners can acknowledge language wealth brought to the classroom, they can go a long way towards helping to enhance learners' cognitive development. The request to Claire to broker for fellow immigrant children shows the recognition of language brokering as a mediation tool in the classroom. This aligns with Zinn & Rodgers (2012) who claim that immigrant learners bring a rich repertoire into the school setting and so they need to be recognized, appreciated, acknowledged, and seen. In so doing they are encouraging and making place for the language capacities of immigrant learners by means of translanguaging which involves enacting transformational practice in school settings. Translanguaging supports the ability of bilingual students to have multiple identities (García, 2012).

5.7 Theoretical explanation of data

South African history is closely intertwined with the dominance of the English and Afrikaans which became economic languages and which were forced on blacks, even in schools during apartheid. In an attempt to salvage their own vernaculars, black South Africans might resist English or Afrikaans in most social domains, especially if these languages are spoken by other black people. At the same time there is resistance to English in the domains to challenge whiteness among the black immigrants speaking English. An immigrant child's ability to translate or speak for the parent in such situations might not ease the resistance or eliminate it totally as English no longer serves as the main language of communication in certain social domains.

Language brokering, in essence serves to equalise people although it can also be stressful when the child is speaking on behalf of the parent. Children who serve as language brokers highlight how they serve more in social space in comparison to others. This brings out the connection between Vygotsky's Sociocultural Theory, Bourdieu's notion of habitus and Spencer's PVEST. The PVEST emphasizes the fact that transition into a new culture is very challenging and it is only through the dominant language that immigrants are able to construct and reconstruct identities. Bourdieu (1977) describes habitus as socialized subjectivity. Vygotsky (1978) talks of mediation as key to all human communication. In a nutshell, these theories emphasize the fact that language is the most important tool in communication or interaction between people.

Interactions are constructed according to intent, and they can be affected by the limits of context and degrees of shared meaning. In other words, language is a social practice. Language is acquired differently depending on the age of the person. For young immigrant children variations in discourse style are not as problematic as they are for teenagers (Erickson, 1986). In the globalized world, knowledge of the differences in socio-cultural discourse assists children in later life.

Since identity and language intersect, both occur through components such as the influence of social interaction, peers and family influence, status, community cohesion, and experiences or prior exposure to differing contexts. All of these factors create an experience that the immigrant children incorporate into their self-identity. Each experience is a moment and each

moment slightly alters their attitude and beliefs concerning their group and individual identity.

Bourdieu (2000) states that social identity is associated with class and gender, and embodied in the habitus. As stated in Chapter 3, Bourdieu defines habitus as a set of durable dispositions, explaining that the schemes of perception, appreciation and action enable individuals to generate appropriate and endlessly renew strategies, but within the limits of the structural constraints of which they are the product (2000, p. 138). He also maintains that class and gender are part of habitus. The term “class” cannot be applied to young immigrant children as they have not yet started working or have not yet become economically active.

So this study refers to status as part of habitus which in turn can refer to political identity, classroom identity, and community peer identity. Immigrant children’s status can change depending on the social community they inhabit at a given time. The habitus also refers to how an individual learns to perceive and act in the world based on previous experiences. The immigrant children in this study had prior exposure to their home countries and this influenced their degree of ethnic affiliation.

Some researchers have stated that habitus is a product of personal and social history (Bourdieu, 2000; Menard-Warwick, 2005). Unlike the theory of indexicality which focusses on linguistic changes within a particular space such as work (Blommaert, 2001), habitus (Bourdieu, 2000) accounts for how social and personal experiences create and alter a person’s context. Developed in a particular context and social position, the habitus can adapt to new contexts and new social positions as a result of the gap between expectations and experience (Collins, 2000, p. 149). For immigrant children the social world is an important component in language maintenance and ethnic identity affiliation and habitus facilitates this. Pahl (2002) observed children in their home, using ethnographic methods. She noted how habitus was inscribed into social practices.

When they experience the social world, human beings internalize its values. It should be noted that for Bourdieu (2000) the social world is neither neutral nor benign rather it is constituted by systems of inequality and domination.

Furthermore, he argues that since interaction between individuals tends to reflect the societal positions of the interlocutors, these interactions will probably both express and reproduce the structures of society (1991). Past habitus, which can also be referred to as historical narrative, is an important dimension of the social contexts of language learning (Canagarajah, 1999).

Goldstein (1997) points out that in order to understand how such forces interact with people's social roles, relationships, and goals, it is necessary to examine the stories of individuals (p.177).

In light of this, my study explores immigrant children's language practices in a multicultural South African context. It tries to understand the experiences of the immigrant children as language brokers for their families and community, without neglecting the views of the parents on using their children as language brokers. The data collected through observation, interview and personal narratives from the immigrant children has shed light on the stories of immigrant families in South Africa.

The data presented in this chapter shows that immigrant children are not trapped in their past. They learn English for survival in South Africa and do not insist on using their mother tongue or other colonial languages. For example, Helen and Claire acquired multilingual skills to help their families and friends who were facing difficulties in communicating in South Africa. They were ready to switch from one language to another at any given time, to make life easier for their fellow immigrants. Unlike Pierre, Helen demonstrated better multilingual skills as she could speak IsiXhosa as well. (Cook, 2002) explains that multilingualism is the natural potential available to every normal human being rather than an unusual exception. So, given the appropriate environment, two languages are as normal as two lungs (Cook, 2002, p. 23).

Serving as a language broker seems to enhance one's self-esteem as a reflexive individual who interprets the world in relation to things that matter to him/her. This involves deliberating and prioritizing elements of his/her life that are of key concern, such as physical well-being, practical worldly achievements, family happiness, emotional relationships, social self-esteem, political and moral values, and faith (Archer, 2012, pp. 102–111; Taylor 1989, pp. 62–63).

The immigrant children in this study pride themselves on being language brokers for their families and for other members of their community. The fact that their language brokering acts make their families happy, gives them the joy to do more and this seems to enhance their self-esteem.

Data collected through interviews and personal narratives shows that there is a sense of pride instilled through language brokering that ties in with the literature (Love, 2007; Corona, et al., 2011; Morales & Hanson, 2005). The data also resonates with Halgunseth's (2003) view

that the process of mediating between agents in complex and adult-like situations teaches young children social negotiation, and decision-making skills, as well as family responsibility. As a result, immigrant children feel more mature, independent, proud and in possession of higher self-esteem. Such feelings strengthen the trust between the parent and child (e.g., McQuillan & Tse, 1995; Morales et al., 2012). In other words, positive feelings about language brokering can be associated with higher levels of self-esteem and less problematic family relationships (Kam, 2011; Niehaus & Kumpiene, 2014).

Of equivalent intrigue is that the immigrant participants were willing to become better individuals by getting involved in the cultural activities of learning local languages such as IsiXhosa, Afrikaans and English. Learning different languages seemed to assist them to become better language brokers and to help other immigrants whose proficiency in English was limited. The practice could be understood in relation to the three theories namely, the Sociocultural, Poststructural and PVEST that have been discussed in Chapter 3 of this study.

The sociocultural contexts of learning such as families, communities and schools are important sites of social and cultural reproduction. Through acculturation and mediation immigrants try to maintain their cultural backgrounds while at the same time, they adapt to the new cultures to which they are exposed (Weisskirch, 2010). This aligns with Vygotsky's (1981) argument that individuals do not have the means to experience, know and act upon the world directly, but can only do so indirectly through the mediation of the range of psychological tools they have acquired. These psychological tools can be physical in nature for example, written notes, diagrams and also crucially, the interventions of others. They could also constitute the use of language, which is central to Vygotsky's theory.

In essence, the psychological tools represent any means that an individual uses to reason and think (Vygotsky, 1978). So Bourdieu's habitus is an appropriate term to use to describe the set of psychological tools available to the individual (Bourdieu, 1999). As discussed in Chapter 3, habitus refers to a range of engagement, from the physical embodiment of cultural capital, to the deeply ingrained habits, skills, and dispositions that we possess due to our life experience.

In the context of this study, immigrant child language brokers seem to use the best they had acquired in English to help themselves and their fellow immigrant families and friends in their new multicultural South African host country. Bourdieu (1990) views linguistic practices as a form of symbolic capital convertible into economic, cultural and social capital

that is distributed unequally within any given speech community. He stresses that linguistic exchanges are also relations of symbolic power in which the power relations between speakers or respective groups are realised. The immigrant pupils, therefore, used English which is regarded as the most prestigious language, to broker for their fellow immigrant friends and families.

In South Africa English dominates other languages. So this implies that the immigrant learners identify with the power of speech the dominant language confers on them in their new environment.

This observation ties in with the poststructuralist perspective which states that an individual's identity is not static, but socially constituted and expressed in interactions with others. According to the poststructuralist perspective, second language learners are viewed as actors who perform certain activities. In other words, their identities are viewed as performance (Butler, 1990).

Immigrant children belong to families and to the local communities. On a daily basis, they engage in language brokering where they use their bilingual skills, since they code-switch all the time while translating.

In other words, language brokering is interrelated with other forms of bilingual communication that can co-occur within multilingual contexts (Reynolds & Orellena, 2015).

The negotiation of identity by participants in this study has taken into consideration, not just the school environments, but also the local communities in which the participants functioned on a daily basis. It is during interaction with peers, teachers, parents and others (at the school playgrounds and local environments) that immigrant children may negotiate their identities better, either as being proficient or less proficient individuals when compared to others. The perception of their peers, teachers or other members of their community may also contribute in their negotiation of identities.

According to the data analyzed here it emerges that immigrant children's identities are fluid due to the movement between social groups of different ages. This implies that they continuously negotiate their identities, consciously or unconsciously (Marx, 2002). Hence language brokering is viewed largely as an unconscious act because the immigrant children do not follow a particular language rule (s) while acting as language brokers. Their translation is to facilitate communication, so everything is translated in the simplest way for

people to understand. For instance, the data shows that Belleange, Claire and Helen interacted with many different groups of people in different domains. At home, they interacted with their family members and friends in various languages such as French, Portuguese, Swahili, and Lingala. At school they interacted with South African children speaking English, IsiXhosa, and Afrikaans. They negotiated their identities in each interaction; switching constantly from one language to another as the situation demanded. Hence negotiating identity is situated because the same pupil can negotiate different identities and participate in different contexts.

In relation to this kind of development Myers-Scotton (2006) regards talk as negotiating rights and obligations between the speaker and addressee. This implies that speakers are assumed to have an implicit/ instinctive knowledge of language choices in a particular interaction. In the case of this study, immigrant children had to make choices of the particular language(s) to use when interacting with different groups of people.

In this way, the immigrant learners seemed to navigate easily from one social interaction to the next, thus negotiating and constructing their identities continuously. This movement seems to confirm the fact that identity is not fixed (Norton, 1997, 2000). It is continually changing, depending on the social context or setting.

Block (2007) argues that in the course of migration, one's identity and sense of self are put on the line due to a shift in historical, sociocultural and sociolinguistic factors that shape one's identity. In this way, individuals must reconstruct and redefine themselves as they adapt to their new circumstances. Reconstruction and redefinition of identity often takes place in second language learning contexts (Block, 2007).

Therefore immigrant children adjust or negotiate their identities according to varying social situations. In the context of this study, immigrant children are not trapped in their past because that past changes as they "re-narrate" it from the present (Bourdieu, 1977). Due to the nature of the past that needs to be healed in this case, such as centuries of colonization, continued marginalization, the use of truth-telling and other narratives in peace-building, and the need to "re-story or re-narrate" the past is particularly pronounced. So, immigrants use personal narratives to heal the past and to construct a better future.

From the data presented in this chapter, it is apparent that the environment plays a role in the individual's identity formation. For example, Wenger (2000, p. 239) believes that an individual's identity is a lived experience of belonging (or not belonging). He argues further

that an individual's identity involves deep connections with others through shared histories and experiences, reciprocity, affection and mutual commitments. Wenger's definition is relevant to this study, as language brokering involves second language learning which incorporates constructing new identities. In addition, a person may have other identities based on her/his gender, social class or physical ability.

In light of the above, it can be deduced that immigrant children move steadily from a stage of "ethnic or racial unawareness" to one of "exploration," to a final stage characterized by an achieved sense of racial or ethnic identity (Marcia, 1966; Erickson, 1968). The immigrant children, in trying to fit into their host community, decide to make their presence felt by using language to communicate, even if they make mistakes. Moreover, habitus in conjunction with capital, which goes beyond the notion of material assets to capital that may be social, cultural or symbolic (Bourdieu, 1986), determines the extent to which a participant is able to act in a particular field or "social or institutional arena in which people express and reproduce their dispositions" (Gaventa, 2003, p. 6).

In the case of this study, English represents a kind of capital amongst the users, who in this case are immigrant learners, hence it may determine the degree of power they possess. In any interaction, therefore, the frames of participation are partly determined by the various types of habitus speakers bring. This could be their linguistic and other forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1991). Different language varieties then shape the potential social roles open to speakers which constitute different forms of linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1977). The notion of 'linguistic capital' suggests here that one has differential means to operate in a particular field and the linguistic capital has symbolic power. Consequently, immigrant home languages may have little capital in dominant language markets.

The immigrant learners who are first language users and who have access to or control of the more powerful language forms tend to be more successful socially and economically. They can convert their linguistic capital into social, cultural and symbolic capital more successfully than those whose languages are not valued.

Bourdieu's (1991) work on language and symbolic power has demonstrated that language is not simply communication but also a means of flexing symbolic power. Therefore, the extent to which an individual is able to take on new linguistic and other dispositions is a key determinant of interactional success in new spaces. Due to their lack of high proficiency in

English, the immigrant learners are forced to negotiate new identities and create new spaces of possibilities as reflected in the data.

The following points can be noted from the foregoing discussion:

- (a) Child language brokers cross cultural and linguistic borders, thereby constructing multiple identities.
- b) Language brokering seems to enhance children's sense of belonging and it strengthens solidarity among immigrants.
- (c) Language brokering by children enhances the learning of additional languages and has implications for English (L2) learning. It also sharpens the children's social, interpersonal skills, as well as decision-making and problem-solving skills.

5.8 Conclusion

Data analysis was informed by the qualitative research design and the research questions found in Chapter one of this study. The participants of the study are from different countries, namely Congo, Cameroon, Burundi, South Africa and Nigeria, with different linguistic backgrounds. Their ages ranged from 7-40 years, showing different levels of reasoning and maturity. The majority of the immigrant children's interviews and personal narratives showed their positive feelings towards language brokering. The parents felt a sense of pride in the children brokers. Parents also expressed positive future aspirations for their children through language brokering.

The analyzed data shows that immigrant language brokers changed identities in various social spaces. Children used their home languages as a resource and portrayed pride in and loyalty towards their own languages. The teachers seemed to negotiate identities with the pupils as they empathized with the immigrant pupils and suggested different strategies to support language brokering.

The final chapter will present and discuss the findings of the study. It will also provide recommendations on the basis of the findings.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

In chapter 5, raw data collected by means of interviews, observations and personal narratives were presented and analyzed. This chapter will summarize and discuss the findings of the study. Based on these findings, the implications of language brokering for language identity construction will be discussed. Finally, recommendations will be made on the basis of the findings.

This study set out to investigate how immigrant children negotiate multiple language identities through language brokering in South Africa. It drew on Sociocultural, Poststructuralist and the Phenomenological Variant of Ecological Systems theories to understand how young immigrant children make use of English (second language) in different domains. It explored what the implications of language brokering are for identity construction in a multilingual South African society.

Central to this study was how these immigrant children coped with the challenges they faced while acting as interpreters and translators for their families and friends in different spaces in South Africa. It investigated how the immigrant children in a primary school in Cape Town constructed their multiple identities through language brokering.

Thus the main aim of this study was to examine the identity of immigrant children as *language brokers* in South Africa.

As indicated in Chapter 1, the central research question that guided this study was: How do immigrant children construct and negotiate identities as language brokers in different spaces in South Africa? This study also addressed the following research sub-questions:

- What are the experiences of immigrant children as language brokers in different spaces?
- What are the parents' views and experiences of their children as language brokers?
- What are the teachers' views of language brokering by immigrant children?
- What are the implications of language brokering for immigrant children's identity construction in a multicultural and multilingual context?

The findings of this research are consistent with the assertion that there has not been much investigation into language brokering and the experiences of immigrant children and families in South Africa. Although trends, patterns and figures of migration have been the focus of research in the past decade in South Africa, the experiences of immigrant children and their families about language brokering have been largely neglected. This has been identified as a gap that needs further exploration.

In the sections that follow I discuss the findings of this study that emanate from the data analysis presented in Chapter 5. These findings are presented in relation to the research questions.

6.2 Presentation and Discussion of findings

From the analyzed data it is apparent that immigrant children who act as language brokers have different experiences. Collectively their experience manifest a vast range of elements which include: role and power reversal, construction of language brokering identities, confident positive attitudes, gender differences in language brokering, aspirations for English competence, mixed feelings and tension between multilingual competence and home language maintenance.

6.2.1 Children as language brokers

6.2.1.1 Language brokering leads to role and power reversal

The findings of this study suggest that a temporary shift in parent-child roles does compromise traditional values or undermine parental roles. The need to teach parents local languages to ‘equip’ them to protect themselves has close ties with the parents’ flexibility with regard to power. It facilitates the survival and functionality of their families in South Africa. This finding resonates with theories that maintain that language brokering can be viewed as an acculturation strategy that enables families to survive in multilingual spaces (Weisskirch, 2010; Berry, 2007).

Although acculturation is an essential response of immigrant families in multilingual contexts, some researchers assert that the relinquishment of power by the parents results in ‘adulthood’ of the child and ‘infantilization’ of the parent. These elements are encapsulated in the phenomenon of ‘parentification’ (Valenzuela, 1999; Tse & McQuillan, 1996; and Weisskirch & Alva, 2002).

From the immigrant children I interviewed, it is logical to state that language brokering impacted on the traditional family hierarchies. Traditionally, the children have to take guidance from their parents and their lifestyle is determined by their parents. In this sense, the parents still exercise their leadership and authority over the children. The findings indicate that parentification of the children was not affected by their language brokering, rather it remained a functional part of the family dynamics which promoted closer family relationships.

Language brokering makes it particularly evident that the work immigrant children perform in South Africa is not trivial. The immigrant children are not minor players or "peripheral participants" (Wenger, 1998), but are gradually being integrated into cultural practices that adults in their community have mastered. In many ways they are the experts, and their ability to engage successfully with the complex demands of modern life matters for their families' well-being and integration into the South African society.

This is consistent with the studies reported in Chapter 1 which contend that language brokering affects the normal dynamics of the parent-child relationship (Cohen et al., 1999; Love & Buriel, 2007), leading to role reversals in families whereby parents become dependent on their children (Martinez et al., 2009). This is illustrated in the case of a young child (Belleange) being prematurely exposed to adult knowledge in assuming adult roles and responsibilities within her family (Burton, 2007).

Because of the assimilative forces that require the children of immigrants in South Africa to learn English quickly, language shift starts occurring as soon as they begin school. Inside and outside the home, children of immigrants often begin using English exclusively, and this enables them to communicate. Considering the frequent discrimination and stigma associated with speaking a language other than English or other local South African languages, it is understandable that children will prefer to speak the dominant, community language. Immigrant children therefore juggle between languages and cultures as they construct their identities in each given situation.

The findings of this study are consistent with existing scholarship that has found that language brokers interpret and translate in instances oriented toward adult needs and sometimes consider these experiences as something they do to help their family (Doner et al., 2008; Dorner et al., 2007; Orellana et al., 2003; Tse, 1995a, 1995b, 1996b; Valenzuela, 1999; Weisskirch, 2005).

The dependency of the immigrant parents on their child serves as further evidence that both parents' and children's self-esteem was boosted through language brokering.

The powerful position of children serving as language brokers as they translated and mediated for their parents was also investigated in this study. In line with Love (2007), many participants expressed feelings of embarrassment, especially parents who felt that language brokering took away their power as adults. The parents were concerned that brokering in public was a source of embarrassment that undermined their parenthood or adult roles and humiliated them in the eyes of their children.

Language brokering serves as a bridge of communication and understanding between parents and children. In some instances, translating and interpreting may help a child feel more connected to his or her parents. Children may then be seen as their parents' "right hand" because they are required to make, or help make, decisions for the entire family. These activities allow the child to be more informed about different family concerns and to think and behave in a more adult-like manner. At the same time, this type of experience may have negative implications for the parent-child relationship, causing the parents to become dependent on the child.

Yet despite the fact that children are sometimes embarrassed by their parents' inability to communicate in English, this does not seem to undermine other feelings of love and respect that they feel for their parents. The findings of this study seem to suggest that the power-shift in brokering has a greater impact on parents than on the children. Children still considered themselves as minors who were under the guidance of their parents. They focused on teaching the parents and family members local languages needed for their survival in the South African context. This shift in power instilled assertiveness in children as they ensured the survival of the family in a host context.

6.2.1.2 Children display mixed attitudes as language brokers

The study's findings show that children had both positive and negative attitudes towards language brokering. These findings are consistent with the assertion that both parents and children feel a sense of pride in the language broker. Parents were proud of the fact that their children were forging through a host environment while pursuing their studies as well as teaching English to the whole family.

For the immigrant children, the sense of pride seemed to arise from the knowledge that they had mastered the dominant language used in many formal domains in South Africa. They also seemed to be happy that they could protect and serve their family members with the language skills they had acquired. In addition, children displayed an increased self-confidence as they engaged with the external world.

The children's positive feelings were reaffirmed by the positive relationships fostered through their brokering within the families I interviewed. All family members asserted that their relationships had been developed as a result of the brokering service by children. Regardless of embarrassment and other negative feelings highlighted earlier, the participants actually expressed that language brokering brought them even closer to each other. This happened as some of the participants felt highly motivated as their family members appreciated their language brokering activities. For example, Claire, Helen and Pierre would like to do more for their families and were very motivated to learn English for a better future.

Even though language brokering can largely be viewed as a positive practice, the study's findings also reveal that children language brokers express negative feelings too. Children sometimes feel burdened while they broker for their parents. Some children I interviewed (for instance, Dieudonne) stated that their personal time was strained as they had to cater for the needs of the parents. Child language brokers had to be constant 'travelling companions' with their parents for convenience. This is one of the factors that evoked negative emotions in the children, which they described as "tiring". Despite these negative feelings, the findings indicate that positive reports of language brokering outweighed the negative ones.

This finding is consistent with previous studies that found language brokers feel frustrated, embarrassed, and they experience distress (Jones & Trickett, 2005; Mercado, 2003; Puig, 2002). However, some also felt important because they are trusted by parents and involved in the family's decision-making process (Buriel et al., 2006; Hall & Sham, 1998). Language brokers live between worlds.

The findings indicate that the immigrant children participated in varied and complex activities required in the process of family settlement and mobility in the new country. Their participation helped their parents to reduce the stress and frustration associated with settlement, thus resulting in more effective family functioning (Valenzuela, 1999), which is also about care and caring. Moreover, they also gave their parents a voice and helped them to

solve certain problems associated with immigration. They also developed strategies to protect their parents' dignity and integrity in humiliating and discriminating situations.

6.2.1.3 Gender differences in language brokering

Interestingly, gender differences seemed salient in the language brokering I described in the previous chapter. I noticed that the girls seemed to be more actively involved with language brokering than their male counterparts. This finding corresponds to Haavind's & Andenaes' (1997) finding that girls seemed to operate like caregivers, attending to what needs to be done and simply doing it without being asked. Like Valenzuela (1999), I found that more girls than boys claimed to serve as the "designated translators" for their families. Belleange, Claire and Helen were in many cases voluntarily helping to translate in various spaces for their families and other immigrants.

6.2.1.4 Child language brokering occurs in multiple spaces

The literature highlights contestations and debates with regard to children serving as brokers in more formal spaces; with legislation attempting to deter them from these services, mainly in medical spaces (Morales & Hanson, 2005). The research findings of my study indicate that immigrant children language brokered in multiple spaces including public transport, medical spaces, local communities and schools.

In these spaces, children served as translators or mediators. Interestingly, in some of the spaces English was resisted as a marker of "whiteness" among black people who live in disadvantaged areas. This had a negative effect on immigrants who were torn between "whiteness" and "blackness" with regard to language use. This implies that English is perceived as a language of the oppressor and as a result, immigrants find themselves having fluid identities as they negotiate and construct new language identities.

This resonates with the research by Hungwe & Gelderblom (2014) who state that some spaces in South Africa function to identify who belongs and who does not, while at the same time, excluding those who do not belong. Hungwe & Gelderblom (2014) further explain that language in many spaces has frequently been used in South Africa to perpetuate social exclusion. Schools, medical spaces, and public transport seem to be the most salient spaces of social exclusion where language is used as a marker of identity on the basis of proficiency in the dominant languages of this country.

Thus it has been necessary for the immigrant children to learn these languages faster than their parents (Cline, 2014). Parents and family members who needed to access linguistic spaces became aware of language used to exclude them hence they became more dependent on their children who were able to navigate different languages. As a result, social exclusion in these spaces resulted in many immigrant children adopting the South African identity that ‘masks’ their original identity to keep them safe from any form of attack potentially arising from their original identity. Exclusion also confined immigrants to their homes which served as ‘safe havens’ where they could use their own languages freely.

6.2.1.5 Language brokers have better opportunities to learn English as an additional language

An interesting finding is that all five immigrant children seemed to have acquired some knowledge of English and South African culture, though at different levels. They showed familiarity with their home languages and culture and this was an advantage with regard to language maintenance. Their bilingual and bicultural skills were recognized by others, and they were able to use their bilingual/multilingual skills effectively to mediate communication among different adult immigrants. In this way, language brokering served as a useful resource by which to integrate immigrants with limited English proficiency into the multilingual South African speech community.

From the findings of my study, English is perceived as a prestigious language for academic and communicative purposes. All five immigrant learners in this study expressed the importance of English for academic and communicative purposes and for a better future. All five expressed their need for a better future after learning English which would be a good weapon for them and their families in the host country. Their parents also associated proficiency in English with better life opportunities.

The immigrant learners viewed English as an investment due to its power as a global language. They realized that in order to help their family members and achieve their future dreams, English language was a necessity. This resonates with the poststructuralist view of language learning and identity construction which draws on Bourdieu’s (1977; 1991) works. This view emphasizes the relationship between identity construction and symbolic power. Norton and Van Lier, (2000; 2008) concur that second language learners can invest in the target language in order to acquire a greater range of material and symbolic resources. In this study, it appears that the immigrant learners invested in English (L2) because they realized

that it would make life easier for them and their fellow immigrants in South Africa. This implied their acceptance in the host country and their future aspirations.

The notion of investment in language can be explained through Bourdieu (1977) who states that legitimate and illegitimate speakers are distinguished by the right to speak and the power to impose reception. Bourdieu (1977) considers the use of language as a social and political practice in which an utterance's value and meaning is determined in part by the value and meaning ascribed to the person who speaks. This implies that in order to investigate how power relations are implicated in the nature of language learning and how identities are co-constructed by different positions, immigrant learners take up discourses and the positions they receive, based on their social relationships. This resonates with Duff and Uchida (1997) who describe identities and beliefs as being co-constructed, negotiated, and transformed on an ongoing basis by means of language. Therefore, identities are not static constructs, but multiple, locally negotiated, and constantly in flux (McKay & Wong, 1996; Norton, 2000, Toohey, 2000).

Wenger (1998) shows that even though power can marginalize the illegitimate, the exertion of power is not limited only to marginalization. He goes on to explain that power exists in every social situation: it is through participation and negotiation of meaning that identities are constructed and reconstructed in many-layered contexts. In this way, participation means interaction with the target group. This is indicative of a learner's goals and investments. It suggests that immigrant learners' engagement with particular languages and cultures in South Africa involves identity construction, and identities are constantly being crafted in the positions learners take up in given local situations.

In relation to the foregoing theory, Norton (2000) illustrates how a person's investment can change and how this change can empower the speaker to make herself/himself heard. This also resonates with the poststructuralist view of investment in language learning whereby the immigrant learners' investment in English (L2) seemed to bring out the relationship between identity, agency, power and access to English. This occurred inside and outside their school, and in their entire local communities.

Due to the prestigious status of English, immigrant learners deemed it necessary to make extra efforts to learn it. They believed that through practising their spoken English they might improve their competence in it, thereby constructing their identities as English (L2) speakers and better language brokers for their immigrant families.

The immigrant children reported positive results such as increased confidence, independence and maturity, acquisition of first and second cultural knowledge, and the establishment of trusting relationships with their parents. This finding is consistent with the works of Downing & Dwyer (1981), McQuillan & Tse (1995) and Shannon (1990). They also report that brokering enhanced their language development, especially their acquisition of English.

Data showed that many children started brokering within one year of their arrival in South Africa. This suggests that English acquisition started early and progressed at a rapid pace. This supports the findings by Pease-Alvarez (1993) who studied language development of 64 eight- to nine-year-old Latino students. She found that despite their limited exposure to English, the predominance of socializing in and out of the home in Spanish, and a strong community commitment to bilingualism, the students were shifting from Spanish to English in usage and proficiency.

The findings of Alvarez's (1993) study revealed that immigrant children believed strongly in the importance of acquiring English, while valuing or maintaining their home language (s). The results of this study suggest that maintaining the L1 does not hinder English (L2) acquisition (Krashen, 1996). Despite the fact that some of the children reported living and learning in L1 -rich environments at home they were able to handle the difficult task of brokering in different situations and contexts. This is consistent with McQuillan's & Tse's (1995) finding that child brokers translated texts in their second language that were far above grade level, e.g. mortgage documents, tax forms, and letters and notes intended for their parents. Likewise, Malakoff & Hakuta (1991) found that bilingual children often translate accurately. This evidence suggests that brokers develop high levels of language proficiency in order to perform interpretation and translation tasks. It could be that the acquisition of English is achieved at a more rapid pace than it is generally believed.

As alluded to earlier four of the participants stated that language brokering had been a positive experience for them. They reported that they could preserve their home language and identity through language brokering since they moved between languages (English and home languages) on a daily basis. In this way they were able to maintain their home languages and ethnic identity due to their multilingual competence. Some of the participants mentioned that language brokering accelerated their learning of English and made them feel free in South African society.

This implies that they have been assimilated into the English speech community and eventually into the South African community.

6.3 Parents' views on language brokering

6.3.1 Language brokering is associated with better life opportunities

It was found in this study that immigrant parents were concerned about their children's multilingual language learning. They were anxious to maintain the home language and at the same time they wanted their children to learn the dominant host language. In most cases the immigrant parents mentioned that their children were not apt to forget their home language as they often used it to translate for their parents. According to the parents this displayed loyalty and pride of L1 and their culture. All the three immigrant parents in this study wanted better career opportunities, a positive self-image and communication with English speakers for their children. They aligned their children's proficiency in English with excellence, academic intelligence and a better future. The children were able to maintain and develop L1 because of the strong commitment from their parents.

6.4 Teachers' views on language brokering

6.4.1 Lack of linguistic capital

It was also found that many teachers who come from backgrounds different to those of immigrant learners did not possess the linguistic capital to deal with the language and cultural differences that existed in their classrooms. I found that the two teachers interviewed in this study were caring individuals but were unaware of the deeper, hidden or invisible dimensions of culture, which have a significant influence on their own identity, educators' role, definitions and instructional practices (García & Guerra, 2004).

While Mr. Robin was aware of the difficulties the immigrant children were facing, he could not help them. Candice too was hamstrung because of her lack of cross-cultural awareness and skills, and her uncritical adherence to the language policy requirements. So she could not assist her immigrant learners.

6.5 Implications of language brokering for identity construction and English (L2) learning

Identity construction of immigrant learners mainly relies on their investment, particularly in their English (L2) learning. In this study the immigrant learners' integration into the South African community was mirrored by their differing approaches to or investments in learning English (L2). This attitude revealed that for them the main role of language learning was for acceptance into the host community. They realized that it was through becoming more competent in the target language that they and other immigrants would be accepted into the host community. For this reason, they decided to put more effort in learning English (L2) and other local languages through which they could negotiate new identities.

There are several implications for brokering that are important for teachers and policy makers who seem to be unconcerned about the education of immigrant populations.

Firstly, language brokers are making educational decisions independently which may or may not be in the best interest of the learner. Schools that provide bilingual support services to learners and their families may be able to ease some of the stress and the burden upon language brokers, and thereby increase the chances of their success.

Secondly, immigrant language brokers in the multicultural South African context appear to be acquiring English with speed and efficiency. However, their true levels of proficiency are unlikely to be accurately assessed by using psychometric tests and other assessment tools that are decontextualized or inauthentic. Situated and authentic tasks like those involved in real-life language brokering may yield a more accurate reflection of learners' true abilities. Finding authentic and accurate measures is necessary if learners are to be provided with the appropriate educational assistance.

Lastly, immigrant learners who are called upon to convey information and concepts in a variety of situations gain linguistic, cultural, and world knowledge that teachers may be able to incorporate into learning experiences for all learners. These uniquely well-informed immigrant learners may also be rich sources of insight for educators interested in establishing and improving home-school relations.

As the influx of immigrants continues, many immigrant children will inevitably have to become their families' designated language brokers. As language brokers, these children will be placed in positions and situations where they perform tasks and take on responsibilities

that are beyond their cognitive and language abilities. These immigrant children may not have the skills, knowledge, or sense of maturity to carry out their responsibilities. A number of these children may take the initiative to seek out and acquire the resources, knowledge, and skills necessary to help themselves become more competent as language brokers in order to contribute to the success of their families in the host country. In the process of doing so, they will be likely to acquire valuable skills and knowledge that can become beneficial and useful to them in other areas (for example, school achievement and competence in social and cognitive areas of development).

At the same time the demanding and challenging aspects of language brokering might also place some immigrant children at risk of a host of health, personal, and psychological problems. Based on the research by Wu & Kim (2009), it may be that focusing on the role of heritage, cultural orientation and family-related variables as modifiable mediators for intervention may be particularly useful for school psychologists and practitioners who work with immigrant children.

Future research should look into additional potential mechanisms and processes that might facilitate an understanding of why some immigrant children are being negatively affected by the language brokering experience, while others benefit, as such research will lead to finer intervention programs.

Wong-Fillmore (1991) found that early exposure to English leads to first language loss. This implies that the younger children are when they learn English, the greater the effect. However, in this study it is clear that the home and school environments were influential in language development and more specifically, in the maintenance and loss of first and second languages.

In this way the development of children's home language may be associated with family cohesion and intimacy, parental authority and transmission of cultural norms, all of which can lead to healthy adjustment, identification and internalization of the social values of the family (Toppelberg & Collins, 2010).

Immigrant children's work may facilitate families' access to information and resources. It may build bridges between the home and the school, and enhance opportunities for the children and their siblings' language learning and development. This may also help them forge particular kinds of identities for themselves that facilitate their movement into the world of education and work.

The five immigrant language brokers I interviewed and collected personal narratives from commented on how successful they were in protecting both themselves by ‘adopting’ a concealed identity and their family members and parents, by speaking for them in spaces where the latter may otherwise feel embarrassed in their absence, not knowing how to speak English. Consistent with this, Morales & Hanson (2005) indicate how migrant children who serve as language brokers can be viewed as ‘shields’ for their parents and family members by speaking on their behalf. The findings of this study seem to confirm this observation.

6.6 Recommendations

Recommendations pertain to further research on language brokering and its complexities and immigrant families.

6.6.1 Research Areas on Language brokering

Apart from exposing a gap in the research of immigrant family experiences, this study has attempted to make a significant contribution in highlighting the importance of language brokering by children of immigrant families in South Africa. Further research is needed for the following aspects as they are both understudied and important facets of society in the South African context: it is also important to investigate the plight of other immigrants who may be from other parts of the world; and it is important to investigate strategies by which to make South African communities and schools more inclusive, less resistant and more accommodating of other languages spoken on the continent.

Another component of research could focus on language and xenophobia. Xenophobia and language brokering are related in the sense that immigrants in South Africa are sometimes attacked or discriminated against because they are considered as foreigners who cannot speak the local South African languages. In this case, immigrant children who learn the local languages faster than their parents step in as language brokers to rescue their family members from xenophobia and its effects on immigrant families in South Africa.

Further research might also focus on how children and adult immigrants acquire additional languages in a foreign country. There is limited research on language acquisition which focuses on African-language speaking people or learners.

Finally, it is recommended that instead of focusing primarily on the negative outcomes and developmental processes of child language brokers, more work is needed to look at the social and cultural processes of language brokering. This could provide a deeper understanding of

what language brokering means for the children, with regard to their development. It is good to understand how immigrant children learn to become competent and caring members of their families across cultures.

Immigrant children learn in schools while others learn from active involvement in family life and in their communities (Spittler & Bourdillon, 2012). The work immigrant children do as language brokers can reasonably be considered as family care work. Therefore, instead of framing childhood language brokering in terms of ‘adultification’ and ‘parentification’, we need to locate the activity along ‘a continuous care-giving’ service. This will align with what Becker (2007: 40) refers to as a shift from ‘vulnerability’ to an analysis which seeks to explain ‘differences’ in experiences and outcomes ‘between’ young carers within and across families and societies or cultures.

6.6.2 Inclusive language pedagogies

Lack of linguistic and cross-cultural awareness by immigrant learners’ teachers and inflexible language policy practices can negatively influence the learning process. To exclude the languages immigrant learners bring from home in order to focus on the dominant language sometimes diminishes the learning process. Thus difficulties in acquiring the dominant language can impact on academic progress (Benson, 2004).

If a learner’s home language is not the same as the language of learning and teaching (LoLT), it could impact on teaching and learning. Language is viewed as the key to learning and the recognition of language and essential human rights are interrelated (Mda, 2004). This explains why language rights feature in the Constitution of South Africa (1996) and why the Language-in-Education Policy (Department of Education, 1997) is informed by the views on language captured in the Constitution (Mda, 2004). In this case, if the language, culture, and history of a learner are not acknowledged in the school context, this experience can be dehumanizing.

In this regard, the teachers of immigrant learners are called upon to acknowledge the languages their learners bring to the classrooms so as to ease communication. It is in regard to this that Zinn & Rodgers (2012) suggest that both learners and teachers benefit from acknowledgement of who they are and what they are able to do. By permitting translanguaging in their multilingual classrooms teachers of immigrant learners, would be shedding light on a new awareness amongst other educators and policy makers in S.A.

6.7 Conclusion

This study consisted of a small sample which cannot therefore, be generalized. My focus in this study was on how immigrant children coped with the challenges they faced while acting as interpreters and translators for their families and friends in a multicultural and multilingual South African society.

When I started my research journey, I tried to imagine how the immigrant children could possibly negotiate, construct and reconstruct their identities as they find themselves caught between different languages and cultures. The main data sources of this study are the participants' narratives through individual interviews, followed by personal narratives from four immigrant learners and lastly, through observations at school playgrounds.

During the interviews I realized that the participants constructed their interpretation of their experiences with their own perspectives or positions. I was therefore able to understand how the participants perceived and interpreted their personal, familial, and social experiences as active agents while situated in their social environments (Weedon, 1987). I realized that their experiences were interpreted by them within the particular time and space in which they positioned themselves. I realized that during the interviews some of the immigrant learners were selective of what to say and so I decided to ask them for written personal narratives, through which I realized there was more to the information given.

Throughout this study, I realized language brokering, language learning and identity construction are mutually constituted, influencing each other. The participants' stories contained their particular language learning stories. In addition I became aware that language learning for immigrants meant the acquisition of discourses in the South African community. I also realized that language acquisition/learning affects the whole life of immigrant children immensely, as well as that of their families. Through language brokering, immigrant children's identities could be seen as being fluid as they shifted from one language to another.

Also noteworthy is that membership in the host community creates immigrant children's social identities and self-esteem. This implies that immigration policy makers should consider the immigrant children's education and their future in South Africa. These immigrant

children, by acting as language brokers for immigrants and others who may face communication problems due to language barriers in S.A, are also participating in and contributing to the South African economy. The South African immigration policy makers, by considering these children and their work as beneficial to the South African community at large, would make life better for all. The evidence provided by data in this study, demonstrates not only an individual but also a societal vision as powerful motivational forces for change.

This study carries several implications for a fast-growing immigrant child population. There is a need for an investigation into L1 and L2 development in multilingual/multicultural children. This study adds important findings to the early identification of language development and may inform educational policy and teaching strategies for children of immigrants in many ways. Immigrant children should be encouraged to maintain their home languages while learning new languages. Some parents and teachers may think children should give up speaking their languages at home so that they can learn English (Clarke 2006). In this study, parents seemed to understand the maintenance of L1 while learning L2 because in many cases, the immigrant children used their home languages to language broker for their families and other immigrants. The L1 should be seen as a foundation for L2 learning instead of the inaccurate assumptions about language and cognitive development (Baker 2000).



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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: INFORMATION SHEET

Researcher: Ms Quinta Kemende Wunseh

Contact number: 0786879754

Email: kemendequinta@gmail.com

Institution: University of the Western Cape, Faculty of Education, Bellville, South Africa

Dear Sir/Madam,

My name is **Quinta Kemende Wunseh**, a PhD student in the Language Education Department of the Faculty of Education at the University of the Western Cape. I am conducting research on immigrant children's language practices in South African multicultural schools.

Research title: Language brokering and identity construction: exploring immigrant children's language practices in a multicultural South African context.

Research objectives

In this study, I hope to:

1. investigate parents' views on language brokering.
2. examine the relationship between language brokering and identity construction by immigrant children in a multilingual South African context.
3. determine the implications of language brokering for young immigrant children's identity construction.
4. Establish how immigrant children construct their identities in a multicultural and multilingual context.

The main purpose of this study is to examine the relationship between identity construction and second language learning through language brokering. Its focus is on how immigrant children respond to and cope with the challenges they encounter while constructing their identities through English (L2), and how they serve as language brokers for their parents. This research is located within identity construction through language brokering. It draws on

Spencer's (1995) framework called Phenomenological Variant of Ecological Systems Theory (PVEST), Vygotsky's (1978) sociocultural and post structural theories to explore and understand the language brokering experiences of the immigrant children in multilingual South Africa. It will look at ways of defining and describing the relationship between language brokering, second language learning and identity construction within a multilingual educational context, inside and outside their classrooms.

It is important to know that participation in this study is entirely voluntary. The research participants have the right to withdraw at any stage of the research process. All information collected from the learners will be kept strictly anonymous and a system of coding will be used to protect the learners' identity.

If at any stage you have questions about the study, please do not hesitate to contact me on the above provided details.

SIGNATURE OF THE RESEARCHER:



DATE:

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APPENDIX 2: PERMISSION LETTER

THE Western Cape EDUCATION DEPARTMENT (WCED)

The Annums
97A Alexandra Street
Parow
7500

The Research Director
Western Cape Education Department
P/B X9114
Cape Town

Dear Madam,



Re: Permission to conduct research at X School

My name is **Quinta Kemende Wunseh**, a PhD student in the Language Education Department of the Faculty of Education at the University of the Western Cape. I am conducting research on immigrant children's language practices in South African multicultural schools.

I would like to request your permission to observe Francophone learners and their interaction with their teachers and peers in and out of school. The observations will allow me to understand the language learning process of the learners and how the teachers support them to learn English (L2) in a foreign language environment. They will enable me investigate how the learners, their peers and their teachers interact, how the school is organized and what type of teaching methods teachers use to support language learning.

The research will not interfere in any way with the functioning of the school or with learning in the classroom. In addition, participation will be voluntary and so participants will be free to withdraw at any time without giving reasons should they feel uncomfortable with my research. Their participation

in the study will remain anonymous. Information received as part of the study will be used for research purposes only.

Should you wish to find out more about the research, you are welcome to contact my supervisor, Professor Nomlomo, whose contact details are provided below.

Yours sincerely,

Researcher: Ms. Quinta Kemende Wunseh

Supervisor: Prof. Vuyokazi Nomlomo

Contact number: 0786879754

Tel. 021-9592650/2442

Email: 3315473@myuwc.ac.za or

kemendequinta@gmail.com

Email: vnomlomo@uwc.ac.za



Signature of the researcher: Date:.....

UNIVERSITY *of the*
WESTERN CAPE

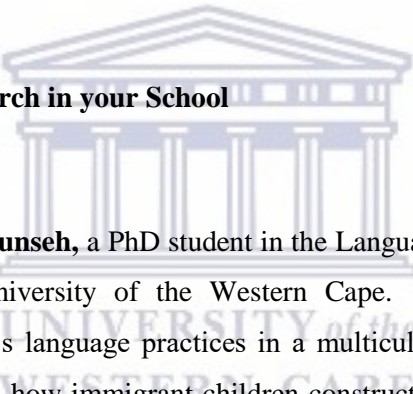
APPENDIX 3: PERMISSION LETTER

THE PRINCIPAL X PRIMARY SCHOOL

X Primary School,
Stepping Stone Weg,
7500
Parow

Dear Sir,

Re: Permission to conduct research in your School



My name is **Quinta Kemende Wunseh**, a PhD student in the Language Education Department of the Faculty of Education at the University of the Western Cape. I am conducting research on Francophone immigrant children's language practices in a multicultural South African context. The aim of this study is to understand how immigrant children construct and negotiate their identities as *language brokers* in South Africa. It will focus on Francophone immigrant primary school children (between the ages of seven to twelve years) in two primary schools in Cape Town and the role they play as interpreters and translators for their families. It will explore the strategies they use to learn English in the classroom and how they construct their identities as language brokers. In other words, it will investigate how Francophone immigrant children negotiate multiple language identities in and out of school.

I would like to request your permission to observe the teachers' and learners' interaction in the English second language classroom. I request you as the Principal of the school and the Intermediate Phase Head of Department to participate in the interviews. I also request your permission to interview the immigrant pupils and their teachers.

The research will not interfere in any way with the functioning of the school or with learning in the classroom. In addition, participation will be voluntary and so participants will be free to withdraw at any time without giving reasons should they feel uncomfortable with my research. Your participation and that of the learners in the study will remain anonymous. Information received as part of the study will be used for research purposes only. It will not be used in any public platform for any purposes other than to understand how immigrant children construct and negotiate their identities as *language brokers* in South Africa.

Should you wish to find out more about the research, you are welcome to contact my supervisor, Professor Nomlomo, whose contact details are provided below.

Yours sincerely,

Researcher: Ms. Quinta Kemende Wunseh

Supervisor: Prof. Vuyokazi Nomlomo

Contact number: 0786879754

Tel. 021-9592650/2442

Email: 3315473@myuwc.ac.za or

kemendequinta@gmail.com

Email: ynomlomo@uwc.ac.za



Signature of the researcher: Date:.....

APPENDIX 4: PERMISSION LETTER

THE PARENTS

X Primary School,
Stepping Stone Weg,
7500
Parow

Dear Parents,

Re: Permission for your child's participation in a research

My name is **Quinta Kemende Wunseh**, a PhD student in the Language Education Department of the Faculty of Education at the University of the Western Cape. I am conducting research on Francophone immigrant children's language practices in a multicultural South African context. The target group will be Francophone immigrant children from 7-16 years.

I would like to request your permission to sit in your child's English second Language learning class and observe how he/she interacts with his/her teacher and peers. I would also like to observe her/his written activities and interview him/her about their experiences on learning English second Language through language brokering.

The research will not disrupt the class schedules or teaching and learning in the classroom. In addition, participation will be voluntary, so participants will be free to withdraw at any time without giving reasons should they feel uncomfortable with my research. The identity of the learners in the study will remain anonymous. Information received as part of the study will be used for research purposes only. It will not be used in any public platform for any purposes other than to understand how immigrant children construct and negotiate their identities as *language brokers* in South Africa.

Should you wish to find out more about the research, you are welcome to contact my supervisor, Professor Nomlomo, whose contact details are provided below.

Yours sincerely,

Researcher: Ms. Quinta Kemende Wunseh

Supervisor: Prof. Vuyokazi Nomlomo

Contact number: 0786879754

Tel. 021-9592650/2442

Email: 3315473@myuwc.ac.za or

kemendequinta@gmail.com

Email: ynomlomo@uwc.ac.za

Signature of the researcher: Date:.....



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French version of parents' letter

Cher Parents,

Re: Autorisation pour la participation de votre enfant dans une recherche.

Mon nom est **Quinta Kemende Wunseh**, une étudiante en doctorat en Faculté de l'éducation à l'Université de Western Cape. Je mène des recherches sur les pratiques langagières des enfants immigrants francophones dans un contexte sud-africain multiculturel. Le groupe cible sera les enfants d'immigrants francophones de 7-16 ans.

Je voudrais demander votre permission pour siéger en classe d'apprentissage de votre enfant et observer comment il / elle interagit avec son professeur et ses camarades de classe. Je tiens également à son / ses activités écrites, observer et les interviewer à propos de leurs expériences sur l'apprentissage de l'anglais.

La recherche ne perturbera pas les horaires de classe ou l'enseignement et l'apprentissage dans la salle de classe. En outre, la participation sera volontaire, afin que les participants soient libres de se retirer à tout moment sans donner de raisons. L'identité des apprenants dans l'étude restera anonyme. Les informations reçues dans le cadre de l'étude seront utilisées à des fins de recherche uniquement. Elles ne seront pas utilisées dans toute plate-forme publique à des fins autres que de comprendre comment les enfants d'immigrés construisent et négocient leurs identités en tant que courtiers de langues en Afrique du Sud.

Si vous souhaitez en savoir plus sur la recherche, vous êtes invités à communiquer avec mon superviseur, professeur Nomlomo, dont les coordonnées figurent ci-dessous.

Chercheuse: Ms. Quinta Kemende Wunseh

Superviseur: Prof. Vuyokazi Nomlomo

Numéro de contact: 0786879754

Tel. 021-9592650/2442

Email: 3315473@myuwc.ac.za ou

kemendequinta@gmail.com

Email: ynomlomo@uwc.ac.za

Signature de chercheuse: Date:.....



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WESTERN CAPE

Appendix 5: CONSENT LETTER FOR THE IMMIGRANT LEARNERS

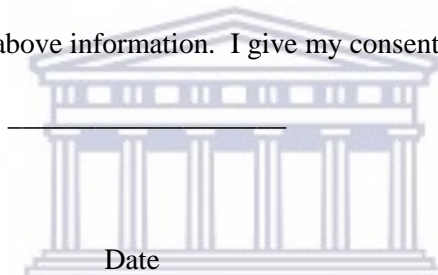
Participants' Informed Consent form:

I agree to be part of the study and I am aware that my participation in this study is voluntary. If, for any reason, I wish to stop being part of the study, I may do so without having to give an explanation. I understand the intent and purpose of this study.

I am aware that the data will be used for a PhD thesis and a research paper. I have the right to review, comment on, and/or withdraw information prior to the paper's submission. The data gathered in this study are confidential and anonymous with respect to my personal identity, unless I specify or indicate otherwise. In the case of classroom observations and interviews, I have been promised that my personal identity and that of the school will be protected, and that my duties will not be disrupted by the researcher.

I have read and understood the above information. I give my consent to participate in the study.

Participant's signature



UNIVERSITY *of the*
WESTERN CAPE

Researcher's signature

Date

APPENDIX 6: CONSENT LETTER FOR THE TEACHERS

Researcher: Ms Quinta KemendeWunseh

Contact number: 0786879754

Email: kemendequinta@gmail.com

Institution: University of the Western Cape, Faculty of Education, Bellville, South Africa

Research Title: Language brokering and identity construction: exploring immigrant children's language practices in a multicultural South African context.

I hereby give consent to the researcher to do observations on immigrant learners from my class during lunch time.

The study was explained to me clearly and I understand that the researcher is free to ask me questions concerning immigrant learners in my class and my general feelings about the learners. All information will be treated confidentially when writing the thesis in order to protect my identity. I am promised that my participation in this study will not risk my job and my personal image will not be damaged.

Teacher's Signature:

Date:

APPENDIX 7: CONSENT LETTER FOR THE PARENTS

Researcher: Ms Quinta Kemende Wunseh

Contact number: 0786879754

Email: kemendequinta@gmail.com

Institution: University of the Western Cape, Faculty of Education, Bellville, South Africa

Research Title: Language brokering and identity construction: exploring immigrant children's language practices in a multicultural South African context.

My name is **Quinta Kemende Wunseh**, a PhD student in the Language Education Department of the Faculty of Education at the University of the Western Cape. I am conducting research on Francophone immigrant children's language practices in a multicultural South African context. The target group will be Francophone immigrant children from 7-16 years.

I would like to request your permission to sit in your child's English second Language learning class and observe how he/she interacts with his/her teacher and peers. I would also like to observe her/his written activities and interview him/her about their experiences on learning English second Language through language brokering.

The research will not disrupt the class schedules or teaching and learning in the classroom. In addition, participation will be voluntary, so participants will be free to withdraw at any time without giving reasons should they feel uncomfortable with my research. The identity of the learners in the study will remain anonymous. Information received as part of the study will be used for research purposes only. It will not be used in any public platform for any purposes other than to understand how immigrant children construct and negotiate their identities as *language brokers* in South Africa.

Should you wish to find out more about the research, you are welcome to contact my supervisor, Professor Nomlomo, whose contact details are provided below.

Yours sincerely,

Researcher: Ms. Quinta Kemende Wunseh

Supervisor: Prof. Vuyokazi Nomlomo

Contact number: 0786879754

Tel. 021-9592650/2442

Email: 3315473@myuwc.ac.za or

kemendequinta@gmail.com

Email: ynomlomo@uwc.ac.za

Signature of the researcher: Date:.....



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French version of parents' letter

Mon nom est **Quinta Kemende Wunseh**, une étudiante en doctorat en Faculté de l'éducation à l'Université de Western Cape. Je mène des recherches sur les pratiques langagières des enfants immigrants francophones dans un contexte sud-africain multiculturel. Le groupe cible sera les enfants d'immigrants francophones de 7-16 ans.

Je voudrais demander votre permission pour siéger en classe d'apprentissage de votre enfant et observer comment il / elle interagit avec son professeur et ses camarades de classe. Je tiens également à son / ses activités écrites, observer et les interviewer à propos de leurs expériences sur l'apprentissage de l'anglais.

La recherche ne perturbera pas les horaires de classe ou l'enseignement et l'apprentissage dans la salle de classe. En outre, la participation sera volontaire, afin que les participants soient libres de se retirer à tout moment sans donner de raisons. L'identité des apprenants dans l'étude restera anonyme. Les informations reçues dans le cadre de l'étude seront utilisées à des fins de recherche uniquement. Elles ne seront pas utilisées dans toute plate-forme publique à des fins autres que de comprendre comment les enfants d'immigrés construisent et négocient leurs identités en tant que courtiers de langues en Afrique du Sud.

Si vous souhaitez en savoir plus sur la recherche, vous êtes invités à communiquer avec mon superviseur, professeur Nomlomo, dont les coordonnées figurent ci-dessous.

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APPENDIX 8: INTERVIEWS

Interview Schedule: Quinta Kemende Wunseh

Study Title: Language brokering and Identity Construction: Exploring immigrant children's language practices in a multicultural South African context.

1. Interviews with immigrant learners

- What is your country of origin?
- What language (s) do you use with your parents at home?
- Do you use them at school?
- Who do you normally help in translating or explaining things they do not understand in English?
- How often do you translate or explain things in English?
- What problems do you experience helping your parents/friends/relatives understand English?
- How does the translating/brokering activity help to improve your English reading and writing skills?
- Can you encourage other learners to broker for their families/friends who are learning English as a second language? Why?

2. Interviews with immigrant learners' parents

- What is your country of origin?
- What language(s) do you use with your family at home?
- How do you communicate with others who do not understand your language(s)?
- What impression do you have about your children or other immigrant children who broker for their families and friends?
- What problems do you experience when your children act as your translators/interpreters?
- What do you think can be done to improve your English second language learning?

French version of parents' interviews

- Quel est votre pays d'origine ?
- Quelle langue (s) utilisez-vous avec votre famille à la maison ?
- Comment communiquez-vous avec les autres qui ne comprennent pas votre langue (s) ?
- Quelle impression avez-vous au sujet de vos enfants ou d'autres enfants d'immigrés qui courtier pour leurs familles et amis ?
- Quels problèmes rencontrez-vous quand vos enfants agissent comme vos traducteurs / interprètes ?
- Que pensez-vous peut être fait pour améliorer votre apprentissage de la deuxième langue anglaise ?

3. Interview with immigrant learners' teachers

1.1 Personal Profile

1. How many years have you taught English Additional Language?
2. What qualifications do you hold?
3. What are your major subjects?
4. Up to what level have you done English?
5. What is your Home Language?

1.2 Interview Questions

- What do you understand by language brokering?
- How long have you been teaching Francophone immigrant children?
- How do you support Francophone immigrant children who experience difficulties in learning English as an additional language?
- How comfortable are you teaching English to Francophone immigrant children?
- What sort of activities do you engage your learners in to make sure they are improving in their English second language learning?
- What are some of the challenges you come across teaching immigrant children?
- How do you address these challenges?